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The NATURAL and CIVIL
HISTORY
OF THE
FRENCH DOMINIONS
IN
North and South America.

Giving a particular Account of the

CLIMATE,
SOIL,
MINERALS,
ANIMALS,
VEGETABLES,
relat

MANUFACTURES,
TRADE,
COMMERCE,
AND
LANGUAGES,

TOGETHER WITH

The Religion, Government, Genius, Character, Manners and
Customs of the INDIANS and other Inhabitants.

ILLUSTRATED BY

Maps and Plans of the principal Places,

Collected from the best Authorities, and engraved by

T. JEFFERYS, Geographer to his Royal Highness the Prince of WALES.

PART I. Containing

A Description of Canada and Louisiana.

LONDON,

Printed for THOMAS JEFFERYS at Charing-Cross.

MDCCCLX.

To the HONOURABLE

GEORGE TOWNSHEND,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL

Of His MAJESTY'S Forces in NORTH-AMERICA,

And COLONEL of

The Twenty-eighth Regiment of Foot.

S I R,

A Natural and civil history of the French empire in North-America, published by a subject of this kingdom, could scarce appear with propriety, at this time, if it was not addressed to General TOWNSHEND, who, by the reduction of Quebec, the capital of that empire, has subjected the whole to the dominion of Great-Britain. It is not however necessary on this occasion either to relate the event, or to particularize the virtues that effected it. The event is necessarily known by its importance, and the addition of so great an extent of territory, and so many thousand subjects to the British crown, are memorials which can neither be overlooked nor forgotten, and which render all others, not only unnecessary but impertinent; neither can it be necessary to tell the world, that *he* is eminent for courage, activity, and spirit, who, when he was in a civil capacity, surrounded by the luxuries of peace, with a fortune by which they were best secured, and at an age when they are most enjoyed, went a volunteer in the service of his country, to traverse the wilds of America, and expose his life to dangers not common even to war; to ambushes which vigilance can seldom escape, to savages who attack without being seen, and instead of taking prisoners, the wounded or unarmed, murder them in cold blood, and carry off their scalps as a trophy. That General TOWNSHEND has an undoubted claim to this merit, and that one of the best concerted, yet most daring enterprises that military genius

DEDICATION.

nus ever formed, was by him carried into execution, cannot fail to be recorded in that period of the British history, which will do us more honour than any other, as it will include a greater number of events, in the highest degree glorious and important, the editor of this work therefore can only hope to do himself honour by taking this opportunity to subscribe himself,

SIR,

Your most

Obedient

Devoted

Humble Servant,

THOMAS JEFFERYS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Possessions of the *French* upon the Continent of *North America*, were always an interesting Object to *Great-Britain*, as it is always necessary to know the Situation, Strength and Resources of contiguous Dominions that belong to a powerful State, whose Opposition of Interest makes her a natural Enemy, and whose military and commercial Knowledge makes her formidable as well in Peace as in War. But the Knowledge of this Territory is now become yet more important, as Providence has thought fit by a Series of Successes almost miraculous, to make it *our own*. It is hoped therefore that this Work needs no Recommendation as to its Design, as to the Execution, if it should be found to deserve Recommendation, it will effectually recommend itself: It has been compiled with the utmost Diligence and Attention from the best Accounts that are already extant, either in our own or other Languages, and improved by Materials that have from Time to Time been communicated to the Editor, by Persons whose Names, if he was at Liberty to mention them, would do him Honour; it contains therefore in one View, a more regular, comprehensive and particular Account of the Subject than has hitherto appeared, and as such is submitted to the Candour of the Public.

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H U D S O N S B A Y

LABRADOR

NEW BRITAIN

SOUTH WALES

JAMES BAY

ESKIMEAUX

Attakoups Nipchiks Ouchestigouets

CLAREY RIVER

GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE

ST. LAWRENCE

ATLANTIC OCEAN

ASSINIBOELS OF THE NORTH

KRIS LAKE OF THE LAKE HURON

THIS LAND according to M^r Jeremiah is more temperate than Hudsons Bay.

KRIS named also CHRISTINAUX and KILLISTIN.

ASSINIBOELS OF THE SOUTH

NADOUENSIS or SIQUI

MAP of CANADA and the NORTH PART of LOUISIANA with the ADJACENT COUNTRIES.

By Thos. Jefferys, Geographer to the Royal History of the PRINCE OF WALES.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

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DESCRIPTION

OF

NEW FRANCE;

OR THE

FRENCH Dominions in NORTH AMERICA.



THE Country subject to the Crown of *France* on the *Continent* of *North America*, which is larger than the *Roman* empire ever was, in its most flourishing times, is divided into two parts, the Northern named *Canada*, and the Southern *Louisiana*; both of them under the direction of a Governor-General, Intendant, and Supreme Council of *New France*, residing at *Quebec*.

C A N A D A.

CANADA, in the *Indian* language, signifies the *Mouth of the Country*, from *Can*, Mouth, and *Ada*, the Country. Under the name of *Canada*, the *French* would comprehend all that part of *North America* situated between 40 and 55 degrees of North latitude, and 42 and 75 of longitude East from *Ferro*, including great part of *New England*, and *New York*, and almost the whole of the province of *Nova Scotia*.

Canada, according to the *French*.

CANADA, according to the *English* account, is bounded on the North by the *Highlands*, which separates it from the country about *Hudson's Bay*, *Labrador*, or *New Britain*, and the country of the *Eskimeaux*, and the *Christinaux*; on the East, by the river *St Lawrence*; and on the South, by the *Outawai River*, the country of the *Six Nations*, and *Louisiana*, its limits towards the West extending over countries and nations hitherto undiscovered.

Canada, according to the *English*.

The soil of this country is generally very fruitful, but the winter, for six months of the year, is extremely severe; the snow is always six feet deep, and, what contributes to give the people of *Europe* a worse notion of this country than it actually deserves, this season comes on just before the ships set sail for *France* and other places on this side the *Atlantic*, and that so suddenly that in two or three days the rivers are full of vast shoals of ice, all the beauties of nature are hid, and the eye is pained with an universal whiteness; there is no longer any difference between land and water, the trees are covered with icicles, which are even dangerous to those that stand under them; there is no more stirring out of doors, without being wrapped up in fur, and, in spite of this precaution, not a winter passes without loss of limbs by the benumbing cold, and though the weather is somewhat milder, when the wind gets into the South or East quarter, yet during that time there is always a prodigious fall of snow, so that you cannot see ten paces before you. There blows so piercing a West wind that it almost peels the skin off the face; in short, during this terrible season, which is attended with the purest and fiercest sky imaginable, the cold is so sharp and intense that even the bears dare not stir out of their dens.

Severity of the climate.

Difference of seasons. In return for so many inconveniencies, there is such an amazing abundance of game, mutton, poultry, beef, and fish of all sorts, that one almost regrets the return of the spring, which, after a long delay, begins to appear towards *May*, and which is so much the more charming as it succeeds to a very severe season. Add to this the heat of their summer in this country, which enables them to reap their crops in four months from the sowing of the seed; and the mildness of the autumn, during which there is a most beautiful and uninterrupted serenity, such as is rarely seen in the finest parts of *Europe*, so that one cannot wonder the *Canadians* should even prefer this country to that of *Old France*.

Causes of the excessive cold. The long continuance of the snow upon the ground; the great number of mountains, forests, rivers, and lakes, and the natural humidity of the soil; together with the vast quantity of ice on the Northern Ocean; and the high situation of the lands in this tract, are probably the causes of this excessive severity of the weather, during this season, in *Canada*, though under the same climates with the most temperate provinces of *Europe*. It has been observed, that, for the four years last past, the winters have gradually abated of their severity, and probably the weather here will continue to grow milder, in proportion as the country is cleared of its vast quantity of woods, and as it begins to be cultivated, drained, and peopled. There is a chain of mountains running East and West more than four hundred leagues, from *Tadoussac* as far as *Lake Superior*, which is probably the cause of such extraordinary quantities of snow as fall in this country.

Plenty of Canada. Corn thrives to admiration in those grounds that have been cleared, but such fruits as require any great degree of heat seldom succeed here, probably because nipped by the frost. There are great numbers of wild vines; greens of all sorts come to great perfection; the lakes are well stored with fish, and their banks are almost covered with water-fowl and other game, besides beavers, martins, fables, &c. not to mention an infinity of other birds and quadrupedes, which abound in this country.

Its salubrity. The constant serenity of the air in this province, where it seldom or never rains, renders it extremely wholesome to *European* constitutions; and an author of credit assures us, that he knew upwards of sixty *French*, and those of very delicate complexions, and but indifferently provided with wholesome food, besides inconceivable other hardships and inconveniences they had to undergo, during a residence of sixteen years among the *Hurons*, all surviving after so long and wearisome a term; a circumstance, which sufficiently proves the salubrity of the climate.

Fertility of soil. Besides the great plenty of stags, elks, bears, foxes, martins, goats, wolves, wild fowl, and other game, with which, as I have observed, this country abounds, the meadow grounds which are all plentifully watered, yield excellent grass, and feed great herds of large and small cattle; and lands in tillage produce the most plentiful crops. The mountains abound with mines of coal, and are not destitute of silver, iron, and other minerals, though not worked, or at least with any great advantage; and the marshy grounds, which are a great part of this country, swarm with beavers, otters, and other amphibious animals.

Rivers. Amongst the great number of rivers which water *Canada*, the most considerable are, the river *St Lawrence*, which crosses it from South-west to North-east, and is twenty-seven leagues in breadth, where it empties itself into the Gulf of *St Lawrence*; the river *Bourbon*, which has its opening in *Hudson's Bay*; the rivers *Saguenay* and *Outaway*, which falls into the river *St Lawrence*; and the *Mississipi*, or river *St Louis*, the source of which is generally placed in about forty-five degrees of latitude, and 74 of longitude West from *Ferro*, which waters the Western parts of *Canada* from North-West to South-east, and afterwards from North to South.

Lakes. There are also a great number of lakes, and, amongst them, several of very great extent; as for instance, *Lake Superior*, of five hundred leagues circuit. There are three great lakes besides, still higher than *Lake Superior*, all of them crossed by the stream that runs into

The River ST LAWRENCE.

Gulf of St Lawrence. This river has its source, as is commonly thought, in the lake of the *Assiniboels*; a point, which, however, is far from being decided, though its course has been surveyed for between seven and eight hundred leagues. It empties itself into the Gulf of *St Lawrence*, and exceeds in beauty and greatness all the rivers of *Canada*. The Gulf of *St Lawrence* is four-score leagues in length, and the currents in it are so strong, that it has been sailed over in twenty-four hours with a favourable wind.

About

About half way over are the *Isles des Oiseaux*, or *Bird Islands*, two rocks, which rise in the shape of a sugar-loaf, about sixty foot from the water's edge, the greatest not above three hundred paces in circumference. The quantity of water-fowl on these rocks, which are covered and coloured all over with their ordure, is astonishing. Several flocks have been loaded with their eggs, and on firing a cannon, which alarms the whole body of this feathered commonwealth, they rise in such numbers, as to form an impenetrable cloud, which hides the sky for two or three leagues round.

The entrance of the river *St Lawrence* is properly reckoned from Cape *Rosiers* in *Nova Scotia*, where it is about twenty-seven leagues broad. Three leagues to the South of this are the Bay and Point of *Gaspé*, or *Gachapé*. Three leagues below this Bay is the *Isle Percee*, or *Bored Island*, so called from a rock rising in form of an arch, thro' which a fishing bark may pass under sail. This has the appearance of a ruined wall. Navigators know when they are near this part, by a flat mountain, called *Rowland's Table*. A league from this island is that of *Bonaventure*, or *Good Fortune*; and at ten leagues distance from hence is the Island *Miscou*, which is eight leagues round, and has an excellent harbour. Near this island is a fountain of fresh water, which rising from the middle of the sea, springs into the air to a considerable height. All these parts are extremely well situated for the fishery, which are very plentiful in the neighbouring parts of the Gulf and River; on which account, some intelligent *French* writers regret their not having settlements here for that branch of commerce, which they justly prefer to the fur trade, for which, this of the fishery in those parts has been neglected.

In the middle of the mouth of the River *St Lawrence* lies the Island of *Natiskotek*, corruptly called *Anticosti*, about twenty-seven leagues in length, but very narrow, and of no manner of utility, being destitute of wood, barren, and without so much as a single harbour, where ships can remain with any degree of safety. Its coasts, however, abound in fish. It was imagined, that this island was not destitute of mines; but, from trials that have been made, this opinion appears entirely without foundation.

After passing this island, you see the land on both sides. On the left shore, in *Nova Scotia*, appears a chain of very high mountains, called *Monts Notre Dame*, and *Mount Louis*, between which are some valleys, formerly inhabited by savages. In the neighbourhood of *Mount Louis* the soil is very good, and there are some *French* habitations. This place is esteemed well situated for a settlement, to carry on the whale fishery, and would also be very convenient for supplying ships from *Europe* with necessaries.

On the opposite shore, in latitude $50^{\circ} 8'$, lie the *Sept Isles*, or *Seven Islands*, among which are several good roads, with anchorage fit for ships of large burthen, in which they may ride safe in bad weather. These islands the *French* navigators endeavour to make, as soon as they have passed by *Anticosti*, taking care to avoid the rocks about *Egg Islands*, where Admiral *Walker's* fleet, in the expedition to *Canada*, was lost, through the ignorance of the pilot, August 23, 1711.

Seventeen leagues to the South-west of the *Seven Islands* is a promontory, called *la Point des Monts Pelées*, or *Point of Bald Mountains*, and, by some authors, *Armont*, and *Trinity Point*, which navigators leave at large on their right, and for which it is proper to keep a good look out. Another land-mark on the Southern shore is, the double-headed mountain, called *Les Mamelles de Matane*, or *Paps of Matane*, about two leagues within land, in the wildest country that can be imagined, being an entire medley of sand, rocks, and impenetrable woods, but well watered, and abounding in game.

On the other side of the river, about six leagues from the *Bald Mountains*, is *St Nicholas*, or *English Harbour*, a very fit place for merchant ships in bad weather. Nine leagues from this are the dangerous breakers of *Manicouagan*, projecting two leagues from land, and famous for shipwrecks. They take their name from a river, which rises among the mountains of *Labrador*, and afterwards forms a pretty large lake of the same name, but more commonly known by that of *Lake St Barnabé*, and discharges itself into the river across these breakers. In some maps it is called *la Rivière Noir*, or the *Black river*. As far as this, and near sixteen leagues higher, the tides are hardly perceivable.

Thirty-two leagues higher up is the River *Saguenay*, which is capable of receiving ships of the greatest burthen twenty-five leagues above its mouth, in entering of which you leave the port of *Tadoussac* on the right hand, where most geographers have placed a city, though there is only one *French* house, and some huts of the savages, who bring them, at the time of selling their furs and other commodities, and carry them off like stalls at a fair when they go away. Formerly, this port was for a long time the resort

and chief mart of the *Indians* lying towards the North and East. The *French* resorted hither as soon as the navigation of the river was open, both from *France* and from *Canada*; and the missionaries took this opportunity to traffic in their own way. The fair being ended, the merchants returned to their several habitations, and the savages retired with the missionaries, who followed them home in order to take a better opportunity to finish their conversion. *Tadoussac* is an excellent harbour, the anchoring good, the entrance very easy, and they say it is capable of affording shelter to five and twenty men of war against all the winds that can blow. It is almost round, and surrounded on all sides with rocks of a prodigious height, from which issues a small rivulet capable of supplying the shipping with fresh water. The whole country abounds in marble, but its greatest riches, says *Charlevoix*, would certainly be the whale fishery. The *Basque's*, (inhabitants of *Bayanne*, and other Southern parts of *Gascony*) in *France*, formerly carried on this trade with success, and there are still to be seen on a little island which bears their name, the remains of their furnaces, and the ribs of whales. This fishery carried on thus within the banks of a river, must be attended with great advantages above that distant and hazardous way of going to the coast of *Greenland*, at so much expence.

Green Island. But before this I should have mentioned an anchoring place under the *Green Island*, on the opposite shore of *Nova Scotia*, where is plenty of all sorts of provisions, and some *French* habitations; and that on the North shore, at *Moulin Baude*, so called from a rivulet of fresh water, which issues from a rock, and is capable of turning a mill, but the country about this latter is said to have the most frightful appearance, and to be utterly uninhabitable, for men or beasts, nor is any living creature to be seen.

Isle Rouge. From *Tadoussac* you come to the passage of *Isle Rouge*, which is very difficult. In order to do this with success, you must first steer full on this isle, in order to clear the point called *Aux Alouettes*, or *Larks Point*, which is at the entry of the *Saguenay* on the left, and advances a good way into the river, and afterwards you turn quite short; the South passage is much the safest. The *Isle Rouge*, or *Red Island*, is no more than a rock of this colour, lying level with the water's edge, and has been the occasion of several shipwrecks.

Isle aux Coudres. At the distance of eighteen leagues above *Tadoussac*, and the same distance below *Quebec*, is the *Isle aux Coudres*, the passage of which is on the left, and very dangerous when the wind is in the least unfavourable; it is extremely rapid, narrow, and a good quarter of a league in breadth. Before 1663, it was much easier, but since that an earthquake tore up a mountain by the roots, and threw it upon the *Isle aux Coudres*, which made it more than one half bigger, and in the place where the mountain stood there appeared a lake, which is now called the *Whirlpool*, and not to be approached without danger. It is also practicable to take the South passage of the *Isle aux Coudres*, which bears the name of *M. Ierville*, who first attempted it with success, and is both easy and without any danger, but the general custom is to take the North channel.

St Paul Bay. Higher up appears the Bay of *St Paul*, where begin the habitations on the North side of the river: Here are also forests of pine-trees, which are much esteemed, especially the red-pine, which is very beautiful and never breaks. The members of the seminary of *Quebec* are the proprietors of this Bay, where they have lately discovered an exceeding good lead mine.

Cap Tourment. Six leagues farther is a promontory of a prodigious height, which terminates a chain of mountains running more than four hundred leagues to the Westward; this is called *Cap Tourment*, or *Stormy Cape*. The anchorage is exceeding good here, since the number of islands of all sizes which surround it, make it a place of very good shelter. The most considerable of these, is the *Isle of Orleans*, the fields of which are extremely well cultivated, and as they rise in the shape of an amphitheatre, present the eye with a most pleasing prospect. This island is about fourteen leagues round, and was in 1676, erected into an earldom, under the name and title of *St Laurent*, in favour of *Francois Berthelot*, secretary general to the artillery, who bought it of *Francois de Laval*, first Bishop of *Quebec*. It had in 1720, four villages, and they now reckon in it six very populous parishes. Of the two channels which this island forms, the South is only navigable for ships, for even sloops cannot pass by the North channel except at high water. Thus from *Cape Tourment*, you must traverse the river to go to *Quebec*, and this way has its difficulties. There are moving sands in the way, which often want water for the largest ships, so that they dare not engage with them till the tide begins to flow. This embarrassment might be shunned by taking the pass of *M. Ierville*. *Cape Tourmente*, whence they take their departure to make this traverse, is at a hundred and ten leagues distance



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CAPITAL of CANADA.



S^T LAURENCE or the GREAT RIVER called by the *INDIANS* HOSHELAGA or CANADA RIVER

distance from the sea, and the water of the river still continues brackish, and does not begin to be fit for drinking till the entrance of the two passages, or channels, of the Isle of Orleans; a phenomenon difficult enough to be solved, on account of the great rapidity of the river, even after making considerable allowances for the width of it.

The tides here flow regularly five hours, and ebb seven. At Tadoussac they ebb and flow six hours alternately; and the reflux increases and the flux diminishes in proportion as you go higher up the river. Twenty leagues above Quebec the flux is of three hours continuance, and the reflux nine; higher up the tides are not perceivable. When it is half tide, or half high water, in the port of Tadoussac, and in the entrance of the river Saguenay, it is only flood, that is to say, the tide only begins to flow at Checutimi, five and twenty leagues higher up the same river; and yet it is high water in three different places at the same time. The cause of this no doubt is, that the rapidity of the Saguenay, which is still greater than that of the river St Lawrence, repelling the tide, causes an equilibrium, or counterpoise, between Checutimi, and the opening of this river into that of St Lawrence. Further this rapidity has been at so great a height only since the great earthquake of 1663. This earthquake overturned a mountain into the river, whose bed it strained, and formed the peninsula of Checutimi, above which is the rapide, a name the French give to a strong current, or violent stream, which even canoes are hardly able to stem. The depth of the Saguenay, from its mouth upwards as high as Checutimi, is equal to the violence of the stream. Thus no ship could come to an anchor here, had they not the advantage of mooring or making fast by means of the trees, which cover the banks of this river.

It has also been observed that in the gulf of St Lawrence, about eight or ten leagues from the shore, the tides vary according to the different position of the lands, and the change of the seasons: That in some parts they follow the winds, whilst in others they go quite opposite to them; and that in the mouth of the river, at certain months of the year, the currents set directly seaward, and in others directly towards the land; within the river, as high as the Seven Islands, sixty leagues above its mouth upwards, it never flows on the South nor ebbs on the North side. It is no very easy matter to account for this seemingly inconsistent appearance; the most probable solution is by supposing certain motions under water, or currents, which go and come alternately from the surface to the bottom, and the contrary, like the working of a pump, and which produce those irregularities.

Another singularity is the variation of the compass, which, in some parts of France, is from two to three degrees North West, diminishing still as you approach the parallel of the Azores islands, where it ceases to be perceptible; but beyond this it increases after such a rate, that it amounts to twenty two degrees and more on the great bank of Newfoundland, and afterwards decreases, tho' slowly, till at Quebec it is reduced to sixteen, and to twelve in the country of the Hurons, where the sun sets thirty three minutes later than at Quebec.

The Isle of Orleans, is a very beautiful spot of ground, the soil fertile, and the inhabitants generally in very good circumstances. When Jacques Cartier first discovered this island, he found it covered with wild vines, whence he gave it the name of the Isle of Bacchus. But since this navigator, who was a native of Bretagne, there arrived a colony from Normandy, who grubbed up the vines, and turned the ground into tillage, so that it now produces good wheat, and excellent fruits. Some time since they began to cultivate tobacco, and with tolerably good success. Three miles from this island stands Quebec, the capital city of all Canada.

Description of QUEBEC.

QUEBEC, so called from a word in the Algonkin tongue, signifying a strait. The river St Lawrence, which is generally from four to five leagues in breadth all the way, from its mouth to the spot on which this city stands, that is, for about a hundred and seventy leagues from the sea, grows narrow all at once, so that at Quebec it

* EXPLANATION of the PLAN.

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| A. Residence of the Governor-general. | E. Cavalier of the Wind-mill. |
| B. Battery of the Fort of twenty five Guns. | F. Ursuline Convent. |
| C. Notre Dame de la Visitation, the Parish Church of the Lower Town, built in Memory of the raising of the Siege in 1600. | G. Recollet Convent. |
| D. The Nuns of the Congregation. | H. The Jesuits College and Church. |
| | K. The House of the Intendant, called the Palace, where the Supreme Council of Canada assembles. |

it is not above a mile over. The *Abenaki's*, a savage nation, whose language is a dialect of the *Algonkin*, call it *Quelibec*, that is to say, concealed, or hidden, because as you come from the little river *Claudiere*, the common passage of the savages from *Nova Scotia*, in their way to this city, the point of *Levi*, which jett's out beyond the Isle of *Orleans*, entirely hides the south channel of the river *St Lawrence*, as the Isle of *Orleans* does that of the north, and you can only see the port, which viewed from this point appears like a large basin.

Fine cascade The first object that presents itself, as you enter the road, is a noble cascade, or sheet of water, thirty foot in breadth, and forty high, falling just by the entry of the lesser channel of the Isle of *Orleans*, and first seen from that long point, on the south side of the river, which, as I have observed, seems joined to the Isle of *Orleans*. This beautiful piece of water is called the Fall of *Montmorenci*, from an admiral of that name, who with his nephew the Duke *de Ventadour*, were successively viceroys of this colony.

Harbour of Quebec, This city stands a league higher up, and on the same side of the river, exactly in the narrowest part of it. Between this and the Isle of *Orleans* is a basin a full league over every way, that is to say, a fresh water harbour, upon the noblest and most navigable river in the universe, capable of containing a hundred ships of war. The North West side of the city is washed by the river *St Charles*, between which and *Cape Diamond*, *Quebec* is situated. Close to this Cape is the anchoring place, in twenty five fathom water, good ground, though when the wind blows hard at north east, ships are apt to drive, but without danger.

City described When *Samuel Champlain* founded this city in 1608, the tide sometimes flowed to the foot of the rock. Since that time, the river has by degrees retreated, and left dry a large space of ground, on which the lower town is built, and at present, sufficiently elevated above the water mark, to secure it from any fears of an inundation. The first thing you meet at landing is an open place, of a moderate compass, and irregular form, with a row of houses in front, tolerably well built, and joined to the rock behind, so that they have 20 feet depth backwards. These form a pretty long street, which takes up all the breadth of the ground, and extends from right to left to two passages, which lead to the high town. This opening is bounded on the left by a small church, and on the right by two rows of houses, running parallel to each other. There is also another range of buildings between the church and the port; and along the shore, as you go to *Cape Diamond*, there is a pretty long row of houses on the edge of the bay, called the Bay of *Mothers*. This quarter may be looked upon as a kind of suburb to the Lower Town.

Bay of Mothers. Between this suburb and the great street, you go up to the high town, by a passage so steep, that they have been obliged to cut steps in the rock, so that it is only passable to persons on foot. But as you go from the opening or place on the right, there is another way of a much gentler ascent, with houses on each side. In the place where these two passages meet, begins the high town towards the river, for there is also another lower town towards the river *St Charles*. The first building worthy of notice as you ascend from the former on the right, is the episcopal palace; the left is taken up with private houses. About twenty paces beyond this, you find yourself between two large squares; that on the left, is the place of arms, adjoining to which is the fort, the residence of the governor general; opposite to this, is the convent of *Recollets*, and part of the square is taken up with well built houses. In this square, on the right, stands the cathedral church, which is also the only parish church in the place. The Seminary lies on one side, in a corner, formed by the great river, and the river *St Charles*. Opposite the cathedral is the *Jesuits* college, and in the square between, handsome buildings. From the place of arms run two streets, crossed by a third, which form a large square or isle, entirely taken up by the church and convent of the *Recollets*. The second square has two descents to the river *St Charles*; one very steep, adjoining to the seminary, with but few houses; the other near the *Jesuits* enclosure, which winds very much, has the hospital on one side about mid-way, and is bordered with small houses. This goes to the palace, the residence of the intendant of the province. On the other side the *Jesuits* college, near their church, is a pretty long street, in which is the convent of *Ursuline-Nuns*. It may be remarked also, that the high town is built on a foundation of rock, partly marble, and partly slate.

Principal buildings. This city has a pretty large extent, almost all the houses are built of stone, and it
Number of inhabitants. contained in 1720, about seven thousand souls; and in 1753, the number was computed

ted to be 15,000 inhabitants, and 500 soldiers. The church of the lower town was built in consequence of a vow made during the siege of *Quebec* in 1690. It is consecrated under the name of *Our Lady of Victory*, and serves as a chapel of ease to the inhabitants of the lower town. The building is plain, its chief ornament being its neatness and simplicity. Some sisters of the congregation are settled between this church and the port; their number is four or five, and they keep a school.

Church of our
Lady of
Victory.

The bishop's palace has nothing finished but the chapel, and part of the building designed by the plan, which is a long quadrangle; when finished, it will be a fine structure. The garden extends to the brow of the hill, and commands the road, and has a noble and most delightful prospect. Below appears a noble basin, filled with squadrons of ships of the largest size from *Europe*. Opposite to it, the Isle of *Orleans*, and the banks of the rivers *St Lawrence* and *St Charles*, on both sides, exhibiting a most enchanting medley of forests, rivers, hills, valleys, meadows, and corn lands, so that scarce any where is to be seen a terras more magnificently situated. It is almost inconceivable what a striking sight there must be from this promontory, were the country about it peopled as it possibly might be, and certainly on many accounts deserves.

Bishop's pa-
lace.

Beautiful
prospect.

The cathedral, so far from worthy of being the metropolitan church of so large a province, whether you look upon the exterior or internal part of the structure, is scarce superior to a country church in *Europe*. It has a very high tower, built in a very solid manner, and which at a distance makes no ill appearance. The seminary which joins the church is a large square, and what part of it is yet finished, is in good taste, and has all the conveniencies proper for the climate. It was twice burnt to the ground, first in 1703, and again in *October* 1705, as it was just rebuilt, since which it has been erected a third time. From the garden you see the road, and the river *St Charles* as far as the sight can extend.

Cathedral

Seminary.

The fort is a handsome building with two wings. You enter by a spacious and regular court, but there is no garden, because it is built on the edge of the rock. This defect is supplied in some measure by a fine gallery, with a balcony or balustrade, which surrounds the building. It commands the road, from the middle of which a speaking trumpet may be heard, and you see all the lower town under your feet. Leaving the fort, as you go towards the left, you cross a pretty large esplanade, and by an easy descent you reach the summit of *Cape Diamond*, which forms a most delightful terras. Besides the beauty of the prospect, you breath the purest air imaginable, and may see numbers of porpoises, white as snow, playing on the surface of the water. On this Cape also are found a kind of diamonds, finer than those of *Alençon*; and, what is singular enough, some of them cut by nature every bit as well as if done by the ablest artist. The great quantity of these stones found here in former times is what gave name to this Cape: At present they are very scarce. The descent towards the country is yet more easy than that on the other side of the esplanade.

Fort.

Cape Diamond

The Fathers Recollets have a large and fine church, capable of doing them honour even at *Verfailles*. It is neatly wainscotted, and adorned with a large gallery, somewhat heavy, but the work round it, which is of wood, and is the workmanship of a lay-brother, is very well done. Another brother called Father *Luke* has adorned it with paintings, much esteemed by the connoisseurs who travel this way. The convent is answerable to the church, large, solid, and commodious, with a spacious garden, kept in good order.

Church and
convent of
Recollets.

The convent of the *Ursuline* Nuns has suffered twice by fire, like the seminary. Their revenue is besides so small, and the portions they receive with the young *Canadian* ladies, so inconsiderable, that the first time their house was burnt, they were upon the point of being sent back to *France*; they have, however, found means to recover themselves each time, and their church is actually finished. They are all lodged in a neat and commodious manner, the just reward of the character they bear in the colony, as well as their frugality, temperance, and industry, in useful works of a good taste proper for the sex, such as gilding, and embroidering, which are their usual employments.

Convent of
Ursuline Nuns

The college of the Jesuits, which has been talked of as a very fine piece of architecture, and possibly was thought so with some grounds, when *Quebec* was no more than an assemblage of barracks and huts of savages, since the city wore so different a face, was become rather a foil than an ornament to it, and threatened to tumble down every day. It is now rebuilt with great magnificence, and justly merits the character it so long bore. The garden is large and well kept, and terminated by a small wood, the

College and
church of
the Jesuits.

remains of that ancient forest, which once covered the whole mountain. The church has nothing beautiful without, but a handsome steeple: It is covered with slate, in which it has the advantage of all the churches in *Canada*, which are only roofed with planks. The inside of it is highly ornamented, the gallery is light and bold, and has a balustrade of iron gilt, of good workmanship. The pulpit is all gilt, and the wood and iron work exquisite. There are three altars well placed, some good pictures, the roof not arched, but its flat ceiling agreeably ornamented. The floor is of wood and not stone, which makes this the only church where one is tolerably warm in all *Quebec*.

Hotel-dieu.

The Hotel-dieu, or hospital, has too great halls, appropriated to the different sexes. The beds are clean, the sick carefully attended, and every thing neat and commodious. The church adjoins to the womens apartment, and has nothing remarkable but the paintings of the great altar, which are very fine. The house is served by the Nuns hospitalers of St *Augustine*, and of the congregation of the mercy of *Jefus*, the first of whom came here from *Dieppe*. Their apartments are convenient, and as their houses are situated on the declivity of the hill, on an eminence which commands the river St *Charles*, they enjoy a tolerable good prospect.

The Palace.

The house of the intendant is called the palace, because the supreme council assemble here. It is a large building to which you ascend by a double flight of steps. The front to the garden, which has a prospect to the river St *Charles*, is much more agreeable than that you enter at. The king's magazines form the right side of the court, and the prison lies behind them. The gate you enter at is hid by the mountain, on which stands the high town, and which, on this side, only presents the eye with a steep and unpleasing rock. It was considerably worse before the fire, which reduced it to ashes in 1726, for then it had no court, and the building adjoined to the street, which is here very narrow.

The general Hospital.

Following this street, or, to speak more properly, this road, you enter the country, and about a quarter of a league distant you find the general hospital. This is not only the finest building in all *Canada*, but would even do honour to any city in *Europe*. The *Recollets* were formerly in possession of this spot of ground; St *Valier*, Bishop of *Quebec*, bought it of them, removed them into the city, and laid out an hundred thousand crowns in the building, furniture, and endowment. The only fault of this edifice is its marshy situation, which they had some thoughts of amending by means of drains cut towards the river St *Charles*; a remedy, which those who have been on the spot believe to be exceeding difficult, if not impracticable. This noble structure is for the reception and relief of such artisans, handicraftsmen, or others, whose great age or infirmities may have rendered them incapable of getting their living, and such are always admitted, as far as the foundation will admit. This foundation is a colony from the *Hotel Dieu* at *Quebec*, and the persons admitted here wear a silver cross on their breast, to distinguish them from those of the old foundation. Thirty nuns, who are generally of good families, attend the service of this hospital, but as they are often poor, the bishop their founder has given portions to several of them.

Fortifications.

Quebec is not regularly fortified, but they have been long at work to render it capable of sustaining a siege. Its situation renders it naturally strong, and it would be no easy matter to reduce it in its present condition. The port is flanked by two bastions, which, at the high tides of the equinoxes, are almost even with the water. A little higher, over the bastion towards the right, is a half-bastion, cut out of the rock; and above that nearer the fort, is a battery of twenty-five pieces of cannon. Higher still is a square fort, called the Citadel; the ways that communicate between these forts are extremely rugged. To the left of the port, quite along the road, as far as the river St *Charles*, are strong batteries of cannon and mortars. On the angle of the citadel, facing the city, they have built what the engineers call an *Oreille de Bassion*, from whence they have drawn a sloping curtain, which joins to a very high cavalier, on which there is a windmill fortified. As you come down from this cavalier, you find, within musket-shot, a tower fortified with a bastion, and, at an equal distance, a second. The design was to cover all this part with a counterescarp, having the same angles as the bastions, and ending at the extremity of the rock, near the Intendant's palace, where there is already a small redoubt, as there is another on Cape *Diamond*. This design has not, it seems, been carried into execution, though for what reason is hard to say.

The

The number of inhabitants being considerably increased, they pass their time very agreeably. The Governor-general, with his household ; several of the noblest, of exceeding good families ; the officers of the army, who in *France* are all gentlemen ; the Intendant, with a supreme council, and the inferior magistrates ; the Commissary of the marine ; the Grand Provost ; the Grand Hunter ; the Grand Master of the waters and forests, who has the most extensive jurisdiction in the world ; rich merchants, or such as live as if they were so ; the Bishop, and a numerous seminary ; two colleges of Recollets ; as many of Jesuits ; with three Nunneries ; amongst all these you are at no loss to find agreeable company, and the most entertaining conversation. Add to this the diversions of the place ; such as the assemblies at the Lady Governess's and Lady Intendant's ; parties at cards, or of pleasure, such as, in the winter on the ice, in sledges, or in skating ; and in the summer in chaises or canoes ; also hunting, which it is impossible not to be fond of, in a country abounding with plenty of game of all kinds.

It is remarked of the *Canadians*, that their conversation is enlivened by an air of freedom, which is natural and peculiar to them ; and that they speak the *French* in the greatest purity, and without the least false accent. There are few rich people in that colony, though they all live well, are extremely generous and hospitable, keep very good tables, and love to dress very finely. They are reckoned well made, and to have an exceeding fine complexion, witty in their conversation, polite in their behaviour, and most obliging in their manners. The *Canadians* have carried the love of arms and of glory, so natural to their mother-country, along with them, for which reason, they have little of the narrow selfish spirit of the merchant in them ; and, as they never entertain any thought of amassing, they have therefore little to lose ; so that war is not only welcome to them, but coveted with extreme ardor. It is easy to imagine the consequence of such neighbours to the *British* colonies, immersed in luxury, and a prey to all the passions which accompany ease and riches, were the *Canadians* headed by such generals as *France* has formerly had, with an ambitious and wise prince on the throne. *Great Britain* therefore cannot be too watchful and expeditious to prevent the danger, whilst her precautions are of any moment or avail to her.

Three leagues from *Quebec* is the *Loretto of North America*, a village of the *Hurons*, in which is a chapel, built after the model of the *Santa Casa*, in the city of that name in *Italy*, decorated with an image of the Virgin *Mary*, taken from the statue in the Holy City. This feat of the devotion of the *Canadians* is situated in the most frightful wilderness imaginable, and famous for the resort of the devotees of those parts, who, whether through fancy or religion, are said to be seized with a certain sacred horror, which is not to be resisted, as also for the piety of the inhabitants. This village was formerly very populous, but diseases, or some other unknown cause, which has almost annihilated all the savage nations of *North America*, have very much reduced the number of its inhabitants.

Seven leagues from the capital is the *Point aux Trembles*. This is one of the better sort of parishes in this country. The church is large, and well built, and the inhabitants live very comfortably. In general, the old settlers here are richer than the lords of the manors ; the reason of which is, that these latter being incapable of improving their estates themselves, as being heads of communities, officers, or gentlemen, who wanted the necessary funds for such an undertaking, were obliged to let them out to other settlers at a very small quit-rent, so that the revenue of a lord, who has an estate of two leagues in front, and an unlimited depth, is very inconsiderable.

After travelling seventeen leagues farther, you come to the habitation of a *French* gentleman in *New England*, situated on the river *Beqancourt*, formerly *Riviere Puante*, or the *Stinking River*, so called from the defeat or total extermination of the *Iroquet* nation, anciently called *Onnoncharonnons*, by the *Algonkins*, which happened in this river, the waters of which were infected by the great number of the dead bodies of those who fell on this occasion. *Beqancourt*, which is a village of the *Abenaguis*, is far from being so populous as it has been some years. These *Indians* are reckoned the best *French* partisans in the whole country, and were always very forward in making inroads into the inland parts of *New England*, where the terror of their name has sometimes given alarms to *Boston* itself. They were equally serviceable to the *French* against the *Iroquois*, being not inferior in courage to those savages, and far beyond them in point of discipline. They are all Christians, and were remarkably devout when

Entertain-
ments and di-
versions.

Character of
the *Canadians*.

*American Lo-
retto.*

*Point aux
Trembles.*

*River and vil-
lage of Be-
qancourt.*

newly converted ; but the enchantment of brandy, which they never drink but with a design to get drunk, has not only, say the missionaries, abated the fervour of their piety, but made them draw nearer to the *English* settlements, amongst whom the deformity of this vice has no such effects. Eight leagues farther is the town called

TOIS RIVIERES, or THREE RIVERS,

in the most charming situation that can be imagined. It is built on a sandy declivity, but the whole extent of barren ground is no more than that which will be just sufficient to contain the place when it grows tolerably large, which is not its case at present. Excepting this single disadvantage, it is surrounded with every thing that can render a city delightful and opulent. A river half a league in breadth runs close under it, beyond that you have the prospect of a most beautiful country, the fields of which are extremely fertile, well cultivated, and crowned with the noblest forests in the universe. A little below, and on the same side of the city, the river *St Lawrence* receives into it a very fine river, divided into three branches, from whence it takes the name of *Trois Rivières*.

Description
of the town.

The city or town of *Trois Rivières*, contains but about seven or eight hundred persons, and has some mines in its neighbourhood, which are capable of enriching it whenever they shall think fit to work them. The situation is what renders it of great importance, and it is one of the noblest establishments in the colony. It has constantly been the seat of a governor from the first planting of *Canada*, who has a thousand crowns salary for himself, besides his household. Here is also a convent of Recollets, a handsome church, where these fathers officiate, and a very fine hospital adjoining to the convent of the *Ursuline* Nuns, in number of forty, whose office it is to attend it. This is another foundation of *de St Valier*, Bishop of *Quebec*, as early as the year 1650. The senechal, or lord steward, of *New France*, whose jurisdiction has since been absorbed by the superior council and intendant of *Quebec*, had formerly a lieutenant at the *Three Rivers*. At present this city has a court of judicary in ordinary, the president of which is a lieutenant general of the king's forces. This city was anciently, that is, in the first beginning of the colony, greatly resorted to for the sake of trade by different *Indian* nations, and particularly the most northern, who used to come down by the *Three Rivers*. The conveniency of the place, joined to its great trade, was what determined several *French* to settle here, and the nearness of *Richelieu* River, then called *Iroquois* River, induced the governor general to build a fort, in which he placed a strong garrison. This post was regarded in those days as one of the most important in all *Canada*. But some time after, the *Indians* growing weary of the continual vexation of the *Iroquois*, from whose ravages the *French* themselves were hardly safe, all the passages being shut up by that nation, who constantly lay in ambush about them, so that the *Canadian Indians* could hardly think themselves secure under the cannon of the fort, left off bringing their furs. The Jesuits, with their profelytes, retired to *Cape Magdalen*, three leagues below ; but, whether by the inconstancy natural to those *Indians*, or through a long series of wars and diseases, which have almost destroyed this infant church, this mission was of no long duration. There is, however, still here a troop of *Algonquins*, baptized in their infancy, but who have nothing more of Christianity about them.

Lake St Peter

Two leagues from *Trois Rivières* begins lake *St Peter*, about three leagues broad, and five long, so that the sight has nothing to confine it on that side, where the beams of the setting sun seem to sink into the water. This lake, which is nothing but the widening of the river *St Lawrence*, receives into it several other rivers that by continual encroachments on the low lands near their mouths help to form this lake, which no where is so deep as the river *St Lawrence*, but in the middle, the other parts being navigable only for canoes, and that with some difficulty. To make amends for this defect, it is full of several sorts of the most excellent fish.

Richelieu Ists

Cross Lake *St Peter*, on the *New England* shore, lies the clinton of *St Francis*. At the Western extremity of the same lake appears a prodigious multitude of islands, called *Richelieu Islands* ; and on the left, as you come from *Quebec*, six others on the coast of a bay, into which discharges itself a very fine river, that takes its rise in the neighbourhood of *New York*. The islands, the river, and all the country which it waters, bear the name of *St Francis*. Each of these islands is a good quarter of a league long,

long, but their breadth is various; those of *Richelieu* are the largest. All of them formerly abounded in deer of several sorts, goats, and otters; great quantities of game, and a vast profusion of fish, both in the river and in the lake near it.

The soil of this canton, if one may judge of it by the trees it bears, and by the little already cultivated, is exceeding good. The inhabitants, however, are far from being rich, and would be reduced to the last degree of indigence, were they not supported in some measure by the trade they carry on with the neighbouring *Indians*.

These are the *Abenakis*, and amongst them some *Algonkins*, *Sokokies*, and *Makingans*, otherwise called *Wolfs*. Their village lies on the banks of the river *St Francis*, about two leagues from its mouth, and in a most delightful situation. The *French* give them the character of being very docile, being all of them Christians, and most affectionate to their nation.

This whole country has been for a long time the theatre of many a bloody scene, as it was the most exposed to the inroads of the enemy, whilst the war with the *Iroquois* lasted. These *Indians* used to come down by the *Iroquois* river that falls into the river *St Lawrence*, a little higher than the lake *St Peter*, on the same side with that of *St Francis*, and for that reason it bore their name; since that the *French* have called it *Sorel*, and now *Richlieu* river. The isles of *Richlieu* served them as fit places to lie in ambush, or for a retreat, but since this way has been shut up by the *French* fort *Sorel*, built at the mouth of the river, they have changed their rout, coming over land above and below it, principally directing their motions to the canton of *St Francis*, where they found the same conveniency of plundering and ravaging the country, and where they have perpetrated the most horrid cruelties.

In this manner they over-ran the whole country, which obliged the inhabitants to build a kind of fort in each parish, to serve for a retreat in case of an alarm. In these forts, which were only so many large enclosures, fenced with palisadoes, with redoubts in proper places, are centinels, who keep watch night and day, and some pieces of small cannon, to give the signal to the inhabitants to be upon their guard, or for assistance in case of an attack. The church and the manor-house were generally in those places of security, the remaining space being to receive the women, children, and cattle. Weak as these fortresses are, they have generally answered the end they were built for, none of them having ever been forced by the *Iroquois*, against whose insults and fury they were intended. These savages have rarely so much as attempted to keep them blockaded, or, if they ever did, as they have no regular method for reducing any place, it has always been without success.

The passage between *Montreal* and *Quebec* is about sixty leagues, and affords, the noblest and most delightful prospect imaginable. In the summer you travel by water in canoes, at which season the weather is fine. It is impossible to express the pleasure that arises from the sight of an infinity of pieces of water and channels, formed by almost innumerable islands, and of the banks of the river on both sides, that are covered with large forests, and, like so many theatrical scenes, are varying every moment. In winter, if the pleasure of the prospect is lessened by that universal whiteness which covers all nature, and hides that beautiful variety of colours that makes the country so enchanting in the fine season, you have some amends made you by the conveniency of travelling in sledges, and in the novelty of seeing this noble river become as firm and passable as the Continent. Towards *Quebec* the soil is very good, but the prospect extremely insipid, and, what is an additional disadvantage, the weather is in these parts very severe; for in proportion as you come down the river, as it runs North, the cold still encreases.

Quebec stands in 46 degrees, 48 minutes, North latitude; the city of *Trois Rivières*, in 46 degrees and 24 minutes, and *Montreal* in 45 degrees, 45 minutes. The river makes a turn towards the South a little above Lake *St Peter*, so that you no sooner pass the islands of *Richlieu*, than you seem transported into another climate: The air becomes milder, the land not so wild and rugged, the river much finer, and its banks much more charming and delightful. From time to time you meet with islands, some of them inhabited, others in that naked simplicity of charms in which nature has left them, and all forming the noblest prospects imaginable.

Iroquois since *Sorel*, now *Richlieu* river.
Isles of *Richlieu*.

Temporary forts.

Delightful in land voyage.

Latitudes of *Quebec*, &c.

MONTREAL; or VILLE MARIE,

is situated on the island of *Montreal*, six leagues and a half in length from East to West, and near three leagues over in the broadest part. The mountain from which it has its name, and on which the city is built, stands at an equal distance from both ends, and about half a league from the banks of the river *St Lawrence* on the South side of the island. The city was called *Ville Marie* by the founders, and that name it still retained in all public acts, and by the lords, or proprietors, who are very jealous in this point. The Superiors of the seminary of *St Sulpicius* are not only proprietors of the city, but of the whole island. Wherefore as the soil here is not only excellent, but all in cultivation, and the city full as populous as *Quebec*, this signiory, or lordship, may very justly be reckoned worth six of the best in *Canada*, and in general the people are very happy under these masters.

City in general described. The city is extremely well built, the streets very well disposed, the situation very commodious, and the prospect exceeding agreeable. The view of the adjacent country is no less pleasing. It had formerly no fortifications, except an enclosure of a single pallisade with bastions of the same nature, kept in very bad order; and a very poor redoubt, which served for an outwork, joined by a gentle declivity to a small square, and was the first object that saluted you as you came from *Quebec*. Before, it was quite defenceless, and equally exposed to the insults of the *English* and *Indians*, till the Chevalier de *Callieres*, brother to one of the plenipotentiaries at the peace of *Ryswick*, enclosed it in this manner whilst he was governor. Since his time, it is said to have been walled in, and made capable of sustaining a regular siege, but I have since learnt, that in 1756 the only appearance of any fortification in this place was a cavalier without a parapet, and about fourteen guns without carriages.

Its fortifications. *Montreal* is an oblong square or quadrangle, and stands on the banks of the river *St Lawrence*. It is divided into the High and Low Towns, tho' the ascent from one to the other is scarce perceivable. The hotel-dieu, or hospital, the king's magazines, and place of arms, are in the Lower Town, and most of the merchants have their houses in this part. In the higher are the seminary, the parochial church, the convents of the Recollets, Jesuits, and the sisters of the congregation, together with the houses of the governor, and most of the officers of the garrison. Beyond a rivulet, which comes from the North West, and bounds the city on that side, is the hospital general, with several private houses. And on the right, beyond the convent of the Recollets, which is situated at the extremity of the city on the same side, begins a kind of suburb, which in time is like to be a very fine quarter.

A more particular description. The Jesuits have but a small convent here; but their church is large and well built. The convent of the Recollets is more spacious, and the community more numerous. The seminary stands in the center of the city; and it appears that those who built it, were more intent on making it solid and commodious, than magnificent. You may, however, perceive something about it, which carries an air of dignity worthy of the lord of the manor: It adjoins to the parochial church, which has more of the grandeur of a cathedral, than that of *Quebec*. The noble air of this temple with the solemnity and modesty of the worship, inspire an awful respect for that deity who is the object of it.

Churches and convents. The house of the daughters of the Congregation, tho' one of the largest in the city, is notwithstanding too small for the community. This is the head of the order, and the noviciate of an institute, which had its birth in *New France*, and is a very noble foundation. The Hotel-Dieu is served by these sisters, the first of whom came from *La Flèche* in *Anjou*. You see nothing of their poverty, which is far from being affected, either in their hall, which is large and well furnished, or in their church, which is very fine and richly ornamented; or in their house, which is well built, neat, and commodious; but they are very indifferently provided for in respect to their table, though they are indefatigable both in the education of the youth of their sex, and in attending the sick.

New nunnery. The Hospital General owes its establishment to one *Charron*, who had associated himself with some persons remarkable for their piety, not only for promoting this work of charity, but also for providing the country parishes with school-masters, who should be to the boys, what the Daughters of the Congregation were, with respect to the youth of their own sex. But this association soon came to nothing, and the *Sieur Charron*



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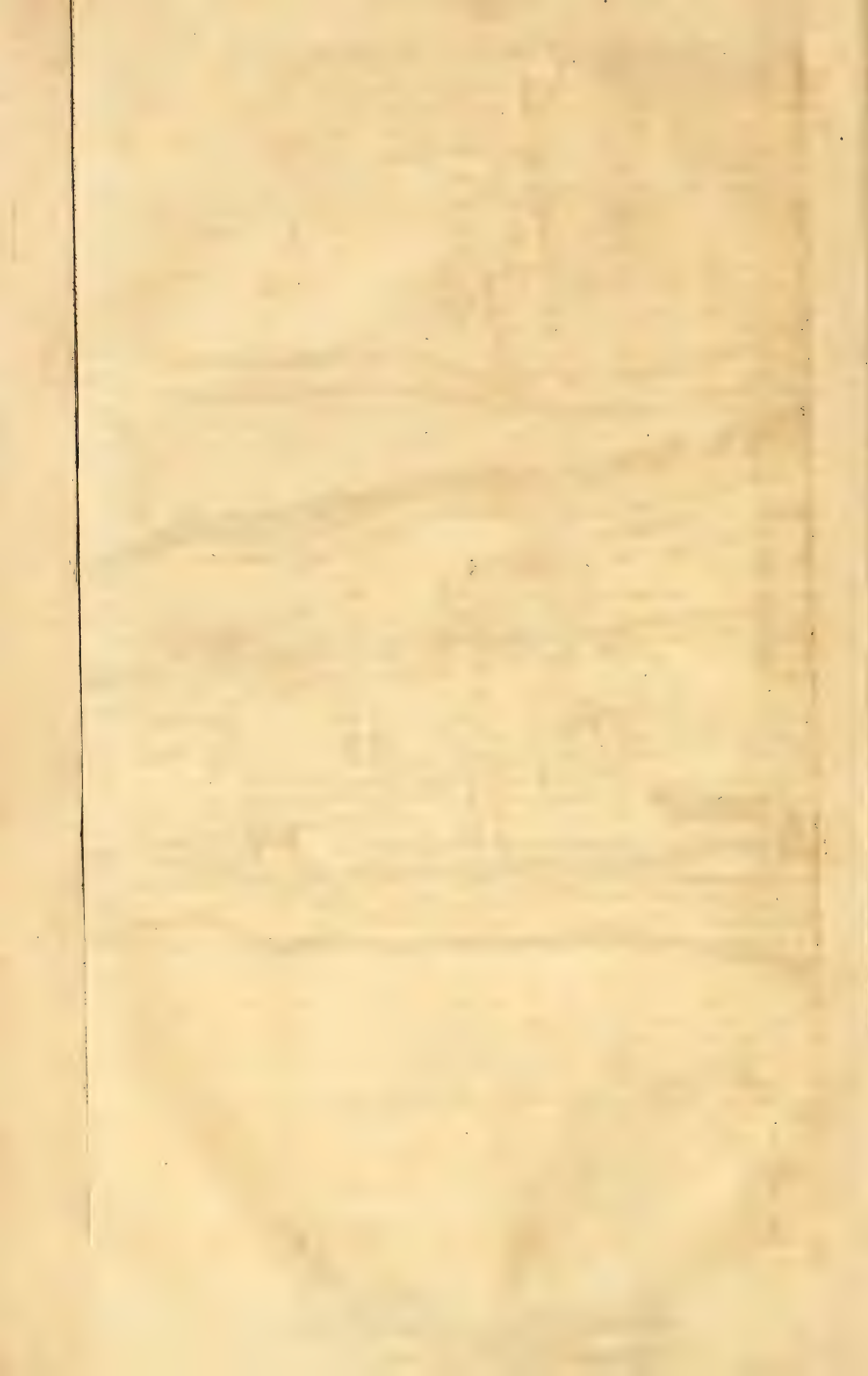
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- A. Dry Dock above City Gate
- B. The Arsenal in the Town of which is only about 1000
- C. The French in the Town of which is only about 1000
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- E. The French in the Town of which is only about 1000



T H E R I V E R
S T L A U R E N C E





was left by himself. This did not, however, discourage him; he expended the remainder of his fortune, and procured the assistance of some powerful persons, and had the pleasure, before he died, to see his project pass all danger of miscarrying, at least with respect to the Hospital General, which is a very fine building, as is its church, which is no way inferior to it.

The great traffic for furs, after the city of *Trois Rivières* ceased to be frequented by the *Indians* of the North and West, was, for some time, carried on at *Montreal*, whither those savages resorted, at certain times, from all parts of *Canada*; so that there was kept a sort of fair, which drew multitudes of *French* to this city. The Governor-general and Intendant honoured it with their presence, and made use of this opportunity to compose any differences that might happen to arise between their allies. The place is still frequented by the *Canadian Indians*, who often come hither in companies, but not by far in such numbers as formerly, the war of the *Iroquois* hindering the great concourse of those nations. In order to remedy this evil, magazines, with forts, have been erected in most parts of the country, with a commandant, and a garrison, strong enough to secure the merchandize. The *Indians* are always fond of a gunsmith, and amongst several of them there are missionaries.

Trade for furs in decay.

In 1688, some chiefs of the Five Nations, sent on an embassy to the *French* governor at *Montreal*, were, through his perfidy, intercepted at one of the falls on *Cadaraqui* River by the *Dinondadies*, their enemies. This outrage and indignity against the rights of ambassadors, animated the confederates to the keenest thirst for revenge; and on the 26th of July they landed 1200 of their men on the South side of the island of *Montreal*, while the *French* were in perfect security; burnt their houses, sacked their plantations, and put to the sword all the men, women, and children without the skirts of the town. One thousand *French* were slain in this invasion, and twenty-six carried off, and burnt alive. Many more were made prisoners in another attack in October following, when the lower part of the island was wholly destroyed. Only three of the confederates were lost in this scene of misery and desolation. Never did *Canada* sustain such a heavy blow, the news of which no sooner reached Fort *Frontenac*, than the garrison abandoned that fort with such precipitation, that one of the battoes, with the soldiers and crew, were all lost in shooting a fall. In this calamity all the *Indians* in alliance with the *French* deserted them, except the two tribes of the *Nepicirinians* and *Kikabous*; the *Outawais* and seven other nations instantly made peace with the *English*, and, but for the uncommon abilities and address of the *Sieur Perrot*, the Western *Indians* would have murdered every *Frenchman* among them. Nor did the distresses of the *Canadians* end there: numerous parties from the Five Nations continually infested their borders, and the frequent depredations they committed, prevented them from cultivating their fields. At the same time, a famine raged throughout all *Canada*; so that nothing but the ignorance of the *Indians* in the art of attacking fortified places saved this country from being entirely ruined. It was therefore fortunate for the *French*, that the *Indians* had no assistance from the *English*, and as unfortunate for us, that our colonies were then incapable of affording succours to the confederates, through the malignant influence of those unnatural measures which were pursued under the reign of King *James II.*

Between the island of *Montreal* and the continent, on the North side, is another island, five leagues in length, and full one league over in the broadest part. This was at first called the Island of *Montmagny*, in honour of a Governor-General of *Canada*, but was afterwards given to the *Jesuits*, who named it the *Isle of Jesus*, which last appellation it still keeps, though it has since fallen into the hands of the directors of the Seminary of *Quebec*.

Isle of Jesus.

The channel which separates the two islands is called *La Rivière des Prairies*, or, the *River of the Meadows*, from the fine meadows which lie on both sides of it. The course of it is a little embarrassed by a rapid or strong current, called the *Fall of the Recollet*, in memory of a Monk of that order drowned in it. The Ecclesiastics of the Seminary of *Montreal* had, for a long time, a mission amongst the *Indians* near this place, which they have since removed.

River of Meadows.

The third arm of the river is so taken up with a number of islands, that there is almost as much land as water. This channel is called the *Thousand Isles*, or *St John's* River. At the extremity of the *Isle of Jesus* is the little island *Bizard*, so called from

Channel of the Thousand Isles.

a former proprietor, who was a *Swiss* officer, and a little higher towards the South, you find the Island *Perrot*, so called from the first governor of *Montreal*, who was of this name. This island is about one league in length, and is very good land. The island *Bizard* terminates the Lake of the Two Mountains, and the island *Perrot* separates the same lake from that of *St Louis*.

The Lake of the two Mountains is properly the opening of the great river, called the River of the *Outawais*, into the River *St Lawrence*, which bounds *Canada* on the South. This Lake is two leagues long, and very near one league and a half in breadth. The lake of *St Louis* is somewhat smaller, and is indeed no more than a widening of the River *St Lawrence*. The soil is excellent all this way.

But the chief defence of *Montreal*, and all the country about it, were two villages of *Iroquois* Christians, and the fort of *Chambly*, an incroachment in the province of *New York*. The first of those villages is that of the *Fall of St Louis*, situated on the continent towards the South, and three leagues above *Montreal*. This village is extremely populous, and has always been reckoned one of the strongest barriers of the *French* against the unconverted *Iroquois*, and the *English* of *New York*. The situation has been twice removed. Its second station, established in 1708, (about a league from the former) is near a rapid current, called the *Fall of St Louis*, which name it still preserves, though it stands at a considerable distance from it. It appears to be now fixed for ever, and the church and convent of the *Jesuits* are, in their kind, two of the finest edifices in all *Canada*. Its situation is quite charming. The river is very broad here, and is interperfed with several islands, the prospect whereof has a very fine effect. The Isle of *Montreal* forms the perspective on one side, the view having nothing to confine it on the other, as the Lake *St Louis*, which begins a little higher, extends itself beyond the sight.

The second village is called the village of the Two Mountains, because it stood for a long time on the double-headed mountain, which has given its name to the whole island. It is since removed to the *Fall of the Recollet*; and it stands at present on the *Terra Firma*, near the Western extremity of the island. The Ecclesiastics of the Seminary of *Montreal* have the government of it. The inhabitants were once famous for their courage and piety, till the avarice of some dealers introduced the trade of spirituous liquors amongst them, which has done as much, if not more, mischief here, than at the missions of *St Francis* and *Begancourt*.

CADARAQUI, or IROQUOIS RIVER,

belonging to the Six Nations, seized by the *French*, and by them called *St Lawrence* River, begins at what they call the *Cascades*, a rift, close by the upper end of the Isle *Perrot*, which separates Lake *St Louis* from that of the two Mountains. In order to shun this rift, you keep a little to the right hand, and are obliged, in a particular place, called *Le Trou*, or the Hole, to let the canoes pass through it empty: They are afterwards hauled on shore, and carried, with all the baggage, on men's shoulders, for about half a quarter of a league higher. This is done with a view to avoid a second rift, called *le Buïsson*, the Bush, which is a fine sheet of water, falling from a flat rock, about half a foot above the level of the water under it. It is possible to save passengers all this trouble and fatigue, by deepening the channel of a river, which falls into another somewhat higher than the cascade; an affair of a very trifling expence.

Above the *Buïsson* the river is a quarter of a league in breadth, and the land on both sides covered with fine woods, and is, besides, extremely fertile. It is long since the grounds on the Northern bank have been begun to be cleared; and it would be no difficult undertaking, to make a high-way from the point near the island of *Montreal*, as far as the bay called *la Galette*. By this means forty leagues of an extremely difficult and tedious navigation, occasioned by the rifts in the river, might be saved.

Three leagues hence, from *le Trou*, is another rift, called the *Cedar Hill Rift*, from the great quantity of cedars formerly growing near this place. A fourth rift, two leagues and a half hence, is called the rift of *St Francis*, from whence to Lake *St Francis* you have only half a league. This lake is seven leagues in length, and almost three in breadth, where broadest. The land on both sides is low, but appears to be of an excellent

excellent foil. The rout from *Montreal* hither lies a little towards the South-West, and the Lake of *St Francis* runs West-south-west, and East-north-east.

From hence you come to the *Chefnaux du lac*, for thus are called those channels formed by a cluster of islands, which take up almost the whole breadth of the river in this place. The foil seems here extraordinary good, and never was prospect more charming than that of the country about it.

The most remarkable falls here are that of the *Moulinet*, which is even frightful to behold, and exceeding difficult to get through; and that called the *Long Fall*, half a league in length, and passable only to canoes half loaded. The next you come to is called the *Flat Rift*, about seven leagues above the *Long Fall*, and five below that called *les Galots*, which is the last of the falls. *La Galette* lies a league farther, and one can never be weary of admiring the extraordinary beauty of the country, and of the noble forests, which overspread all the lands about this bay and *La Galette*, particularly the vast woods of oaks of a prodigious height.

A fort would perhaps be better situated, and much more necessary at *La Galette*, than at *Cadaraqui*, for this reason, that not so much as a single canoe could pass without being seen; whereas at *Cadaraqui*, they may easily sail behind the isles, without being perceived at all. The lands, moreover, about *la Galette* are excellent, whence there would be always plenty of provisions, which would be no small saving. And, besides, a vessel could very well go from *la Galette* to *Niagara* in two days with a fair wind. One motive for building the fort at *Cadaraqui* was, the convenience of trading with the *Iroquois*. But those *Indians* would as willingly come to *la Galette* as to the other place. Their way, indeed, would be much longer, but then it would save them a traverse of eight or nine leagues on the Lake *Ontario*; not to mention, that a fort at *la Galette* would secure all the country lying between the great river of the *Outawais* and the River *St Lawrence*; for this country is inaccessible on the side of the river, on account of the rifts, and nothing is more practicable, than to defend the banks of the great river; at least, these are the sentiments of those sent by the court of *France* to visit all the distant posts of *Canada*.

One league and a half from *La Galette*, on the opposite shore, at the mouth of the *Oswegatchi* River, the *French* have lately built the fort *La Presentation*, which commands that river, and keeps open a communication by land between Lake *Champlain* and this place.

Four leagues above *La Presentation* is the isle called *Tonibata*, about half a league in length, and of a very good foil. An *Iroquois*, called by the *French* writers, for what reason we are not told, the *Quaker*, a man of natural good sense, and much attached to the *French* nation, had, as they say, got the domain of this island of a Count of *Frontenac*, the patent of which, it seems, he was proud of shewing to any body. He sold his lordship for a gallon of brandy, reserving, however, the profits to himself, and taking care to settle eighteen or twenty families of his own nation upon this island.

It is ten leagues from hence to *Cadaraqui*; and, on your way to this place, you pass through a fort of *Archipel**, called the *Thousand Isles*, and there may possibly be about five hundred. From hence to *Cadaraqui* they reckon four leagues. The river here is freer and opener, and its breadth half a league. On the right are three large and deep bays, in the third of which stands

FORT CADARAQUI, or FRONTENAC,

which is one hundred and fifty miles from *Montreal*, and three hundred miles from *Quebec*, was built by Count *Frontenac*, governor of *Canada* in 1672, at the time the crowns of *England* and *France* were united in a treaty to destroy the *Dutch*. At the same time the *French* were in amity with the *Iroquois*, or Five Nations, and the Count prevailed with them to allow him to build a trading house at *Cadaraqui*, and under that pretence he built a fort, to which he gave his own name *Frontenac*. The fort is a square, with four bastions, built of stone, and is about a quarter of a league in circuit.

* *Archipel* is a truncated word for *Archipelago*, the modern appellation of the *Ægeum Mare*, *Ægean sea* of the ancients, separating *Greece* from *Asia*, and full of islands, which property has occasioned a narrow sea, or strait, where

you meet with a cluster of isles, to be called *Archipel*, which is sometimes also, as it is here, applied to the aggregate of islands, its contents.

circuit. The situation of it is in latitude 44, 17, and has something very agreeable; being on a peninsula, near which is a good haven. The banks of the river presents every where a beautiful landscape and of a great variety, as does the entry of the lake *Ontario*, which is at no more than a short league distant.

This place cannot command the entrance of the Lake without a superior fleet, because the river here is interspersed with islands of different sizes, all of them covered with wood, and any vessels may sail by undiscovered. Thus some of the garrison of *Ojswego* in 1755, went in open whale boats into the river *St Lawrence*, and returned without being annoyed by the *French*. The harbour is frozen up at least four months in the year, and is sometimes extremely endangered by ice in the spring. The situation of this place is unhealthy by reason of the marshes that surround it, and the fort is of no security to *Canada*, but is advantageous for the fur trade with those of the Five Nations who live near the lake, and is a very important place in an active war with the *Iroquois*, as being properly situated for assembling forces designed to act against them, and to intercept their hunters as they return from *'Skaniaderade*, by the East end of *Lake Ontario*. The *French* also have, by means of this fort, obliged the Five Nations to retire from their lands on the North West side of the river *Iroquois*, between *Frontenac* and *Montreal*.

The Five Nations in the war with the *French*, in July 1688, when they sacked great part of the isle of *Montreal*, and in October following completed the destruction of the island, except the city, occasioned the *French* garrison at *Frontenac* to destroy the two barks they had on *Lake Ontario*, built by the *M. de la Salle*, and abandon the fort by the governor's order. But in their precipitate flight, the match they had left to blow up the magazine, and one of the bastions, missed its effect. Fifty *Iroquois* entered the fort, where they found twenty eight barrels of powder, and other stores, which they took away, and left the fort a little damaged and empty. It remained in this condition, abandoned both by the *French* and *Indians*, till the re-instituting Count *Frontenac* in the government of *Canada*, in 1689. That winter several young gentlemen and *Indian* traders came from *Quebec*, and extended their incroachments to this place, and repaired some little damages the *Indians* had done, and established themselves in this fort. In 1699 the confederates, or Five Nations, concluded a peace with the Count, and the *French* have ever since kept possession of *Frontenac* and the country from thence to *Montreal*.

Frontenac taken by Col. Bradstreet.

The *French* continued in possession of this place till 1758, when Major General *Abercromby*, commander in chief of the *British* forces in *North America*, detached Lieutenant Colonel *Bradstreet*, with 154 Regulars, 2491 Provincials, 27 of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, 61 Rangers, 300 Batteau men, and 70 *Indians*, in all 3103 men, including officers, and on August 25, he landed his troops within a mile of *Fort Frontenac* without opposition, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war on the 27th.—It was a square fort of 100 yards the exterior side, and had in it 110 men, some women, children, and *Indians*; 60 pieces of cannon (half of which were mounted) 16 mortars, and an immense quantity of provisions and goods, for their Western garrisons, the *Indians*, and to support their armies, valued at 800,000 livres.—Nine vessels from eight to eighteen guns, which was all the *French* had on the *Lake Ontario*, one of which Lieutenant Colonel *Bradstreet* took richly laden, and sent another to *Ojswego*; the seven others, with the provisions, fort, artillery, stores, &c. are burnt and destroyed.

This fort was one of the principal marts the *French* had in *North America* for a trade with the *Indians*, who came from the most remote parts, and took off a great quantity of coarse woollen goods, such as strouds and duffils, with guns, hatchets, knives, hoes, kettles, powder and shot; besides shirts, and cloaths ready made, iron and brass work, and trinket of all sorts, with several other articles, in exchange for all sorts of furs.

Soil.

The soil from *La Galette*, as far as this place, is but indifferent, which quality however belongs only to the lands lying on the banks of the river, for higher up, that is nearer the fort, it is exceeding good.

Use of *Fort Frontenac*.

Behind the fort is a morass, full of all manner of game, which affords plenty of provision and amusement to the garrison. There was formerly a great trade carried on here, chiefly with the *Iroquois*; and the reason for building the fort on this spot was, to draw them to the *French*, to keep them in awe, and to hinder them from carrying

carrying their furs to the *English*. But this traffic did not continue long, and the fort has not been able to prevent those *Indians* from doing that nation abundance of mischief. They have still, however, several families settled without its walls; and there are also some of the *Sissijaguez*, an *Algonquin* nation, which have a village on the Western banks of the Lake Ontario, another at *Niagara*, and a third in the *Narrows*, or *Detroit*.

In the middle of the river is a very pleasant island, called the Island of *Hogs*, from the multitude of those animals bred on it. Two others, named *Cedar Island*, and *Deer Island*, lie a little below this; about half a league's distance from each other. The Bay of *Cadaraqui* is double, occasioned by a Cape very near its middle, and advancing pretty far into the water, under which is very good anchoring for large barks. M. de la Salle, so famous for his discoveries and misfortunes, who was formerly Lord of *Cadaraqui*, and Governor of the fort, built three or four barks here, which have been since sunk, and are still to be seen under water.

Hogs, Cedar, and Deer Isles

The following Account of the Navigation of the River St Lawrence, from Lake Ontario to the Isle of Anticosti, is given by a Gentleman who lately made that Voyage.

FROM *Niaouense* to *Montreal* 65 leagues, navigable only with battoes and canoes. The river from the lake Ontario to *La Galette* is still water. From *La Galette* to the upper end of lake *St Francis*, and from the lower end of lake *St Francis* to the church of the Cedar Hills, are several long rapid rifts, but in moderate weather may be passed through without landing, with good pilots: From the church of the Cedar Hills cross the point *Le Trou*, there is a carrying place of about six or seven miles, in going up they are obliged to half unload their battoes, the rifts being very rapid, and, in time of floods, dangerous. The pilots must be well acquainted with the channels. Below the lake *St Lewis*, about 12 miles above *Montreal*, there is a long, rapid rift, called *St Lewis Fall*, it is several miles long, they keep near the south side, and run in a strait line till they pass the mill, then they must make several short traverses to humour the current and channel. This rift must not be attempted by strangers.

From *Montreal* to *Quebec* 60 leagues, navigable with vessels of forty or fifty tons.

In this passage there are shoals in many places, even the battoes run often a-ground; a pilot is therefore absolutely necessary. The most dangerous are some rocky shoals opposite to the church of *St Anne's* below the *Three Rivers*. The vessels must keep near the south side, after they have passed the church; many of the rocks appear above water in clusters, which at a distance look like flocks of ducks.

From QUEBEC down the river.

At *Quebec* they build seventy gun ships. Common nip tides rise sixteen feet. The first danger is in making the traverse at the lower end of the Isle of *Orleans*, which must not be attempted without a fair gale, enough of day light, and a good pilot. The next danger is at the *Whirlpool*, between the island of *Coudres* and the Continent, where the tide of flood throws the ships ashore on the south side, and the tide of ebb upon the north side, so that the passing of it must not be attempted without a fair leading gale, strong enough to stem the tide. When they get below this place the pilots are dismissed, and when they pass *Green island*, they keep within a few leagues of the south shore, until they make the island of *Anticosti*.

The following Course of a Cartel Ship from QUEBEC through the Traverses is by another Hand.

1756, October 4th, at nine A. M. half ebb weighed and steered about N.E. till a hommock on the south shore appeared in one with the west end of *Isle Madam*, then steering southward of the E. for the highest of a parcel of rocks, till we had made the middle of *Isle aux Rots*, and the west end of *Isle Madam* in one with the low end of the high land to the S.W. at this time haled up N.S. for a barren high hill in the north shore, at *Cape Torment*, steered thus till we brought the N.E. end of *Orleans* in one

with the main high land, to the N. of the back of *Orleans*, then sailed down the river at about the distance of a mile from the N. shore. N. B. 3 fathoms low water in the traverse, and rises at 4 P. M.

The River SAGUENAY

is navigable for twenty-five leagues from *Tadoussac*, where it falls into the River *St Lawrence*. It issues from a lake called by the *Indians*, *Piekouagami*, and by the *French*

Lake *St Jean*
Mistassini,
Abenel, and
Dauphin lakes

of which are three great lakes, called the Lake of *Mistassins*, the Lake of *Pere Albanel*, and Lake *Dauphin*. These three great lakes are situated in the country belonging to *Hudson's Bay*, and communicate with each other, and discharge themselves into that Bay by *Rupert River*.

French Mis-
sions,

The *French* have several missions on the banks of these lakes, as well as of Lake *St Jean* and *Saguenay*. The mission called *Checutimi* lies midway between *Tadoussac* and Lake *St Jean*; and at that called *Metabetchouan*, on the banks of Lake *St Jean*, they have also a settlement.

And settle-
ment.

Indian nations
in the French
interest.

All the country to the North and North-East is full of lakes and rivers, and inhabited by different nations of *Indians*, the chief of which are the *Checutimiens*, the *Piekouagamiens*, the *Nekouanistes*, the *Great* and the *Little Mistassins*, the *Papinacbois*, and several others, all in the *French* interest.

The River OUTAWAIS.

rises in latitude $48^{\circ} 30'$, and after running South about thirty miles, falls into the Lake *Timiscaming*, from whence it continues its course in the same direction to latitude 46, where it receives a river that has its source near Lake *Nipissing*, called by *D'Anville*, *Nipi-Sirinis*, or the *Sorcerer's Lake*. From this place the *Outawais* falls with an Eastern course into the Lake of the *Two Mountains*, formed by the River *St Lawrence*, opposite to the island of *Montreal*.

Nipissing lake

Southern
Bounds of Ca-
nada.

The River *Outawais*, with the river we just now mentioned as falling into it, and some others running from Lake *Nipissing* into Lake *Huron*, are to be considered as the Southern boundaries of *Canada*, since the Five Nations lay claim to all the country Southward. Hence the *French* were formerly obliged to take this way to Lake *Huron*, though the navigation is very troublesome, on account of the many rifts and portages, or carrying-places, till, after their incroachments on the *British* territories, they found means, by erecting forts at the principal passes, to secure the navigation of the River *Iroquois*, and the Lakes *Ontario* and *Erie*.

The Lake SUPERIOR.

Extent of
Lake Superior

is the most considerable of the four large lakes which more immediately communicate with each other and the River *St Lawrence*. It is generally allowed to be at least 80 leagues long, (*Charlevoix* makes it 200) and from 30 to 40, and even 50 broad; a circumstance which renders the navigation of it extremely dangerous in boisterous weather. There are, however, a number of little harbours on its coasts, in which vessels may find shelter.

Its Islands.

This lake abounds with a multitude of islands, some of which are seven or eight leagues long, and three or four broad. The most considerable are those called by the *French*, *Isle Royale*; *Isle Pheipeaux*, formerly *Isle Minong*; *Isle Pontchartrain*; *Isle Maurepas*; *Isle Hocquart*; and *Isle Sainte Anne*.

Rivers.

A number of rivers, some of which are very considerable, discharge themselves into this lake. One of these which falls into it, near the middle of its northern shore, rises about 25 or 30 leagues North of Lake *Superior*, from a lake called *Alimipegou*, near which are the sources of a river that falls into *Hudson's Bay*. Another river that falls into Lake *Superior* near the last mentioned, is called, in the *French* maps, *Natouagan*, and communicates, if we may believe the inhabitants, by a chain of rivers and smaller lakes, with a considerable lake called Lake *Bourbon*, which is made to communicate, in like manner, by *Port Nelson River*, called by the *French* *Bourbon River*, with *Hudson's Bay* to the North-East. The *French* likewise suppose that it communicates Westward with the great sea, commonly called the *South Sea* or *Pacific Ocean*.

Natouagan
River.

At the mouth of *Les Trois Rivières*, or the Three Rivers, is a little *French* fort, called *Camanistigouia*; and twenty-five leagues to the West of the said fort the land begins to slope, and the river to run towards the West. Fort Camanistigouia.

At ninety-five leagues from this greatest height lies the second establishment of the *French* that way, called Fort *St Pierre*, in the Lake *des Pluies*. The third is Fort *St Charles*, eighty leagues farther on the Lake *des Bois*. The fourth is Fort *Maurepas*, a hundred leagues distant from the last, near the head of the Lake of *Ouinipigon*. Fort *la Reine*, which is the fifth, lies a hundred leagues farther on the river of the *Affiniboels*.* Another fort had been built on the river *Rouge*, but was deserted on account of its vicinity to the two last. The sixth, Fort *Dauphin*, stands on the West side of *Lac des Prairies*, or of the Meadows. And the seventh, which is called Fort *Bourbon*, stands on the shore of the great Lake *Bourbon*. The chain ends with Fort *Poiskoyac*, at the bottom of a river of that name, which falls into Lake *Bourbon*. The river *Poiskoyac* is made by *Delisse* and *Buache* to rise within twenty-five leagues of their West sea, which, they say, communicates with the *Pacific Ocean*. All these forts are under the governor of *Canada*. Fort St Pierre
F. St Charles.
Fort Maurepas
Fort la Reine.
Fort Dauphin
Fort Bourbon.
Fort Poiskoyac

On the Southern coast of Lake *Superior*, which extends almost due East and West, are the *Isles de St Michel*, and the Bay of *Chagouamigon*, at the bottom of which was formerly a small *Indian* town, where a missionary and some other *French* came to settle in 1661, by means of which this place, at first scarce worth notice, soon became very remarkable. The *Outagami*, *Saki*, *Outawai*, *Huron*, and *Illinois Indians*, resorted thither so early as 1668, for the sake of trade, and many of them settled there; and the traffic is still pretty considerable. This settlement was called *La Mission du St Esprit*, or the *Mission of the Holy Ghost*. Isles de Saint Michel.
French settlements.
Du St Esprit.

Twenty-five leagues to the East is a Peninsula that stretches a considerable way into the Lake, and terminates in a point called the Point of *Kioanan*. This peninsula forms a bay of the same name with the point, at the mouth of which lie a groupe of islands, called by the *French*, *Isles de St François Xavier*. Point and Bay Kioanan.
Isles de St François Xavier.

Lake *Superior* is very streight, full of sands, and extremely dangerous, if you should be taken short with the North wind. The North side, therefore, is the best and most convenient course, being lined with rocks from one end to the other, which form harbours, that afford very safe shelter. These harbours are extremely necessary to those who sail in canoes through this lake, in which they have remarked the following singular phenomenon. Navigation of Lake Superior

When a storm is brooding, they are advertised of it two days before. At first they perceive a gentle murmuring on the surface of the water, which lasts the whole day without any sensible increase. On the morrow after, the lake is entirely covered with pretty broad waves, which remain all day long without breaking; so that you may safely continue your voyage, and, if the wind be favourable, make good way; but on the third day, and before you are the least aware of it, the lake is all on fire. The ocean in its greatest fury does not exceed the agitation of its waters; so that, if you are not near some place of safety, shipwreck is unavoidable. This you are always sure to find on the North side, whereas on the opposite shore you are obliged to make to land as fast as possible on the second day, and take up your quarters at a considerable distance from the water side. Prognostics of its tempestuous state.

In the channel through which this lake discharges itself into that of the *Hurons*, you meet with a rift, caused by very large rocks, or islands, which the missionaries, who have a very flourishing church and congregation near it, have called the *Fall of St Mary*. There is likewise a *French* fort here, and several *French* inhabitants. St Mary Rift

On some parts of the coast, and in some of its islands, are found great lumps of copper, and the inhabitants say there was formerly a large rock of the same metal, which rose considerably above the surface of the water. This rock now disappears, and has probably been covered with sand or mud by the waves of the lake. It is absolutely certain, that pretty large lumps of it have been found in several places, without digging very deep for it, and often almost without any alloy. A rock of copper.

Michilimakinac is properly the name of a small island, almost round, and very high, situated to the West of the abovementioned channel, at the extremity of Lake *Huron*, which name custom has extended to all the country round it. This island seems about three or four miles in circumference, and is seen at

* These distances of the forts are taken from *Remarques sur la Carte de L'Amérique*, par M. Belin, published at Paris, 1755.

the distance of twelve leagues. There are two other islands South of it, the farthest of which is five or six leagues in length; the other is very small and quite round. Both of them are extremely well wooded, and the soil excellent; whereas *Michilimakinac* is quite rocky and barren, without the least verdure, except moss, and some straggling blades of grass. It is, however, one of the most celebrated places in all *Canada*, and has been, according to a very ancient tradition among the *Indians*, the chief seat of a nation of the same name, of whom they reckoned to the number of thirty colonies, or settlements, on the adjacent continent. They have been destroyed, as it is pretended, by the *Iroquois*; but we have no account when or where this event happened. Some of the missionaries assure us, that they had seen vestiges of this capital, though *Charlevoix* says, that none of them were remaining in his time.

Michilimakinac, a famous island.

Settlement of Fort Ignatius.

In 1671, Father *Marquette* made a settlement on this island with a nation of *Hurons*, whom he induced to follow him. A fort was built here, and it became an important post; but it fell to ruin by degrees, and the mission of *St Ignatius* has been since formed, and a fort built on the adjacent continent.

Convenience of *Michilimakinac*.

The situation of *Michilimakinac* is admirable, with respect to the convenience of trading. This port lies between three great lakes; Lake *Michigan*, which is three hundred leagues in circumference, without reckoning the great bay that falls into it; Lake *Huron*, which is three hundred and fifty leagues round, and in form of a triangle; and Lake *Superior*, which is no less than five hundred in circuit; all of them navigable for the largest barks, and the two first separated only by a small strait, deep enough for vessels of the largest draught of water, which may also fail over all Lake *Erie* without the least difficulty, as far as the famous cataract of *Niagara*. It is true, the channel which joins Lake *Huron* to Lake *Superior* is much embarrassed with rifts, which, however, do not hinder canoes from arriving at *Michilimakinac*, laden with every thing that the country about Lake *Superior* affords.

Fish in plenty and variety.

The chief nourishment of the *Michilimakinacs* was fish, there being no place in the world where they are in greater abundance and variety, such as herring, carp, gillthead, pike, sturgeon, *aflicamegue*, or white fish, and especially trouts, all in the greatest plenty, both in the three lakes and the rivers which fall into them.

The sight of the circumjacent country presents us with no idea of its fruitfulness; but there is no need to go a great way from the shore to find land capable of bearing almost any kind of vegetable. The *Outaouais*, who have retired hither, sow corn here; a custom which they have learnt of the *Hurons*. The *Amikoués* formerly occupied these islands, which nation has been reduced to a small number of families, who have removed to the island *Manitoualan*, in the Northern parts of Lake *Huron*.

NATURAL HISTORY of CANADA.

WITH respect to this article, the reader is not to expect a minute detail of particulars, which are often very little interesting in themselves, and generally capable of affording but a very slender entertainment; all that is here intended being only to give a short sketch of such parts of the produce as are peculiar or of most consequence to this colony.

Of the produce of *Canada*.

The Cod fish.

We will begin with the catching and curing of the Cod-fish, for which the island of *Cape Breton*, and some parts of *Canada* lie so very convenient. Every one knows the excellency of this fish, when fresh; and it is scarce inferior when it has lain two days in salt: its flesh even acquires a firmness, which is far from being disadvantageous to it. But it is the fishermen only who enjoy the pleasure of regaling themselves with what is most delicious belonging to it, that is, the head, tongue, and liver, which, steeped in oil and vinegar, with a little pepper, makes a most excellent dish. But as it would occasion too great a consumption of salt, to preserve all those parts, they are generally thrown into the sea, at least, all that they cannot make use of while the fishing season lasts.

The larger cod.

The largest sort of Cod are about three feet in length, and are met with on the great Bank of *Newfoundland*. There is perhaps no fish that has a larger throat in proportion to the rest of its body, or that is more voracious; all sorts of substances having been found in its belly, such as pieces of broken earthen ware, iron, and

and glafs. It has been currently believed, that it could digeft fuch trash ; but the world is now cured of that miftake, which had no other foundation, but only that thofe pieces of iron were fometimes half worn away. The general opinion now is, that the cod has the faculty of turning what the *French* fifhermen call *le Gau*, that is, the *ftomach*, infide out, like a pocket, and by this means difcharges itfelf of whatever is difagreeable or burthenfome to it.

A remarkable property.

What is called in *Holland* the *Cabeliau*, is a fort of cod caught in the Channel, and in fome other places, which differs from that of *North America* in fize only, being much lefs than this latter. They are contented with faling that of the Great Bank, which is then called white or more commonly green cod.

The leffer cod

Monfieur *Denys*, a *French* Gentleman, fays, that excellent falt has formerly been made in *Canada*, even as good as that of *Brouage* ; but that after the experiment had been made, the falt-pits dug for that purpofe had been filled up, to the great prejudice and difcredit of the colony.

Salt produced in Canada.

The dried cod, or what the *French* call *la Merluce*, can only be cured on the coasts, and that with very great care, and after a long experience. But what may appear fingular enough is, that though this fifh abounds on all the coasts of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, there is hardly any *Frenchman*, who has attempted this fifhery, that has not been ruined by it.

Dried cod expenfive.

The reason given for this is, that, in order to draw any advantage from it, the perfon who undertakes it muft abfolutely refide in the country. For, as this fifhery can only be exercifed from the beginning of *May* to the end of *Auguft*, if failors were brought from *France*, either they muft be paid for the whole year, in which cafe the expence will eat up the profit, or only for the fifhing feafon, on which fuppofition they are fure to be lofers, fince the only employment they can afterwards have in the country is fawing or felling of timber, which is not fufficient to maintain them ; fo that either the workmen muft ftarve, or the undertaker fail.

The reason.

On the contrary, when the undertaker refides in the country, he is fure to be better ferved, and it will then be, his own fault entirely if he grows not rich. By this means he will have it in his power to fecure the beft hands, to feize the right times for fifhing, to felect the proper places, and to find the fifhermen employment about his own habitation for the reft of the year. Some *French* writers were of opinion, and perhaps very juftly, that had the people of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, employed themfelves in this manner, for the laft hundred and fifty years, this province would have been one of the moft powerful colonies in *North America* ; and that whilft the people in *France* were difcrediting this province with all their might, as entirely ufelefs, and abfolutely good for nothing, the inhabitants of *New England*, though deftitute of many advantages which the firft enjoyed, were raifing fortunes out of this fifhery.

Conftant refidence neceffary.

Befides the cod, there are many other forts of fifh in the parts adjacent to the *Gulf of St Lawrence*, and on the banks of *Newfoundland*, fuch as whales, blowers, fword-fifh, porpoifes, flettans, with many others of inferior worth. Nothing can be more diverting than the fight between the whale and the fword-fifh. This latter is of the fize of an heifer, from feven to eight feet long, tapering all the way toward the tail. It takes its name from the weapon with which nature has armed it, being a fort of fword, about three feet in length, and four fingers broad. This proceeds from its fnout, on each fide of which is a row of teeth about an inch long, and fet at equal diftances. This fifh is excellent eating, and will do with almoft any fauce. The head is more delicious as well as thicker and fquarer than a calf's head. Its eyes are of an extraordinary bignefs.

Sword-fifh defcribed.

The whale and fword-fifh never meet without a battle, and this latter is believed to be constantly the aggreffor. Sometimes two fword-fifhes join their forces againft one whale, in which cafe the parties are by no means equal. The whale has no arms either for attack or defence, but his tail, and before he can affail his enemy, he is forced to dive with his head foremoft into the fea, when, if he is fortunate enough in his aim, he is fure to difpatch his adverfary at one blow. The other is no lefs dexterous in fhunning the ftroke, and infantly making at the whale, plunges his weapon in his back. The wound commonly goes no farther than the fat, or blubber, in which cafe the injury is but flight. The moment the whale fees his foe lance at him, he dives to the bottom ; but the other purfues him thither, and obliges him to come up to the

Fight between the whale and the fword-fifh.

surface. The fight begins again, and continues till the sword-fish has lost sight of his adversary, who is much the better swimmer on the surface of the water.

Flettan described.

The Flettan resembles a large plaice, and what is called Flet, is probably the diminutive of the other. It is grey on the back, but of a whitish colour under the belly. Its length is commonly from four to five feet, its breadth at least two feet, and its thickness one. The head is very large, and every part of it extremely tender and delicious eating. The juice extracted from its bones exceeds the finest marrow. Its eyes are nearly as large as those of the sword-fish, and the extremities of the two sides, which the *French* call the *relingues*, and which I am not well enough versed in cookery to translate, are deemed exquisite morsels. The whole body is generally thrown into the sea to feed the cod, to which the Flettan is the most dangerous enemy, and commonly makes but one meal of three cods.

Other fishes yielding profit

The remaining fishes, worthy the notice of the curious in this province, are the sea-wolf, the sea-cow, and the porpoise, which, with those already mentioned, are capable of becoming the object of a very lucrative commerce in the gulph of *St Laurence*, and even for a considerable way up the river of that name.

The sea-wolf

The Sea-wolf owes its name to its cry, which is a sort of howling; for as to its shape it by no means resembles that of a wolf, nor of any known land animal whatsoever. *Lescharbot* says, he has heard those creatures cry like the mewing of a cat; but what he speaks of must in all probability be the cry of the young ones, whose voice was not yet come to its full pitch and strength of tone, which these animals have when mature. We need not, however, make any scruple to class this creature with fishes, though it differs from that genus in that it is not dumb, is brought forth at land, on which it lives, at least as much as in the water, is covered with hair, and, in short, that it is in every respect an animal truly amphibious. As it would be a vain piece of singularity and perverseness to oppose the received notions and ways of speaking, the war carried on against this creature, though it be as commonly on land as in water, the weapons in use being clubs or bludgeons, is known in this part of the world by the name of fishing, whilst that carried on against the beavers, tho' in the water, and with nets, is called hunting.

Described.

The head of the sea-wolf somewhat resembles that of a dog; it has four very short legs, especially those behind, and is in all other respects a fish. It rather crawls than walks upon its feet; the fore feet are armed with claws or nails, those behind are made like fins; its skin is hard, and covered with short hair of different colours. There are some of those animals entirely white, and all of them are so when young; some become black and others red as they grow older, whilst others again are of all those colours together.

Several species.

The fishermen distinguish several species of sea-wolves; the largest weigh two thousand pounds, and this sort is said to have much sharper noses than the rest; some of them are called by the *French* sailors *brassours*. A second species is distinguished by the name of *Nau*, the reason and etymology of which are equally unknown. A third has the appellation of *Great-heads*. The young ones are very alert, and extremely dextrous in cutting the nets that are spread for them; they are spotted, full of play, and beautiful, at least, for animals of their shape. The *Indians* accustom them to follow their footsteps like dogs, tho' they eat them without scruple or regard to their fondness.

Two of Nova Scotia, first species.

There are two sorts of sea-wolves on the coasts of *Nova Scotia*, and the young of one of these species are as big as hogs of the largest size. This fishery is carried on in the month of *February*, before the young, which are the chief object of it, have been much used to take the water. The old ones fly at the first attack, making a great noise, as a signal for the young to follow them, which they do with great speed, unless prevented by the fishermen, who kill them by a slight blow on the snout. The number of those animals must needs be vastly great, since, as some *French* authors relate, eight hundred of their young have been killed in one day.

Second species.

The second sort are very small, one of them producing no more oil than its bladder will contain. They never venture far from the shore, and have always a sentinel standing watch. At the first signal he gives, the whole body rushes into the sea, and sometime after they return, raising themselves on their hind legs, to see whether the coast be clear. There are, however, great numbers of them taken, tho' it be only practicable while they are on shore.

The

The flesh of this animal is excellent food, but their oil turns to much better account, and is obtained, by a very easy process, that is boiling the flesh, which dissolves over the fire. And oftentimes no more is required than the use of what they call *charniers*, or large square of boards, on which is spread the fat of a number of sea-wolves : It melts of itself, and the oil discharges itself through an opening made in the frame of boards for the purpose. This oil, when new and fresh, is very good for culinary uses, but that of the young ones grows very soon rank, and the other sort, if kept the least while, becomes too thin, and in that case is used for burning, or for curriers work. It preserves its clearness a long time, has no smell, and leaves no impurities in the bottom of the barrel.

Oil of the sea-wolf.

In the infancy of the colony, the *French* made use of the skins of the sea-wolves, for muffs; since that they are out of fashion; the skins are chiefly employed to cover trunks and cloak bags; when tanned, they have a grain much like *Morocco* or *Turky* leather. They are not indeed so fine, but are less apt to crack, and they preserve their freshness much longer. Very good shoes are made of them, and a sort of boots impenetrable to the water, not to mention various other uses. They are tanned in *Canada* with the bark of the spruce fir, and to dye them black, they use the powder of certain stones found on the banks of rivers, called thunder stones, being a mineral mar-

Use of the skin

Thunder stones.

Sea-wolves couple, and the females bring forth their young upon the rocks; they have commonly two at a time, and tho' they sometimes suckle them under water, yet they more generally do it at land. To teach them to swim, they take them upon their shoulders, leave them in the water for a short time, then take them up again, continuing this exercise, till they are capable of swimming alone; a very singular property in an aquatic animal, since terrestrial animals have generally no need of this institution, most of them being naturally swimmers.

Singular phenomenon of sea-wolves.

The sea-wolf has very acute senses, and tho' this is the only thing with which nature has furnished these animals for their defence, they are however very often surprized, in the manner we have already mentioned, tho' the most common way is described as follows: It is usual with those creatures to come with the tide into creeks of the rivers. When the fishers have discovered any of those creeks where considerable numbers used to haunt, they enclose them with nets and piles, leaving only a small opening for the sea-wolves to enter. This opening is shut up at high water, so that at ebb they are left dry, and there is no further trouble but to knock them on the head. They also give chase to them in the water, in canoes, when the moment they lift their heads above water, they fire at them. If they happen only to wound them, they are however easily taken; but if they are killed dead, they sink to the bottom like the beaver. The fishers have large dogs, that fetch them up in seven or eight fathom water. *Charlevoix* tells a circumstance, which however he vouches not for fact, and indeed the story carries not too many marks of probability; that a sailor having one day surprized a prodigious number of those animals, drove them all home before him with a switch, like a herd of cows, and that he and his companions killed nine hundred of them.

Way of taking them.

Strange story.

The Sea-cow is another marine animal taken by the *French* fishermen on the coast of the gulph of *St Lawrence*, but in small numbers, and I am not certain whether they are to be seen elsewhere. The *English* are said formerly to have had a fishery of this sort at the island *Sable*; but this establishment was attended, in all probability, with very little profit to the undertakers.

The sea-cow.

This animal, in shape, differs very little from the sea-wolf, but is somewhat larger. It is provided with a very singular sort of weapon, which is, two teeth, thick and long as a man's arm, a little bent upwards, and at a distance appearing like horns, from whence it is likely they have obtained the name of sea-cows. The *French* sailors know them by the simple appellation of the fish with the long teeth. This tooth is, however, a most beautiful ivory, as well as all those in the jaws of this fish, which are four fingers in length.

Described.

There are also Porpoises in the river *St Lawrence*, and those of two colours. Those in the salt water part of the river, which reaches almost as high as the Isle of *Orleans*, differ very little from such as are found in the sea: In the fresh water part, on the contrary, they are entirely white, and of the size of an ordinary cow. The first appear generally in flocks or shoals; whether the same may be said of the white sort is not certain.

Porpoises of two kinds.

tain. There are none of them to be seen above *Quebec*, but great numbers of both kinds on the coasts of *Nova Scotia*; so that the difference of their colour is not owing to the salt or fresh water in which they live, and therefore they must be two different species.

Grey porpoises eaten.

One white porpoise yields a hoghead of oil, of much the same quality as that extracted from the sea-wolf. The flesh of this animal is not eaten, but that of the species called *pourcelles*, or the grey porpoise, is reckoned tolerable food. They make puddings and sausages of the guts; the harlet is said to be excellent fricasee, and the head, tho' inferior to a calf's, is however, esteemed beyond that of a sheep.

Use of the skins.

The skins of both sorts are tanned, and dressed like *Morocco* leather. At first it seems tender like hogs lard, and is about an inch thick. They continue shaving it down till it becomes transparent and very thin, tho' it still retains a vast strength, as when used in waistcoats or breeches, and some affirm it musket-proof. There are many of them eighteen feet in length, and nine broad, and nothing is fitter, they say, for covering the tops of coaches.

Porpoise fisheries.

The *French* have two porpoise fisheries below *Quebec*; one in the bay of *St Paul*, the other seven or eight leagues lower, near a plantation called *Camourasca*, from certain rocks rising considerably above water. The expence of this fishery is but moderate, and the profits would amount to a considerable sum, were it not for the instinct or caprice of those animals, which often breaks the measures of the fishermen, by taking a road very different from the accustomed, or where the fishers expect them to come.

Two inconveniences.

This fishery is moreover attended with two inconveniences: The first is that it enriches none but the undertakers; and in the second place, it has considerably diminished that of eels, which used to be a very great resource for the poorer sort of inhabitants of this capital. For the porpoises being disturbed below *Quebec*, have retired elsewhere; and the eels finding the passage clear of those large fishes, descend the river without any obstacle; from whence it is, that between *Quebec* and the *Trois Rivières*, where they formerly took large quantities, there are now scarce any to be found.

Manner of taking porpoises.

The manner of taking porpoises is little different from that of the sea-wolf. When the tide is low, they fix piles or stakes in the mud or sand, at moderate intervals, to which they tie threads in the nature of toils, the opening of which is considerably large, in such manner, as that the fish once entered cannot retreat. They take care to garnish the tops of the stakes with green boughs. When the tide flows, these fishes pursuing the herring shoals, which constantly make to the shore, and attracted by the sight of the verdure or boughs, with which they are highly delighted, find themselves entangled in the net. As the tide goes out, the fishers have the entertainment of viewing their confusion, and useless efforts to make their escape. In the end they are left dry, and often heaped one over another, so that two or three have been killed with the same blow. It has been asserted, that some of the white sort have weighed three thousand pounds.

Whale fishery unprofitable.

Every one knows the manner in which the whale is caught, for which reason I shall say nothing of it here. They tell us, that the *Basques*, who formerly carried on this fishery in the river *St Laurence*, quitted it for the fur trade, which was capable of being managed at a much less expence, with infinitely less fatigue, and with much quicker and abundantly larger profits, at least at that time. And besides it must be acknowledged they wanted many conveniences for this trade, which might now be had, by means of some settlements pretty far down along the coasts of the gulf. With this view some attempts have been since made to restore this branch of commerce, but without success; the undertakers either wanting the necessary funds for carrying it on, or not having perseverance or patience to wait the proper time for the return of their disbursements. It appears, however, that this fishery might become a very considerable article in the trade of this colony, as it may be carried on with much less hazard and expence than on the coasts of *Greenland*; and might even become a settled and, in some measure, a domestic branch of commerce, according to the proposal of *M. Denys*, a *French* gentleman, who has wrote on this subject.

Variety of fish in the river.

The other fishes taken in the salt water part of the river *St Laurence*, or from *Cape Tourment* to the gulf, and which are capable of adding to the wealth, convenience, and commerce of this colony, as well as of the mother country, are the salmon, tunny, shad, trouts, lampreys, smelts, sea-eel, mackerel, soles, herrings, anchovies, pilchards, turbot,

turbots, and almost every fish found in any part of the ocean, and among those many altogether unknown in *Europe*; all these are caught with dragging or with nets. In the gulf are scates; thornbacks; and those of three sorts, the common, the curled, of a better taste than those in *France*, and that called the Post, not much valued; lencornets, a kind of cuttle fish; the haddock, or *St Peter's* fish; plaice; requiems; sea-dogs, a species of the requiems, less mischievous in their lifetime, and much preferable when dead; and plenty of oysters during the winter season, especially on the coasts of *Nova Scotia*; the manner of fishing for which is singular enough. A hole is made in the ice, thro' which they put two poles tied together so as to clap like pincers; these are seldom brought up without oysters.

Oysters how taken.

The Lencornet is a species of cuttle-fish, tho' very different in shape from the common cuttle. It is quite round, or rather oval; a little above the tail is a sort of border, or ledge, which serves him for a buckler; and its head is surrounded with whippers, which he makes use of to catch other fishes. There are two sorts of them, differing only in magnitude, one as large as a hoghead, the other not above a foot in length; the latter are the only sort taken, and are caught with a torch. They are very fond of a light, which being shewn them from the shore, they make towards it, and run themselves aground. The lencornet, whether boiled, roasted, or fried, is very good eating, but it makes the sauce quite black.

Lencornet how caught.

The Haddock resembles a small cod, has much the same taste, and is dried in the same manner. It has two black spots, one on each side the head, and the fishermen say this is the fish in which *St Peter* found the piece of money to pay the emperor's tribute for himself and our Lord, and that these spots are the places by which the Apostle held it. Hence it has been called *St Peter's fish*.

Haddock described.

The sea plaice has much firmer flesh, and a better taste, than those taken in rivers. It is caught, as well as the hounarts, or lobsters, by means of long poles, armed at the point with a sharp iron, and barbed to hinder the fish from disengaging itself.

Plaice and lobsters, how caught.

In several places, especially towards *Nova Scotia*, the pools are full of salmon trouts, a foot in length, and of turtles, or tortoises, two feet in diameter, the flesh of which is excellent, and the upper scale striped with white, red, and blue.

Salmon trout, turtles.

Amongst the fishes that abound in *Lake Champlain*, and the rivers that fall into it, *Champlain* mentions one of a very singular sort which he calls *Chaoufarou*, probably the name given it by the *Indians*. It is a particular kind of armed fish, found in several other parts, pretty much of the form of a spit, and covered with a scale impenetrable to a dagger. Its colour is a silver grey, and there projects from under the throat a bony substance, flat, indented, hollow, and perforated at the end; whence it is reasonable to think, that it breathes this way. This bone is covered with a tender skin, and its length is in proportion to the fish, of which this makes one third part. The *Indians* assured *Champlain*, that they had seen of those fishes from eight to ten feet long; but the largest he saw did not exceed five, and were about as thick as a man's thigh.

Chaoufarou a singular fish.

This animal is a true pirate amongst other fishes, but, what is very surprizing, he is also an enemy to the birds, which, like an expert fowler, he catches in this manner: He conceals himself among the reeds, so that nothing can be discovered but his weapon, rising perpendicularly above the surface of the water. The birds that light near him take it for a stick, or withered reed, and perch upon it without the least apprehension of what is concealed beneath. That moment the foe in ambush opens his mouth, and seizes his prey with all the rapidity imaginable. The teeth on both sides of this bone are pretty long, and very sharp, and, as the *Indians* pretend, are a sovereign remedy for the head-ach, and that by pricking the part most affected, the pain is immediately dissipated.

His way of catching birds

The sturgeon here is both a fresh and a salt-water fish, being taken both in the lakes and on the coasts of *Canada*. There are of these fishes from eight to ten, and even twelve feet long, and thick in proportion. I omit to describe this fish, which is well known in *Europe*. The *Indians* catch them in this manner: Two men stand, one at each end of a canoe; he at the stern steers, whilst the other at the head stands ready with a dart tied to a cord, the other end of which is made fast to the boat. As soon as he perceives the sturgeon, he darts it at him, endeavouring as much as he can to direct

Sturgeon how caught.

it contrary to the inclination of the scales. The moment he perceives himself wounded, he scuds away with all his speed, dragging the boat after him with an amazing rapidity. After running about two hundred paces in this manner, he generally dies, and is taken.

Fish in vast
plenty and
variety.

In a word, that I may make an end of this article, the river *St Laurence* breeds several fishes entirely unknown in *France*; the most esteemed of these are the Achigan and Gilthead. The other rivers of *Canada*, and especially those of *Nova Scotia*, are no less replenished than this river, which abounds with the greatest plenty and variety of the most excellent sort of fishes of any other perhaps on the globe, there being, in some seasons, fish sufficient to maintain all the inhabitants of the colony.

Beaver, a singular quadruped.

As to quadrupeds, the most singular, and what excites the curiosity of the reader above any other in this country, is the castor, or beaver. The spoils of this animal have hitherto been the chief object of the commerce to this colony. This creature is besides in itself a miracle of nature, and there is not to be found, perhaps in the whole creation, so striking an example of foresight, industry, cunning, and patience in labour.

European beaver.

The castor, or beaver, was probably not unknown in *Europe* before the discovery of *America*; and there are now to be seen, amongst the ancient charters of the hatters of *Paris*, regulations for the manufacture of beaver hats. The beaver, or castor, is undoubtedly the same animal; but whether it is, that the *European* beaver is grown very scarce, or that its fur is not of so good a quality as that of the *American*, this latter is the only sort now in repute, the other being never so much as mentioned, except with relation to the fimple called *castoreum*. It is not improbable, that the *European* beaver is a sort of land beaver, which is very different from the other.

American beaver described.

The beaver of *Canada* is an amphibious animal, incapable of remaining any considerable time in water, and very able to subsist without it, provided it has now and then the conveniency of bathing. The largest beavers are somewhat less than four feet in length, by fifteen inches in breadth from haunch to haunch, and weigh sixty pounds. The colour varies according to the different climates where they are found. In the most distant Northern parts they are generally quite black, though white ones are sometimes to be seen in the same region. They are brown in more temperate climates, their colour growing lighter in proportion as you advance Southwards. In the country of the *Illinois* they are almost quite yellow, and some have been found here of a pale or straw-colour. It has been remarked, that the lighter the colour, the thinner commonly the fur, and consequently the black is most esteemed, nature fortifying them in this manner against the severity of the weather. There are two different sorts of fur all over the body, excepting near the feet, where there is but one sort, and that very short. The longest is from eight to ten lines, and even to two inches on the back, diminishing towards the tail and head. This sort of hair is coarse, thick, shining, and is what gives the animal its colour. Seen through a microscope, the middle is found less opaque, whence it is natural to suppose it hollow, and therefore this sort is not in use. The other is an extremely fine down, very close, and an inch at most in length; and this sort is what is commonly used. It was formerly known in *Europe* by the name of *Muscovy wool*. This is properly the garment of the beaver, the other serving only for ornament, and perhaps to assist him in swimming.

The female beaver.

It has been asserted, that this animal lives from fifteen to twenty years, that the female goes with young four months, and that she generally brings forth four at a time, and some travellers have increased the number to eight; but this must happen very rarely. She has four teats, two between the second and third pair of long ribs, and two others about four fingers higher.

Anatomy of the beaver.

The muscles of this animal are extremely strong, and thicker than its bulk seems to require. On the contrary, its intestines are exceeding delicate, its bones very hard, and its two jaws, which are nearly equal, have a vast force. Each jaw is set with ten teeth, two of them incisive, or cutters, and eight molar, or grinders. The upper incisives are two inches and a half long, the lower something above three, suited to the inclination of the jaw, which give them a force astonishing in so small a creature. It has been remarked, that the two jaws are not exactly correspondent, the upper jutting out beyond the lower, like the blades of a pair of scissars; and, lastly, that the length of every tooth is exactly one third of its root.

The

The head of the beaver is much like that of the mountain rat; the muzzle somewhat long; the eyes little; the ears very short, round, hairy without, but smooth within; the legs short, especially the fore legs, being not above four or five inches long, and very much resembling those of the badger. The nails are cut sloping, and hollow like goose-quills. The hind feet are quite different, being flat, and provided with membranes between the toes. Hence the beaver walks but awkwardly, and very slowly, but swims with the same facility as other aquatic animals. In respect of his tail, he is a perfect fish, and has been judicially declared such by the College of Physicians at Paris; and the faculty of divinity have, in consequence of this declaration, pronounced it lawful to be eaten on days of fasting.

This sort of food is, however, at too great a distance from the French to enable them to profit by this toleration, and they very rarely meet with any that is eatable. The Indians keep it by them, after curing it in the chimney, but it is, by all accounts, intolerably bad. And, even when it is fresh, you are obliged to give it a boiling, to make it lose a little of the disagreeable taste it naturally has, after which it becomes very good eating; and no sort of flesh, they say, exceeds it in deliciousness or lightness of digestion; it is even asserted to be as nourishing as veal. When boiled, it wants something to give it a relish; but, when roasted, it is very good, without any thing of that kind.

The most remarkable part belonging to this animal is its tail. It is almost oval, about four inches broad near the root, five in the middle, and three at its extremity; but these measures are to be understood of the largest sort of beavers; it is about an inch in thickness, and a foot long. Its substance is a firm sort of fat, or a tender cartilage, being much like the flesh of a porpoise, but grows harder, when kept for any time. It is covered with a scaly skin, the scales of which are of an hexagonal form, half a line in thickness, by three or four lines in length, and laid over one another, like those of all fishes. A very delicate pellicle serves to support them, and they are inserted in it in such a manner, as to be easily parted from it after the death of the animal.

The true testicles of this animal were entirely unknown to the ancients, probably because they are very small, and much hid under the haunches. They gave this name to the receptacles of the *castoreum*, which are very different, and in number four, being situated in the lower venter of the beaver. The two foremost, called the upper, because higher than the others, are in the shape of a pear, and communicate one with the other, like the pockets of a knapsack; the other two, called the lower, are round towards the bottom. These four receptacles contain a resinous, soft, and adhesive liquor, mixed with small fibres, of a greyish colour on the outside, yellowish within, of a strong, penetrating, and disagreeable smell, and very inflammable; and this is the true *castoreum*. It grows hard after being a month exposed to the air, and becomes brown, brittle, and friable. If there be occasion to harden it sooner, it may be done by hanging it in the chimney.

It is pretended, that the *castoreum* which comes from Dantzic is preferable to that of Canada. The bags of this last sort are allowed to be much smaller than the others, and, even in Canada, the largest are much more esteemed. It is required besides in *castoreum*, that the bags be heavy, of a brown colour, of a penetrating and strong smell, and full of a hard, brittle, and friable matter, of the same, or of a yellowish colour, interwoven with a very fine membrane, and of a sharp or acrid taste.

The medical virtues of this drug are, to attenuate viscous matter, fortify the brain, dissipate vapours, provoke the menses, prevent mortification, and evacuate ill humours by perspiration. It is also used with success against the epilepsy, or falling sickness, palsy, apoplexy, and deafness. The inferior bags contain an unctuous and fattish liquor, which resembles honey. Its colour is a pale yellow, its smell disagreeable, little differing from that of the *castoreum*, but weaker than that. It thickens with time, and takes the consistence of tallow.

The notion of those who believe that this animal, when he is closely pursued, bites off those imagined testicles, abandoning them to the hunter, to preserve his life, is an error now universally exploded, the most valuable part of this animal being, beyond comparison, his fur; and even the skin of the beaver, after the fur has been taken off, is not without its uses, as it serves to make gloves and spatterdashies. Many other things

may be made of it, but as it is very difficult to take off the hair without cutting it, the skin of the land beaver is only used, and for the purposes aforesaid.

Two sorts of
castor.

There are two sorts of castor, the dry and the fat. The first is the skin of this animal, before any use has been made of it. The other, or fat castor, is the same skin, after it has been worn by the *Indians*, who, after they have well rubbed and worked it on the inside, with the marrow or fat of certain animals, to render it more pliable, sew several skins together, with which they cover themselves as with a robe, with the outside inwards; this they constantly wear in the winter, without ever putting it off, night or day. The strongest hair falls off presently, but the down remains, and by being worn in that manner, becomes much fitter for the hatter's business. The dry castor cannot be used without the mixture of a little fat. It is even pretended, that to have the skins in their utmost perfection, they ought to be worn eighteen months at least.

Stuffs made of
fur and wool.

There have also been stuffs made of this fur, with a mixture of wool amongst it, such as cloths, flannels, stockings, and such like, but with very little success; and there still subsists a manufacture of this sort in *Holland*; but as they are obliged to mix more than one half of wool with the fur, there is little or nothing to be gained by it. The cloths and druggets which the *Dutch* make of this sort are very dear, and do not wear well. The castor very soon parts from the wool, and forms a sort of pile on the surface of the stuff, which entirely spoils the look of it; and the stockings which the *French* make of it have the same defect.

Admirable
qualities of
the beaver.

The industry, foresight, order, and unanimity of these animals are perfectly surprising, exhibiting to mankind a lesson of those virtues no way inferior to that of the ant or bees, so justly admired. It is uncertain how they are governed, whether by a king or a queen, if it be true, that they have any magistrates at all; nor is there any more grounds to believe that there is any one who takes the chief command upon him, when they are at work, to punish the lazy. Thus much, however, is undoubted, that by means of that admirable instinct wherewith providence has endowed them, each of them knows what he is to do, and every thing is carried on in the exactest order imaginable, and without the least embarrassment or confusion.

Choice of ha-
bitation.

When they propose to build a new habitation, they first assemble, to the number of three or four hundred in one place, forming a small republic, or state, apart by themselves. The first bill they pass is, to make choice of a settlement, where they may find plenty of provisions, with all the materials necessary for the intended edifice. The main thing necessary is to secure a supply of water; and if they are not happy enough to find either lake or pool within their territories, this defect is remedied by stopping the course of some rivulet, or small river, by means of a dyke. In order to effect this, they set about felling of timber, and this always above the place where they are resolved to build, for the more commodious transporting it. Three or four beavers set about felling a large tree, which they very soon effect by means of their teeth, which serve them for saws and axes, as well as for several other carpenter's tools. They never forget to make it fall on the side towards the water, in order to shorten the land carriage after they have cut it into proper lengths, which are afterwards rolled to the water side, and thence floated, to the place where they are to be employed.

Manner and
materials of
construction.

These pieces are more or less in thickness or length, as the nature and situation of the place require; for these architects foresee every thing. Sometimes they make use of trunks of large trees, which they lay lengthwise; at others, the mound is composed of pieces of timber no thicker than a man's thigh, and even sometimes not so thick, which are supported by very good stakes, and interwoven with small branches, and the void places are every where stopped up with a fat or clayey sort of earth, and that so well wrought as not to admit the smallest drop of water. This loam, or mortar, the beavers prepare and temper with their fore feet; the trowels they make use of are their tails, which, however, are not confined to this use only, but also serve them as a dray, or wheelbarrow, to convey their mortar from place to place. As soon as they arrive at the water side, they take hold of this clayey matter with their teeth, and, in order to lay it on, they make use first of their feet, and afterwards plaster or smooth it with their tails.

Structure of
the dyke.

These dykes are generally ten or twelve feet thick at the foundation, diminishing still in proportion as they rise in height, till at last they come to the thickness of two or three. Good proportion is their particular care and concern, and every thing is done with as much exactness, as if the ablest artist had performed it with his rule and compasses.

compasses. One thing remarkable is, that the side of the building towards the water is always built with a talus, or slope, that on the other being exactly perpendicular. In a word, nothing can possibly be more solid or regular than the works of this most sagacious animal.

The construction of their cabbins is no less wonderful. These are commonly built on piles in the middle of those small lakes, which are formed by the dykes abovementioned, and oftentimes on the bank of some river, or at the extremity of some point that advances into the water. Their figure is round, or oval, and they are arched in manner of a basket. The walls are two foot thick, the materials being the same as those of their dams, but less substantial. The whole is so well stucco'd with clay, as not to admit the least breath of air. Two thirds of the building are above water, and in them every beaver has his particular place assigned him, which he takes care to strew well with leaves, or small branches of fir. The least filth is never seen; for, besides the common entry of the cabin, and another outlet by which those animals go out to bathe, there are also several other openings, by which they go to discharge themselves. These cabbins are generally capable of lodging eight or ten beavers, and some have been observed to contain no less than thirty; but this is very rare. All of them, however, are near enough to each other to have a very easy communication.

The winter never surprizes the beaver: All the works I have mentioned are finished by the latter end of *September*, when each individual lays up his winter provision. Whilst they continue to frequent the woods or fields, they live on fruits, and on the bark and leaves of trees. They also catch cray-fish, and some other fish; and nothing comes amiss to them at that season. But when the time comes, in which they are to provide against the barrenness of the cold season, they are satisfied with woods of a tender substance, such as the poplar and the asp, and the like. These they lay up in piles, disposing them in such manner as to have those pieces which have been steeped in water nearest at hand. It has been observed, that these piles are always greater or less in proportion as the ensuing winter is to be more or less long or severe; and this is to the *Indians* the most infallible prognostication, which has never been known to deceive them, with respect to the duration of the cold weather. The beavers, before they eat this wood, cut it into very small pieces, which they carry into their apartments; for there is but one magazine for the whole inhabitants, or family of each cabin.

When the melting of the snow is at the highest, at which season there are always very great land floods, the beavers quit their cabbins, which are then utterly uninhabitable, every one going where he thinks fit. As soon as the waters are fallen the females return, and then they bring forth their young. The males keep the fields till towards the month of *July*, when they assemble in order to repair the breaches made by the waters in their cabbins, or dykes; if they happen to be destroyed by the hunters, or if they are not worth repairing, to erect new. But they are often, and for very good reasons, obliged to change the place of their abode: The most common is, the want of provisions; and sometimes they are obliged to take this method by the hunters, or certain carnivorous animals, against which they have no other defence than flight.

There are certain places of which the beavers are particularly fond, and will never abandon, even should their safety ever so much require it. On the road from *Montreal* to *Lake Huron*, near the great river, we never fail to discover a settlement every year in the very same place, which these animals repair or re-build constantly every summer. For the first thing the travellers who arrive earliest set about is, to destroy the cabin, as well as the dyke which conveys the water to it. Had not this dyke retained the water, they would never have been able to continue their journey, but necessitated to take a trip over land. Hence those beavers seem as if they had seized on this spot only to be of service to those who travel that way. I have been told, that near *Quebec* there is much such an instance, where the beavers, by means of their dam, supply water to a saw-mill.

The *Indians* were formerly of opinion, that the beavers were a sort of reasonable creatures, with a language, laws, and form of government peculiar to themselves; and that this amphibious commonwealth chose governors, whose office it was to assign each private beaver his separate task, place centinels to give the alarm on sight of the enemy, and to punish or banish the drones.

Those pretended exiles were probably no other than the land beavers, who really live separate from the others, do no manner of work, and lodge under ground, where they have

have no other care but to make themselves a secret passage to the water. These are known by the thinness of the fur upon their backs, which is, no doubt, occasioned by their rubbing themselves continually against the earth of their holes: besides, they are always lean, the natural consequence of their laziness, and are much more frequent in hot than in cold countries. I have already remarked, that our beavers here in *Europe* resemble this latter much more than the former sort, as they retire into the holes and caverns they find on the banks of rivers, especially in *Poland*. They are also found in *Germany*, along the *Elb*; and, in *France*, on the *Rhone*, the *Isere*, and the *Oise*. What is certain is, that you do not discover that wonderful sagacity in the *European* beavers, for which those of *Canada* are so justly celebrated.

Beavers bro't into esteem by the Europeans. It does not appear, that the *Canadian Indians* gave these creatures much disturbance before the arrival of the *Europeans* in their country. The skins of these animals were not then so much worn by them as they have since been, and the flesh of bears, and some other wild beasts, was much more in request with them than that of beavers. They were, however, even then accustomed to hunt them, and this hunting had its fixed season and its established form and ceremony; but as it was only the effect of pure necessity, and not of luxury, the havock made by it was very insignificant. For this reason, there was an amazing quantity of those animals when the *French* first entered *Canada*.

Hunting the beaver. The hunting of the beaver is not at all difficult, as this animal has neither strength to defend himself, and as the cunning he discovers in building his habitation totally forsakes him when he is attacked by any enemy. The winter is the season in which the *Indians* declare war against him, then it is that his fur is thickest, and the skin much thinner than at any other season.

Net and gun seldom used. This hunting is performed in four different manners, which are that of the net, the gun, the tranche, and the trap. The first is rarely put in execution, and the second seldom or never used, as the eyes of this creature, though extremely small, are so piercing, and his hearing so quick, that it is very difficult to get near enough to shoot him, before he has reached the water, and he never goes far from it at this season, and plunges to the bottom the moment he discovers any danger near. And even if he should happen to be wounded, the hunter would be equally at a loss, as he never fails to run to the water, and never comes up again after he has once dived, should he chance to die of the wound. The tranche and the trap are therefore the methods most in use in this exercise.

Method of the trap. Notwithstanding the beaver lays up his store of provision for the winter, he now and then makes excursions into the neighbouring woods in quest of more tender and delicate food; and this luxury often costs him his life. The *Indians* lay snares in his way, much resembling the figure 4, which they bait with small pieces of wood that is tender and newly cut. The beaver no sooner touches it, than his back is broke with a huge log which falls upon him, and the hunter instantly coming up, soon dispatches him. And tranche. The tranche requires greater precaution, and is managed as follows: when the ice is as yet but about half a foot thick, an opening is made in it with a hatchet, and the beaver makes to this opening for the sake of breathing a little fresh air; the hunter, who waits for him, easily knows when he is coming, as his breathing causes an unusual motion in the water, and it is very easy to knock him on the head the moment he raises it above it. To prevent his discovering the hunters, they strew over the hole with reeds, or with the ears of reed-mace, and when they find the animal within reach, they seize him by one of his feet, and throw him upon the ice, where they dispatch him before he is recovered from his surprize.

Net how used. If the burrow happens to be near some stream, the business is still easier. The way is then to cut the ice quite across from side to side, in order to lay a net in it, and then fall to breaking down the nest or cabin. The beavers never fail to run to the water, where they are taken in the net laid for them. There is, however, some danger in letting it remain too long, in which case these creatures soon find means to recover their liberty.

Other ways of hunting. Those who inhabit the lakes have, at the distance of about three or four hundred paces from the water side, a sort of country houses, where they retire sometimes for the benefit of the air. In this case the hunters divide into two bodies, one of which beats up the quarters of those in the country, whilst the others fall upon the habitations of the lake. Now the beavers in the former abode, for the sportsmen generally take the time

time when they are all in the country, fly for sanctuary to the other, where they find nothing but ruin and a cloud of dust, raised on purpose to blind them, and to make them an easier prey to their enemies. In some places they content themselves with digging a hole in their dams, by which means the ditch that surrounds them is soon drained, their island is robbed of its chief defence, and they must submit to fate. Or, in case they should strive to remedy the evil, as they often do, the cause of which is entirely unknown to them, they fall generally into the hands of the enemy.

It has been said, that when the beavers find themselves pursued by hunters, or some of those beasts of prey that generally make war against them, they rush into the water, which they lash with their tails in such a manner that the noise is heard at half a league distance. The reason of this is probably to give the alarm to their friends, who may be abroad in the same manner, without knowing their danger. They are said also, to have so quick a scent, as to discover a canoe at an immense distance; but that, like the hare, they see only sideways, which defect often occasions their falling into the hands of those they strive to shun. There is another particularity related of the beaver, which would make us believe, that, in imitation of the turtle, after losing his female, he never cohabits with another; so that second marriages, it seems, are as much in abomination among beavers, as they were formerly among the primitive Christians.

Particularities related of them.

There is also another small animal in *Canada*, of much the same nature with the beaver, and which appears in some respects to be the same sort of quadruped, but of a smaller species; I mean the Musk-Rat. This creature has, in fact, all the qualities of the beaver; the structure of the body and especially of the head is in both so very much alike, that one would naturally take the musk-rat for a small beaver, if the tail of the first be excepted, as it is much like that of ours in *Europe*, as also the testicles, which contain a perfume of an exquisite odour. This animal, which weighs about four pounds, is very like the *Mus Alpinus*, of Mr Ray.

Musk-rat described.

The musk-rat takes the field in the month of *March*, and its nourishment is then some pieces of wood, which he peels before he eats them. After the melting of the snows he lives on roots of nettles, and afterwards regales himself with the stems and leaves of this plant. In summer he touches nothing but brambles and strawberries, to which succeed the other fruits peculiar to the autumn. During all this time it is very rare to find the male and female apart from each other.

His food.

At the coming on of winter they separate, each going his own way to take up his lodging in some hole or hollow of a tree, without any provision, and the *Indians* assure us, that they maintain a perfect abstinence as long as the cold lasts. They also build huts nearly in the same form as the beavers, but far inferior workmanship. As to the situation, it is always near the water, so that they are under no necessity to build dams.

Lodging.

It is said that the fur of the musk-rat is used in the making of hats mixed with that of the beaver, without doing any prejudice to the manufacture; the flesh is tolerably good, except in time of rut, at which season it is impossible to remove from it something of the taste of musk, which is by no means so agreeable to the palate as it is to the smell.

Use of in fur and flesh.

The Bear was formerly the animal most in vogue amongst the *Indians of North America*, till the arrival of the *Europeans* turned the scale in favour of the beaver. Hunting the bear was a kind of religious solemnity, and superstition had a great share in this exercise, the manner whereof, among such of the *Indians* as have not been converted to christianity, is as follows:

Hunting of the bear.

It is always some warrior chief, that appoints the time of hunting, and who is to invite the hunters. This invitation, which is performed with a great deal of ceremony, is followed by a fast of ten days continuance, during which they are not to take so much as a drop of water. This whole time, notwithstanding the extreme weakness to which they are reduced by it, is employed in singing. The intention of this rigorous ceremony, is to obtain of the *Genii*, the knowledge of the place where the greatest number of bears are to be found. There are several of them who endure still more, in order to obtain this grace; and some of them have been known to cut their flesh in different parts of their bodies, with a view to render those *Genii* propitious. But it is to be remembered, that they require no manner of assistance to overcome those furious animals; it suffices that they know the places of their abode.

Religious preparations.

It is with the same view, they address their vows to the manes, or souls of the defunct bears, which they have killed in their former huntings, and as this is the only subject of their meditation during these vigils, they naturally from the emptiness of their stomachs,

Superstitious observations.

dream of those animals. This however is not yet enough to determine them, for every man of the canton, or at least much the greater part of them, must also have dreamt of seeing bears, and that in their own district. Now it is next to impossible so many dreams should agree; to bring this to pass therefore is the next embarrassment, which is generally removed, when some huntsman of reputation happens to dream two or three times successively of seeing those beasts in a certain place. 'Whether thro' complaisance, or hearing the same thing often repeated, they all presently fall to dreaming after him, or at least pretend to do so, and that quarter is immediately fixt upon for the place of hunting.

Solemn feast

As soon as the fast is over, and the place of hunting agreed upon, the chief elect who is to have the command in it, gives a magnificent repast to all those who are to be of the party, and no person dares to present himself at it, before he has first bathed himself, which is generally by throwing himself into the river, provided only it be not frozen, let the weather be never so severe. They are not obliged at this feast to eat up every thing, as in some others, and they all observe great sobriety. He who does the honours touches nothing, his sole employment, whilst the others are at table, is to make the panegyric of his own feats in former huntings. The festival ends with new invocations of the manes of the bears departed. They then take the field all daubed over with black in the same manner as when they go to war, amidst the acclamations of the whole village.

And invocations.

Hunting in honour.

Thus hunting is in no less reputation amongst the *Indians*, than war; and an alliance with a good huntsman is more coveted, than that of a famous warrior, because this exercise furnishes the family with all the necessaries of life, at least, with all that they reckon as such, that is, with food and cloathing. But this character of a great huntsman is not easily acquired, for before you are reckoned so, you must have killed at least twelve large beasts in one day.

Indians admirable hunters.

The *Indians* have two considerable advantages beyond us in *Europe*; for, in the first place, no obstacle is capable of stopping them, neither thickets, ditches, marshes, nor rivers. Their way is always the nearest, that is, forwards in a direct line. Then there is no animal, how fleet soever, which they cannot overtake by mere swiftness of foot. And we are told, that it is common enough for them to come home leading a drove of bears into their village like a flock of sheep; and that the swiftest deer, though I will not venture this on my own authority, is not swifter than they.

Ancient generosity in decay.

Formerly the hunter had little benefit from his abundance; every one took what share of the spoil he pleased, leaving the proprietor little besides the glory of labouring for the public advantage. He was, however, at liberty to make his own family a present of the first fruits. This was the custom formerly, till the arrival of the *Europeans*, whose ill example has in a great measure destroyed this ancient and most commendable spirit of disinterestedness, leaving them their own selfishness in exchange.

Lodgment of bears.

The season for hunting the bear is in the winter, when these animals retreat into the hollows of trees, or, when they find them fallen down, make themselves a den with the root, the entry of which they fill with branches of fir, where they are perfectly secure from the severity of the weather. If they should fail of either of those conveniencies, they dig themselves a hole in the earth, taking particular care, after they have retired into it, to stop the mouth; and this they do so well as sometimes to elude the closest search. But, however they happen to be lodged, it is certain, they never once stir out the whole winter. It is equally true, that they carry in with them no manner of provision; so that all this long season the bear neither eats nor drinks. All he does is constantly licking his paws, which are said by some to afford a substance from whence he draws all his nourishment. Every one, however, is at liberty to judge of it as he thinks fit, though it is undeniably true, that the experiment has been made by chaining up one of those animals for a whole winter, without affording him the least nourishment, and at the end of six months he has been found as fat as in the beginning.

Their fasting the whole winter.

Manner of hunting them

There is no need of much coursing to take the bear; the only thing required is to find out the place of their retreat in any considerable number. When the hunters imagine they have discovered their haunts, they form a large circle of a quarter of a league round, more or less, in proportion to the number of hunters. They afterwards advance drawing nearer one another, every one making strict search as he goes for the retreat of these animals. Hence, if there be any lodged in all this space, it is difficult for them to escape, the *Indians* being excellent ferrets. On the morrow the hunting begins after the same manner, and so continues from day to day while the season lasts.

As soon as a bear is killed, the hunter puts the end of his lighted pipe into his mouth, and blowing at the head of it till the bear's throat and wind-pipe are full of the smoke, conjures his spirit not to be angry for what injury he has done his body, and not to oppose his success in his future huntings. The huntsman, to know whether his request is granted, cuts the string or membrane under the tongue of the bear, which he keeps till he returns to the village, when all of the party, after many invocations, and a deal of ceremony, throw those expiations into the fire. If those membranes crackle and shrink, as how should it be otherwise, it is looked upon as a certain sign that the angry spirits of the bears are appeased; if otherwise, it is concluded they are still wroth, and that the hunting of the ensuing season will be unprosperous, at least till they have found means to render them propitious; for there is no inconvenience which they cannot remove by some religious ceremony.

Ceremonious
observances
after hunting.

The hunters live well while the season lasts, and if they have any success at all, they bring home sufficient to feast their friends, and to maintain their families for a considerable time. The flesh of this animal, smoked in the chimney, is esteemed good eating by the *Indians*, tho' it would hardly go down with an *European*.

Profitable
game.

The reception the sportsmen meet with on their return, is every way worthy of the high notion they entertain of this exercise. Nothing is to be heard but the praises of those heroes, who wear such an air of importance and self-sufficiency, as if they were returning loaden with the spoils of a conquered enemy. A grand repast is given on this occasion, and to leave none of the viands served in it, affords another strong subject of vanity and panegyric. The person who had the honour to be the director of the hunting, is the dispenser of this treat, and the first dish is the bear of the largest size, which is served up whole, with his entrails, and without so much as flaying it, for they chuse to dress the flesh in the skin, as we do that of hogs. This feast is dedicated to a certain genius, whose wrath they believe they should incur, were they to leave the least morsel. They are not so much as to leave the broth in which the carcass has been boiled, tho' it be nothing but the fat melted and reduced to a perfect oil. Nothing can be worse food than this, which always proves mortal to one or other of the guests on this occasion, and many of them find themselves very much indisposed after these unwholesome repasts.

The chief
hunter's feast.

The bear is not a dangerous animal in *Canada*, except when he is hungry, or after he has been wounded. It is proper, however, to be always upon your guard when you approach him. They are seldom known to attack any person, and they generally take to flight on seeing a man, a dog being all that is necessary to drive them to a great distance.

Bears not
dangerous in
Canada.

In the month of *July* the bear is in rut, at which time his flesh is so lean, and of so disagreeable a taste and smell, that even the *Indians*, who have not the most delicate palates, will scarce touch it. He is also at this time so fierce, that it is dangerous to come near him. After this he recovers his complexion, by means of the fruits he then finds every where in the woods, and of which he is extremely greedy. The grape in particular is his favourite dish, for which he will climb to the top of the tallest trees; but should a hunter perceive him, he is sure to pay for it with his life. After he has fed a considerable time on those fruits, his flesh acquires an excellent relish, which it preserves till the spring, though it has always a remarkable defect, from its extreme oiliness, which, if not used with great moderation, never fails to occasion the dysentery. It is, however, very nourishing, and a bear's cub is reckoned, by those who have eat of this sort of food, not at all inferior to lamb.

Their flesh
considered as
food.

The *Indians* always carry a great number of dogs with them when they go a hunting, which are the only domestic animals they keep, and are destined for this use only. These, in appearance, are all of the same species, with erect ears, their muzzle somewhat long, like that of the wolf, and remarkable for their fidelity and affection to their masters, who never care for, and, in other respects, take but very ill care of them. They are trained early to the exercise for which they are intended, and are indeed excellent hunters.

Indian dogs
of the game.

The Elk is an animal formerly common in *North America*, and of as much utility, with respect to trade, as the beaver itself, had they not been extirpated, or at least driven very far from the *European* colonies by those who went to settle in those parts. What is called in *Canada* the elk, goes by the name of the *Elan*, or Great Beast, in *Germany*, *Poland*, and *Russia*. This animal is of the size of a horse, or of a mule of *Auvergne* in *France*; is very broad over the hind parts; his tail no longer than one's

Elk described

finger; the haunches very high, with the legs and feet of a stag; the withers, neck, and upper part of the thighs are covered with long hair; the head is more than two foot long, which he stretches out lengthwise before him, giving himself by that means a very ungraceful appearance; the muzzle is thick, and bends downwards almost like that of the camel; and the nostrils are so prodigiously wide, that you may thrust your fist and half your arm into them. His antlers are as long as those of the stag, and much more spreading; they are flat and forked, like those of a doe, and shoot anew every year.

Virtues of his
hoof.

It has been said, that the elk is subject to the epilepsy, or falling sickness, and that, when the fit seizes him, he recovers himself by scratching his ear with his left hind foot till the blood comes. This tradition probably gave occasion to believe the hoof of this animal a specific against that disorder. It is applied to the heart of the patient, which is also practised to cure an extraordinary palpitation. It is also given into the patient's left hand, to rub his ear with it in like manner; though I should think it requisite, in order to expect the same effect as in the case of the animal, to rub it, as he does, till the blood comes. This hoof, when taken in powder, or infused in water, is reckoned very good for the pleurisy, colic pains, the flux, vertigo, and purples. It is said, that the *Algonquins*, who formerly fed on the flesh of this animal, were very subject to the falling sickness, but that they did not make use of this remedy, probably because they were acquainted with a better.

Uses of his
hair, skin, and
flesh.

The skin of the elk is a mixture of a light grey and a dark red. The hair of it becomes hollow, as the beast grows old, and never sheds, nor loses its elastic or springy virtue; for let it be depressed with ever so much care, it always rises up again; it is commonly used for mattresses, and stuffing of saddles. The flesh of the elk is of an exquisite relish, light, and very nourishing, and it would really be a matter much to be regretted, did it communicate the king's evil, as some have imagined. The *French* hunters, who have lived whole winters on it, declare they never felt the smallest inclination to this disorder. His skin is very strong, and of an oily softness; it is dressed like shammy leather, and makes excellent buff-coats, which are very light.

Indian notion
of the elk.

The *Indians* look upon the elk as an animal of good omen, and believe that those who dream often of it will be very long lived. They have a very different notion of the bear, except when they are going to hunt those animals. They have also a tradition amongst them, which is singular enough, that there is one of those elks so much in size above all others, that, in comparison of him, the rest appear like so many pigmies. His legs, say they, are so tall, that eight feet of snow is no manner of inconvenience to him. His skin is proof against all sorts of weapons, and he has an arm proceeding from one of his shoulders, which he uses in the same manner as a man. He is never without a great number of other elks in his retinue, who form his court, and do him all manner of services. Thus the ancients had their *Phoenix* and *Pegasus*, and the *Chinese* and *Japanese* their *Kirin*, their *Foe*, their *Water Dragon*, and *Bird of Paradise*.

Hunting the
elk.

The elk loves cold countries; he grazes the field in summer, and in winter he gnaws the bark of trees. When the snows are deep, those animals assemble in herds in some pine-wood, in order to shelter themselves from the severity of the weather, where they remain while there is any food for them. They are easily hunted down at this time, and still more so when the sun gets heat enough to melt the snows: for, as the frost in the night forms a hard crust on the surface of those snows which have been melting in the day time, the elk, who is very heavy, breaks it with his hoof, and wounds his limbs in it, which he is scarce able to extricate from the holes he has made. Except at these times, and especially when the snows are not deep, it is very difficult and even dangerous to come near him; for when he is wounded, he is very furious, and will turn boldly on the hunters, and knock them down with his hoofs. The way to escape from him is to throw him your coat, on which he will discharge all his vengeance, whilst the hunter concealing himself behind some tree, takes an opportunity to dispatch him. The common pace of the elk is a hard trot, which is almost as swift as a buffalo can run. He holds out a long time, but the *Indians* are still better runners than he. It is said, that he falls down on his knees when he drinks, eats, and when he goes to sleep; and they add, that he has a small bone in his heart, which being reduced to powder, and taken in broth, brings forward the birth, and mitigates child-bed pains.

The most northerly *Indians* of *Canada* have a way of hunting the elk, which is very simple, and not at all dangerous. The hunters divide into two bodies; one embarks on board canoes, keeping at some distance from the other, and forming together a pretty large femicircle, the extremities of which touch the banks; the other body which remains ashore, range themselves pretty much in the same form, and at first surround a considerable space of ground. The hunters then let loose their dogs, which raise all the elks within those bounds, drive them towards the canoes, and at last force them into the river, or lake, where they instantly receive the fire of all the canoes, so that very rarely so much as one of them escapes.

Simple way
of hunting.

Champlain speaks of another way of hunting not only the elk, but even stags and caribous, that has some relation to this. They inclose, says he, a certain portion of the forest with stakes, or piles, interwoven with branches of trees, leaving only one narrow entrance, in which they stretch thongs of raw hides. This inclosure is of a triangular form, and from the angle where the entrance is, another triangle is constructed, much larger than the former; thus these two enclosures communicate one with the other, by the two angles. The two sides of this second triangle are surrounded with piles in the same manner, and the hunters, drawn up in one line, form the base of it. They afterwards advance, but take care not to break the line, drawing nearer and nearer to each other, with loud shouts, and beating some instrument which makes a prodigious noise. The beasts, thus drove from one side, and finding no way of escaping to the right or left, and besides being stunned and startled by the noise, have no other way left them to escape, but into the other inclosure, and many of them are caught by the neck or horns in this passage. They make prodigious efforts to extricate themselves; sometimes they break or carry away the thongs, and sometimes they strangle themselves, or at least, the hunters, by this delay, have time to shoot them. Those who escape this snare are still in as much danger as ever, and have too little room, in this smaller inclosure, to shun the arrows that are shot at them from all sides.

Another method.

The elk has other enemies, that make as cruel a war upon him as the *Indians*. The most dreadful of these is the Carcajou, or Quincajou, a species of the cat kind, the tail of which is so long as to wind several times round his body; his hair is of a brownish red. As soon as this hunter comes up with the elk, he leaps upon him, fixes on his neck, round which he twines his long tail, and then cuts his jugular. The elk has but one way left to shun this disaster, which is by throwing himself into the water the moment he finds himself in the hands of this terrible enemy. As the carcajou cannot endure the water, he immediately quits his hold; but if the water be too far off, he has time to destroy his prisoner before he reaches it. As this animal is not endowed with the most acute smell, he generally carries three foxes along with him, which he sends out on discoveries. As soon as they get scent of an elk, two of them place themselves one on each side, and the other directly behind him; and in this manner they manage matters so well by harassing the prey, till at last they force him to betake himself to the place where they left the Carcajou, with whom they afterwards settle their different proportions of the spoil. The Carcajou has still another stratagem to catch his prey, which is to climb a tree, where laying himself flat along some propending branch, he waits till some elk passes, and throws himself upon him the moment he perceives him within reach.

Carcajou, enemy to the elk.

The stag of *Canada* is in all respects the same with ours in *Europe*, only somewhat larger. The *Indians* however seem not to trouble themselves much about them, at least I do not find that they make war upon the stag in form, and with the same ceremony as when they hunt the bear and elk.

Stag of Canada.

The Caribou is an animal not quite so tall as the elk, has more the appearance of an ass than a mule, and is as swift as the stag. There was formerly one of them seen on Cape *Diamond*, near *Quebec*, which had probably been pursued by the hunters; but he was not long in perceiving that he was in no place of safety, so he made but one leap thence into the river, which he swam over with the same facility, but all to no purpose, being killed by some *Canadians*, who were going to war, and then encamped at *Point Levi*, on the opposite side. The tongue of this animal is much esteemed. Its true country is probably in the neighbourhood of *Hudson's Bay*; for the *Sieur Jeremie*, who passed several winters in these Northern parts, says, that between *Danish River* and *Port Nelson*, there are prodigious numbers all the summer,

Caribou quadruped.

which being driven from the woods by the swarms of gnats and gad-flies, come to refresh themselves by the sea side, and that for the space of forty or fifty leagues together you continually meet with herds of them of a thousand in a herd at least.

It does not appear that the caribous have multiplied greatly in the most frequented places of *Canada*; elks, on the contrary, were to be met with every where in prodigious numbers, and might have made a very considerable branch of trade, as well as a great conveniency to the inhabitants, had they been better managed. But this has been sadly neglected, and whether it is by the multitudes killed, or that by hunting they have obliged them to remove to other parts, nothing is rarer to be met with than an elk.

Hunting the buffalo.

In the western and southern parts of *Canada*, on both sides the *Mississippi*, the hunting most in vogue, is that of the Buffalo, which is done in the manner following. The hunters draw up in four lines, forming a very large square: they begin by setting fire to the grass, which is dry at that season, and very rank: afterwards, as the fire gets ground, they advance, constantly drawing nearer and nearer to each other. The buffaloes, which are extremely afraid of the fire, fly before it, till at last they are pent up in so narrow a space, that few or none of them escape; seldom a party returns from hunting the Buffalo, without, as we are told, killing fifteen hundred, or two thousand of those animals. But lest the different companies of hunters should incommode one another, they agree upon the place of hunting before they set out. These are even stated penalties for such as transgress these regulations, as well as for those who by deserting their post suffer the prey to escape. These penalties are in general, that every person shall have a right to deprive the delinquent of his share of the spoil, and even to take his arms from him, which is reckoned the greatest affront that can possibly be given to an *Indian*, and to destroy his hut. The *Indian* chiefs are equally subjected to those punishments with the rest of the company, and those who should attempt an exemption, would probably kindle a war that would not easily be extinguished.

Buffalo of *Canada* described.

The Buffalo of *Canada* is larger than ours in *Europe*; its horns are low, short, and black; a long hairy beard descends from its muzzle, and another from the crown of its head, which falls over its eyes, and gives the creature a most hideous look. It has on its back a bunch, beginning from the haunches, and increasing towards the shoulders. The front of this bunch is higher by a cubit, than the hinder part, and three fingers broad, and the whole bunch is covered with long reddish hair. The rest of the body is clothed with a black wool, which is highly valued. It is said that the wool of a Buffalo weighs eight pounds. This animal is very broad at the chest, pretty slender at the loins, has a very short tail, and almost no neck; but its head is much bigger than the *European* Buffalo's. He commonly flies the moment he discovers a man, and a dog will drive a whole herd before him. He has a very quick scent, and you must always be to leeward of him, before you can get near enough to shoot him, without being discovered. But after he is wounded, he grows furious, and turns upon the hunter; and he is no less dangerous when the females have newly brought forth their young. The flesh of this animal is very good, but that of the cow Buffalo is only eaten, the bull's being too hard. As for the hide, nothing can exceed it; it is easily dressed, and tho' it is exceeding strong, becomes soft and supple as the best sort of shammy. The *Indians* make targets of it which are extremely light, and almost musket proof.

Musk buffalo.

There is another species of the buffalo in the neighbourhood of *Hudson's Bay*, the skin and wool of which is no less valuable than those of the buffaloes I have just now mentioned. The account which M. *Jeremie* gives of them is, that at fifteen leagues from the *Danish River* is the *River of Sea Wolves*, so called from the great number of those animals that frequent it. Between these two rivers is a species of buffaloes, called Musk Buffaloes, from their smelling so strong of that perfume at a certain time of the year, that their flesh is not eatable. They are covered with a very fine wool, and longer than that of the sheep in *Barbary*. I carried, says he, some into *France*, in the year 1708, of which I caused some pairs of stockings to be made, which were even finer and more beautiful than those of silk. These buffaloes, though smaller than ours in *Europe*, have much thicker and longer horns, the roots of which meet on the crown of their head, and coming down close by the eyes, almost as low as the throat, the ends of them afterwards turn upwards, and form a kind of crescent. I have, says M. *Jeremie*, seen a pair of horns which weighed sixty pounds when separated from the skull. They have very short legs, so that, when they walk, their wool trails upon the ground,

which

which renders them so unshapely, that at a distance you are at a loss where to look for the head. As there is no great number of those animals, the species would soon become extinct, were the *Indians* to be employed in hunting them. Besides, the shortness of their legs makes it easy to kill them with launces, when the snow is deep, in which case they cannot possibly escape.

The most common quadruped in *Canada* is the Roe-buck, which differs in nothing from ours. This creature is said to shed tears when he sees himself reduced to extremities by the hunters. When he is young, his skin is marked with stripes of different colours lengthwise; afterwards, this hair falls off, and in place of it grows another sort, which is of the common colour of this animal. He is not at all fierce, is easily tamed, and is naturally fond of man. The tame females, when proud, will go into the woods, and, after she has had the male, will return to her master's house. When she is ready to bring forth her young, she retires to the woods again, whence, after some time spent in suckling, she comes back in the same manner. She is constant in her visits to her offspring; the master follows her when he sees fit, and takes the young, which she afterwards nurses in the house. It is something strange, that every house in *Canada* is not supplied with a large flock of these creatures; the *Indians* hunt them only occasionally.

Roe-buck of *Canada*.

There are also in the forests of *Canada* a great multitude of Wolves, or rather Wild-Cats, for they have nothing of the wolf, except the howling of that animal; in every other respect they are of the feline kind. They are naturally hunters, living solely on the flesh of what other animal they are able to catch, and which they pursue to the tops of the tallest trees. Their flesh is white, and good eating; their hair and skin are well known in *France*, and make one of the finest furs of all this country, as well as the most considerable article in its commerce. But a greater value still is put on a sort of black fox, that lives in the mountains, in the north part of this province. I have however heard, says my author, that the fur of the *Russian* black fox, and of those in the North of *Europe*, are in still greater request. They are, however, extremely rare, even in *Canada*, probably because of the difficulty of catching them.

Wild cat.

Black fox.

The most common sorts here, are those who have black or grey hairs mixed with white; others of them are entirely grey, and others of a carrotty red. There is a sort of them found about the *Upper Mississippi*, the skin of which is of a silver white, and extremely beautiful. There are also tigers found in these parts, and wolves inferior in size to ours. The foxes hunt the water-fowl in a very sagacious manner. They advance a little into the water, then they retire, making a thousand antic motions on the banks. Ducks, bustards, and such like fowl, are taken with this amusement, and draw near the fox, who, to lull them into a still greater security, remains very quiet at first, only making a few motions with his tail to draw them still nearer. The moment he thinks himself sure of them, he flies at them, and rarely fails of success. The *Indians* have bred up dogs to the same exercise, which they perform with admirable dexterity; those dogs, too, make a very cruel war on the foxes.

Foxes of various colours.

Sagacity of the fox.

There is a kind of Pole-Cat, called, *Enfant du diable*, or *Bête puante*, that is, the devil's imp, or stinking beast, because its urine, which it discharges when pursued, taints the air for half a quarter of a league round, for in other respects it is a very beautiful creature, of the size of a small cat, but thicker, its hair shining or glossy, of a greyish cast, with two strokes of white forming an oval from the neck to the tail, which is bushy like that of a fox, and carried erect over the back, just like that of the squirrel. The fur of this animal, as also that of the *Pekan*, another creature of the wild-cat kind, almost of the same size with those of *Europe*, that of the otter, the common pole-cat, the stoat, the wood-rat, the ermine, and martin, are what is called the *Menuë Peloterie*, or lesser furs. The Ermine is of the size of our squirrel, but not so long; the fur of it is of a beautiful white, and it has a long tail, the tip of which is jet black. The Martin is not so red as those of *France*, but the hair of it is much finer. They generally keep in the middle of the woods, out of which they never stir, but once in two or three years, and then always in large bodies. The *Indians* are persuaded that the year in which these animals are seen to come abroad, will be a good hunting year, that is, there will be a large fall of snow. The skin of the martin is sold in *Canada* for a *French* crown, even the most ordinary sort, for such as are brown fetch twenty-four livres and upwards.

Pole-cat.

Other lesser furry animals.

Stote.

The Stote differs from the pole-cat in this only, that the hair of the former is blacker, longer, and thicker. These two animals prey upon the birds, and even upon those of the largest size, and make vast destruction in hen-roosts and pidgeon-houses.

Wood-rat.

The wood-rat is twice as large as the rat of *Europe*. The tail of this creature is bushy, and the hairs of it of a beautiful silver grey. There are even some of them entirely white, and that of an extremely beautiful colour. The female has a bag under her belly, which she opens and shuts at pleasure: In this bag she encloses her young when she is pursued, and flies with the burden for safety.

Squirrel, three sorts.

As for the Squirrel, there are vast numbers of them in this country, as they are never molested. They are distinguished into three sorts; the red, which differs nothing from ours; those called *Suiffes*, which are somewhat smaller, and are so called because their skin is marked with red, black, and white stripes lengthwise, not unlike the Pope's *Suiffs* guards; and the flying squirrel, of much the same size with the *Suiffs*, the skin of which sort, is a dark grey. They are called flying squirrels, not that they actually fly, but from their springing from one tree to another, at the distance at least of forty paces, and when they leap from a superior height, they will shoot double that distance. What gives them this extraordinary agility is two membranes reaching between the fore and hind legs of the same side, about two inches broad, very thin, and covered with a very thin down, instead of hair. This animal is very easily tamed, and very lively, when he is not asleep. But this is very seldom, as he makes his lair wherever he can, in your pockets, sleeves, and cuffs of your coat. He generally gives his master the preference, and will single him out from a score of people.

Porcupine described.

The Porcupine of *Canada* is of the size of a middling dog, but shorter, and not quite so tall. Its hair is about four inches long, of the thickness of a slender straw, white, hollow, and very strong, particularly that on the back. This hair is all the weapons he has, whether of the offensive or defensive kind; he darts it at once at whatever attempts his life, and if it pierce ever so little the flesh, it must be drawn out immediately, otherwise it penetrates to its whole length, for which reason hunters are very cautious of letting their dogs come near this animal. Its flesh is very good eating; a roasted porcupine being accounted not at all inferior to a pig.

Hare and rabbit.

The Hare and Rabbit of this country are exactly the same with ours in *Europe*, excepting that their hind legs are yet longer. Their skins are of little or no consequence, as the hair is always coming off, which is a real loss, as their fur is very fine, and might be usefully employed in the making of hats. In the winter season, these animals turn grey, and rarely are seen to come out of their holes, where they live on the tenderest branches of the birch-tree; in the summer their hair is red. The fox makes a continual war on those animals; and the *Indians* catch them in winter on the snow with gins, when they go forth in quest of food.

Birds of Canada.

The Rattle-Snake is the only reptile worthy of notice in this country, but so well known that we shall pass it over, and proceed to the birds that are inhabitants of *Canada*.

Eagles of two kinds.

The forests of *Canada* are by no means so well provided in birds, either with respect to numbers or variety, as the seas, lakes, and rivers, are with fishes. There are some however which have their merit, and are peculiar to *North America*. Here are eagles of two sorts; the largest have their necks and heads almost white; they give chase to the hares and rabbits, which they carry off in their pounces to their nests. The other sort are grey, and prey upon birds only. Both kinds are excellent fishers.

Hawks.

The falcon, goshawk, and tassel-hawk, are exactly the same with those in *Europe*; there are besides a second sort of falcons, that live entirely on fish. The partridges of *Canada*, are of three sorts; the grey, red, and black; these last are the least valued of the three, having too much the flavour of the grape, juniper, and fir-tree. These have also the head and eyes of a pheasant, and their flesh is of a brownish colour, with long tails, spreading like a fan or the tail of a turkey-cock, and of an extraordinary beauty, some of them being mixt with red, brown, and grey, and others a mixture of light grey and brown. All these sorts of partridges are however larger than ours in *Europe*, but so remarkably tame, that they suffer you not only to shoot at them, but to come very near them.

Snipes and woodcocks.

Besides snipes, which are excellent in this country, and the smaller sort of waterfowl, which is found every where in the greatest abundance, you sometimes meet with woodcocks near springs, but in no great numbers. In the country of the *Illinois*, and all over the south parts of *Canada*, they are in greater plenty.

M. Denys, a French writer, who resided some time on this continent, assures us, that the Raven of Canada is quite as good eating as a hen; which may be true of *Acadia*, ^{Raven.} tho' doubtful with respect to other parts of Canada. The ravens are something larger than ours in Europe, blacker, and have a different cry. The Osprays, on the contrary, are smaller, and their note by no means so disagreeable to the ear. The Owl of Canada differs from the European only in that it has a small white ring round its neck, with a peculiar sort of cry. ^{Owl.} The flesh of this bird is good eating, and many prefer it to a barn-door fowl. The winter provision of these owls consists of field-mice, in which they observe a singular piece of economy in breaking their legs, and afterwards fattening them for use on occasion. The Bat of this country is larger than those of Europe, the martins and swallows here are birds of passage as in our hemisphere. ^{Bat.} The first are not black like ours, but of a brownish red. There are three sorts of Swallow. Larks, the smallest of which is of the size of a sparrow; and this last differs also from Lark. Sparrow. our sparrows, and tho' it retains the same qualities, has however a very disagreeable aspect.

Ducks are found in prodigious numbers in this country; of those birds they reckon two and twenty different kinds. The most beautiful, and best to eat, are what the French call *branches canards*, from their perching on the branches of trees. Their plumage is most beautifully diversified, and the colour extremely bright and vivid. Swans, turkies, moor-hens, cranes, teal, geese, bustards, and other large water-fowl, are found every where in the greatest abundance, except in the neighbourhood of plantations, where they never come. ^{Ducks, twenty-two sorts.} ^{Water-fowl.}

There are Magpies of two colours; some are all white, and others of a light grey; ^{Pies.} and both make excellent soups. The Wood-peckers are beautiful to admiration. ^{Woodpeckers} There are of them of all colours, others entirely black, or quite of a dark brown, except the head and neck, which are of a most beautiful red.

The Thrush of Canada is very like ours in Europe, as to shape, but has only half ^{Thrush.} the charms of the other's music. The Goldfinch has not near so beautiful a head as ^{Goldfinch.} the European, and all its feathers are overspread with a mixture of yellow and black; I can say little of its note, as having never seen one in a cage.

The forests of Canada are full of a bird of the size of a linnet, which is quite yellow, has a very slender neck, and a very short song, with little variety in it; ^{Yellow bird.} This bird has no other name than that of its colour. But the best musician of all the Canadian groves, is a sort of ortolan, the plumage of which is of an ash-colour on the back, and a white on the belly, whence it is called the white-bird, yielding nothing to the pipe of the thrush in Europe; but the male is the only song-bird, the female remaining mute even in a cage. ^{Singing ortolan.} This little creature has a very charming outside, and for its relish well deserves the name of Ortolan. It is not certain to what quarter he retires in the winter-season, but he is always the first harbinger of the spring. The snow is scarce melted when these birds are found in great multitudes in some parts, at which time you may take what quantity you please.

About a hundred leagues south of *Chambly* you begin to meet with the bird called Cardinal, some of which sort have been brought over to *Paris*. ^{Cardinal bird described.} The sweetness of his song, and the beauty of his plumage, which is of a fine carnation, and a little tuft which he has on his head, not unlike the crowns with which painters adorn *Indian* kings, seem sufficient to entitle him to hold the sceptre amongst the feathered kind. He has, however, a rival in this country, capable of engaging every vote, were the charms of his music equal to those of his outward appearance, I mean what they call in our country *l'Oiseau Mouche*, or *Humming Bird*. This name is given him for two reasons, the first is, his diminutive size; for with all his feathers, he is no bigger than a common May-bug. The second is the great buzzing noise he makes with his wings, not unlike that of a large fly. His legs, which are an inch in length, are like two needles. His bill is no thicker than his limbs, and from this he thrusts a tongue, or rather a sting, with which he pierces the flowers, extracting the juice, which is his common nourishment. The female has nothing gaudy in her outside, is of a beautiful white below the belly, and a light ash-colour every where else; but the male is a perfect jewel. From the top of his head rises a small tuft of black, the breast is red, the belly white, and the back, wings, and tail of a vivid green, with specks of gold dispersed over all his plumage, which ^{Fly-bird, his singular beauty.} gives

gives it an astonishing beauty in conjunction with an imperceptible down that forms the softest and sweetest dyes imaginable.

Colivry bird,
account of.

Some travellers have confounded this bird with the Colivry; and indeed this appears to be a species of those birds; but the Colivry of the isles is somewhat larger, has a much brighter plumage, and the bill recurved or bending downwards. This bird is said to have a very melodious pipe; which, if true, is a great advantage over the *Oiseau Mouche*, or humming bird, which has no song at all. He has also a very strong and nimble flight; now you see him on a flower, and a moment after he springs almost perpendicularly up into the air. He is also a declared, and indeed a very dangerous enemy to the raven: On seeing one of them he quits his food, darts himself into the air like lightening, gets under his wing, and pierces him with his sting, so that, whether by the fall, or by the wounds, he tumbles dead to the ground. These birds are very tender, and are therefore very careful to prevent the first coming of the frosts. They probably retire towards *Carolina*, where they are said to be seen only in winter. They build however in *Canada*, hanging their nests on the boughs of trees, in such manner, that they are sheltered by their position from all the inclemency of the air. Nothing can be neater than those nests; the bottom is composed of little bits of wood, interwoven together like basket-work, and the inside is lined with a silky sort of down. Their eggs are of the size of pease, with yellow spots on a white ground; they are generally said to lay three at a time, and sometimes they go as far as five.

Forests of *Canada*.

As for the forests of *Canada*, which cover almost the whole continent, they seem to be as ancient as the world itself. Nothing can be nobler than the prospect they afford, the trees piercing the very clouds, and in such variety, that there is perhaps no man living acquainted with half the different species to be found in those parts. As to the uses they are capable of serving, they are so many that it is impossible to enumerate them.

Pine-trees,
two sorts.

Those kinds which strike the eye of a stranger most, on his first coming into this country, are the pine, the fir, and the cedar, all which are of an height and thickness perfectly astonishing. There are two sorts of pines in this country, both very proper for making of pitch and tar. The white pine, at least, some of this sort, produce at their apex, a sort of mushroom, like tinder, which the natives call *Guarigue*, used by the *Indians* against disorders of the breast, and the dysentery. The red pine is more gummy or resinous, and of a stronger substance, but not so large as the white. The lands which produce both sorts are not the most favourable for corn, being chiefly composed of gravel, sand, and clay.

Firs, 4 sorts.

White-prickly

There are four sorts of firs in *Canada*; the first resembles ours in *Europe*; the three others are the white-prickly, the red-prickly, and the spruce fir. The second and fourth sorts grow to a prodigious height, and are excellent for masts, especially the white-prickly fir, which is also very proper for carpenters work. This tree grows generally in moist and black soils, and such as after being drained are capable of bearing all sorts of grain. Its bark is smooth and shining, and is overspread with exudations or small blisters, of the size of a kidney bean, which contain a sort of turpentine or balsam, a sovereign and speedy remedy for wounds, and also extremely beneficial in case of fractures. It has been asserted that it expels fevers, and cures pains in the breast and belly. The way to use it is by mixing two drops of it with broth or soup. It has also a purgative quality; this is what is called in *Europe* white balsam.

Red-prickly,
and spruce fir.

The red-prickly fir is nothing like the white; the wood of the red is heavy, and may be usefully employed in ship-building, and in carpenters work. These trees grow commonly in clayey and gravelly soils. The spruce fir produces gum, but not in any quantity worth extracting; the wood of this tree lasts a long time under ground without rotting, so that it is extremely proper for making fences for enclosures. The bark of it is very good for tanning, and the *Indians* dye a colour with it something like a deep blue. The lands where this tree grows are for the most part clayey, tho' there are sometimes good numbers of them to be seen in sandy places; but possibly under that sand may be layers of a clayey, or perhaps a richer mould.

Cedars, white
and red.

The cedar of *Canada* is of two sorts, the white and the red. These last are of the largest growth, and generally used for paling and pipe-staves, on account of its lightness. There is a sort of incense that distils from it, but it yields no fruit like the cedars of *Mount Libanus*. The red cedar is not only not so tall, but also slenderer than the white, in proportion to its height. The most remarkable difference, however, is that the

odour

odour of the white is entirely in the leaves, and that of the other which is much preferred, in the wood only; neither of these trees, and especially the white will grow in any but the best of soils.

There are two sorts of oaks found over all *Canada*, distinguished in like manner into the white and red oak. The first are often met with in low, humid, and fertile lands, and such as are proper for producing of corn and pulse. The red sort, the wood of which is also less valued, grows, on the contrary, on dry sandy places; both sorts bear acorns.

The Maple is also very common in *Canada*, some of which grow to a prodigious thickness, and very good pieces of furniture are made of the wood. They generally grow in high lands, and such as are very proper for fruit trees. What they call the *Rbene* in this country, is the female maple, the wood of which is much clouded, but paler than the male sort; in other respects it has the shape and all the properties of that tree; but it thrives only in moist and fat lands. This tree affords great quantities of a cooling and wholesome liquor, from which they make a sort of sugar by a much shorter process and a less expence than that of the *West Indies*; this is also reckoned a good pectoral, and very balsamic.

The cherry tree (bearing a small bitter cherry) found amongst maples and white wood, is very proper for furniture; this tree produces much more liquor than the maple, but it is bitter, and the sugar made of it, never loses its disagreeable taste. The *Indians* use the bark of it as a remedy for certain disorders, incident to the fair sex.

There are three sorts of ash trees in *Canada*, that called *Francy*, the mestizzo or mongrel, and the bastard ash. The first sort, which grows amongst maples, is proper for the carpenters trade, and for staves for dry casks. The second has the same uses and qualities, and like the bastard, grows only in low fat lands.

They reckon also three sorts of walnut trees in this province; the hard, the soft, or tender, and the third species, which has a very thin bark. The hard walnut tree produces very small nuts, pleasant to the taste, but which lye long and heavy on the stomach; the wood of this is only fit for burning. The soft walnut tree has an oblong fruit, of the size of a *French* walnut, with a very hard shell; the kernels of these are excellent to eat. The wood is not quite so fine as ours in *Europe*, but in return it is almost incorruptible either in the earth or under water, and extremely difficult to be burnt. The third sort produces a nut of much the same size with the first, but in greater quantities, bitter, and enclosed in very thin shells. These nuts yield an excellent oil; there distils from the tree, a water much richer in sugar than that of the maple, but in small quantities. This, as well as the soft sort of walnut trees, grows only in the richest soil.

Beech trees abound in those parts on particular spots. Sometimes they are found on sandy hillocks and at others on the richest low-lands. These bear great quantities of mast, from which it would be no difficult matter to extract the oil; the bears and partridges subsist chiefly on this fruit. The wood of these trees is extremely soft, and and very fit to make oars for boats or galleys, tho' oars of canoes are made of maple. White-wood, a species of the poplar which grows among maples, and the bitter cherry tree, are very plentiful. These trees grow very thick and streight, the wood is very even, easily worked, and sawed, makes excellent boards, and thick planks, and also staves for casks. The *Indians* make use of the bark to thatch their cabins.

The elm is very common in every part of this province. The kinds are the white, and the red; the wood of the red is harder, and much more difficult to work, but it is also much more lasting. It is the bark of the red elm of which the *Indians* make their canoes; some of which made of one single piece, are capable of containing twenty persons. Some of these trees are also hollow, and it is in those cavities that the wild cats and bears take up their lodgings from the month of *November* to *April*. The poplar is commonly found along the banks of rivers, and in marshy places.

The woods afford great numbers of plumb trees, loaden with fruit of a very sharp acrid taste. *Le Vinagrier* or vinegar tree, is a shrub with a very large pith, which produces a sharp kind of fruit growing in clusters, of the colour of bullock's blood. These are infused in water, and make a sort of vinegar. The *Pemine*, another plant peculiar to this country, is a different shrub, growing along the sides of rivulets, and in meadows, which also bears a clustering fruit of a very sharp and astringent taste. There are three sorts of gooseberry trees, natives of this country, and exactly such as those of *France*.

The fort called *bleuet* grow, here, as in *Europe*, in woods or groves. The fruit is a sovereign and most efficacious remedy for the dysentery, which it removes in very little time. The *Indians* dry or preserve them in the same manner as we do cherries in *Europe*.

Atoca, white thorn, and cotton-tree.

The atoca is a fruit growing in pods, of the size of a cherry. This plant which creeps along the ground in marshy places, produces its fruit in the water. It has a sharp taste and is used in confections. The white thorn is found on the banks of rivers, and produces plenty of fruit with three stones, which is the food of several wild beasts. What they call here the cotton tree, is a plant which sprouts, like asparagus, to the height of about three feet, and is crowned with several tufts of flowers; these are shaken early in the morning before the dew is off them, when there falls from them with the dew, a kind of honey, which is reduced into sugar by boiling; the seed is contained in a pod, which encloses also a very fine sort of cotton.

Sun-Flower.

The Heliotrope, or sun flower, is a plant very common in the fields belonging to the *Indians*, and grows to the height of seven or eight feet; its flower, which is very large, resembles very much that of the marigold, and its seed is disposed exactly in the same manner.

Maiz, kidney-beans, melons, &c.

The *Indians* by boiling it, extract an oil, with which they anoint their hair. The legumes, or greens, which the *Aborigines*, or ancient inhabitants of *Canada* most commonly cultivate are, maiz, or *Turkey-corn*, kidney-beans, pompions, and melons. They have a kind of pompion much smaller than ours in *Europe*, but very sweet to the taste. These they boil whole in water, or roast in the ashes, and so eat them without any additional seasoning. The *Indians* knew the use of both common and water-melon, before the arrival of the *Europeans* in this country. The first was full as good as those of *France*, especially at *Chambly*, where they are in great abundance. The hops, and capilaire, or maiden hair, are also the production of *Canada*, and this latter grows to a greater height, and is much preferable to that of *France*.

Vines of *Canada*.

In the Southern parts of *Canada*, are multitudes of vines; it is about the entry of the Lake *Ontario*, where you first meet with them, and that in such numbers, that there is scarce any tree without a vine, which climbs to the top of the highest of them. Vines abound as much, we are assured, all over the country as far as *Mexico*. The branches spring from a very thick stem, and bear multitudes of grapes; but no bigger than a pea, which is owing to their want of pruning and cultivation. When ripe they afford a plentiful repast for the bears, who mount in quest of them, to the tops of the loftiest trees. Yet they have only the fragments left by the birds, who very soon reap the vintage of whole forests. As to simples, there is a great variety, and amongst those many which are peculiar to *Canada*; but to give the detail of them all would swell this account to too great a bulk, and would require a volume to themselves.

Of the Origin, Languages, Religion, Government, Genius, Character, Manners, and Customs, of the different Indian Nations inhabiting CANADA.

Eskimaux nation.

THE first *Indian* nation we meet with in our voyage from *Europe* to *Canada* is that of the *Eskimaux*, a people inhabiting the immense and frightful solitudes of *Labrador*, situated on the North side of the Gulph of *St Lawrence*, and of the island of *Newfoundland*, whither they make annual excursions, it being doubted, whether there are any other inhabitants, besides those flying colonies of the *Eskimaux*, to be found on that island. Here they pass the greatest part of the year, and especially the summer, being employed in the common exercises of savages, hunting and fishing, which constitute all the arts known or practised among them. The *Eskimaux*, though scarce numerous enough to people two or three sorry villages, possess, or rather range through, an immense extent of country, lying between the river *St Lawrence*, *Canada*, and the Northern Ocean; and some of them have been met with as far as the river *Bourbon*, which, flowing from the West, discharges itself into *Hudson's Bay*.

The

The origin of this name of *Eskimaux* is doubtful, though the most probable etymology of it is from the *Algonquin* word *Esquimautic*, that is, *Eaters of raw flesh*. In fact, the *Eskimaux* are the only *Indians* we know, who feed on raw flesh, though they are not, however, ignorant of the manner of roasting it, or, at least, drying it in the sun. It is also certain, that of all the known nations of *America*, there is none that answer the notion we in *Europe* at first entertain of the manners and qualities of savages, more than this. They are also almost the sole people in *America* who have any beards, which they have naturally so thick, that their face is covered with hair up to the very eyes, and it is with difficulty one is able to distinguish the smallest feature or lineament of a human countenance in them. Their air is, moreover, to the last degree hideous; little and haggard eyes; black, and sometimes flaxen hair, kept in the most frightful disorder imaginable; and their whole outside very much like that of brute animals.

Of their name
Outward description.

Their manners and characters are such as, in every respect, justify the impression one receives of them from this horrible physiognomy; they are fierce, savage, restless, suspicious, and extremely desirous of doing mischief to strangers, who can never be sufficiently upon their guard against them. As for their genius, and the qualities of the mind, we have so little communication with this nation, that we are not sufficiently qualified to make a just estimate of them. They have, however, abundance of address in doing mischief: They have been often known to cut the cables of ships at anchor in the night, in order to make them suffer shipwreck on their coast, that they might reap advantage from their distress. They are even bold enough to attack them in the face of day, if they happen to discover the crew to be weak. It has always been impossible to civilize them, so that there is no dealing with them but at the end of a long pole. They not only keep at a distance from *Europeans*, but even refuse to eat of any thing presented by them, and in every thing take so many precautions with respect to them, as not only to betray an infinite distrust and suspicion on their side, but also to give grounds for the same fears from themselves. The *Eskimaux* are tall of stature, and indifferently well made, and their skin is quite as fair as that of the *Europeans*, owing to their never going naked, summer or winter, let the heat be never so excessive.

Their genius and manners.

Some derive their pedigree from *Greenland*. Their flaxen hair, their beards, the whiteness of their skin, their small commerce and resemblance with their neighbours, leave no room to doubt their having a different origin from the other *Americans*. This conjecture therefore is not improbable; as we may suppose no nation will much value themselves on the honour of an alliance with a people, who are as inhospitable and uncultivated as the country they inhabit.

Their origin.

Their clothes consist of a shirt, made of the bladders or entrails of fishes cut into breadths, and tolerably well sewed together, over which they wear a sort of cloak, made of the skins of bears, or other wild beasts, and even sometimes of the skins of fowls. A sort of cowl, or cap, of the same stuff with their shirt, and sowed to it, covers the head, and from the top of it rises a tuft of hair, which falling down hides their foreheads. The shirt reaches to the loins only, and the cloak hangs down before as far as the thighs, and behind terminates in a point somewhat below the waist. The women however wear it hanging down on both sides as far as the mid-leg, and fasten it with a belt, from which hang small bones. The men wear breeches made of skins, with the hair inwards, and covered on the outside with ermine, or some such fur. They wear also stockings made of skins, with the hairy side inwards, in the same manner, and over these, fur-boots, with the hair as the first, then a second pair of stockings, and another pair of boots above that; and those stockings and boots, it is said, sometimes trebled and quadrupled, which, with all their encumbrance, hinder not those *Indians* from being very nimble. Their arrows, which are their only arms offensive or defensive, are pointed with the teeth of the fish called the sea-cow, to which they also add iron when they can get it. In summer they are known to live night and day in the open air: In winter they live in caverns under ground, where they are crowded one over another, probably for the better keeping out the cold.

Cloathing.

We are very little acquainted with the *Indians*, living round and above *Hudson's Bay*. On the Southern parts of that bay indeed they carry on a trade with the *Mistassins*, *Monsonis*, *Cristinaux*, and *Assiniboels*, these last lie very remote, and

Four Indian nations.

inhabit the banks of a lake lying to the North, and North-West of the *Sioux*, a dialect of whose language they speak; the three others talk the *Algonkin* language. The *Cristinaux*, or *Killistinous*, come from the countries lying on the North shore of Lake Superior.

Savanna's nation.

The *Indians* in the neighbourhood of the rivers *Bourbon* and *St Theresa*, have no affinity in point of language with either; they may possibly understand the *Esquimaux*, who have been seen very high above the mouth of the river. These *Indians* are observed to be extremely superstitious, and never to perform their worship without some sort of sacrifice. Those who have most frequented their country, affirm them to have, like their brethren in *Canada*, notions of good and evil genii; that the sun is their principal deity and that, when they are about to deliberate upon any affair of importance, they cause him to be smoked; a ceremony which is performed in the manner following. They assemble at day break in the cabin of one of their chiefs, who, after lighting his pipe, offers or presents it to the rising sun, then guiding it with both hands from East to West, implores that planet to be propitious to the nation. This done, all those who compose the assembly, smoke by turns in the same pipe. All these *Indians*, tho' there be actually five or six different nations of them, are comprehended by *French* authors, under the general appellation of *Savanna's*, from the nature of the country they inhabit, which is low, swampy, and ill-wooded, those drowned barren lands, being called *Savanes* in *Canada*.

Smoking the sun.

Indians of the *Two Rivers*.

Higher up the bay Northwards, you meet with two rivers, one called *la riviere Danoise*, or *Danes river*, the other *la riviere de Loup Marin* or *Sea-Wolves river*. On the banks of these live certain *Indians*, called, for what reason it is hard to say, by the name or rather by the nick-name of *Plats cotee de Chiens*, that is, *Lowland Dogs*. They are often at war with the *Savanna's*, tho' neither of these nations treat their prisoners with that cruelty, common to the *Canadian Indians*, being satisfied with making slaves of them.

Strange customs and opinions of the *Savanna's*.

The *Savanna's* are sometimes reduced by famine to inconceivable hardships, whether owing to their natural laziness, or to the barrenness of their lands in some seasons, in which their harvest fails them. When these inconveniences are attended with a scarcity of game, and a bad fishing season, as they are then in perfect want of sustenance, some have made no scruple to affirm, that in this conjuncture they eat one another. The coward is generally the first victim to necessity, and, it is said, it is customary among them, when they come to such an age as to be no longer in a condition to be serviceable to their families, for the person in these circumstances to tie a rope about his neck, presenting the ends of it at the same time to the child that is dearest to him, who strangles him with all the quickness he can exert, and believes he has performed a meritorious action, not only in putting an end to the sufferings of his father, but also by promoting his happiness; it being an article of faith among those *Indians*, that those who die old are born again, and take upon them a second life on earth, beginning at the state of infancy as before, and that he, on the contrary, who finishes his life betimes, and before he is old, becomes so on his arrival in the other world, or, as they call it, in the country of souls.

Marriages.

The young women amongst the *Savanna's* marry not till their parents think fit, who also make choice of him they are to espouse; and the son in law is obliged to live with his father in law, in entire subjection to his will and pleasure, till he has children of his own. The young men quit their father's house betimes, in order to shift for their livelihood. The *Savanna's* burn the bodies of their dead, and enclose their ashes in the bark of trees, which they afterwards bury in the earth: They then erect a sort of monument made with poles, to which they tie tobacco for the use of the deceased in the other world. If the departed were a hunter, his bow and arrow are suspended on it, in honour of him. The time of mourning of a mother for her children lasts the space of twenty four days, during which, presents are made to the father, who returns this compliment by giving a repast. War is much less in honour among them than hunting; but, in order to acquire the reputation of an able hunter, the candidate for this distinction is to fast three days successively, without tasting any thing, and to have his face daubed with black all the while. The fast ended, he offers as a sacrifice to the grand spirit, a morsel of each wild beast he has been accustomed to hunt, and it is commonly the tongue and the snout, or muzzle, which, except on these occasions only, are the portion of the huntsman himself. His relations

Funerals.

Hunting in honour.

touch

touch nothing, and would sooner die of hunger, than eat of it ; he is to treat no person whatever with it, but his friends or strangers.

In other respects, it is affirmed, those *Indians* are perfectly disinterested, and of an incorruptible fidelity ; that they abominate a lie, and hold all manner of deceit in the utmost horror and detestation. Such are the manners of the Northern *Indians*, with whom the *French* nation have never had any established trade, and consequently are greater strangers to their manners than those of the nations following.

These may be distinguished into three different classes, or languages, each of which has its peculiar genius and character. In all that vast extent of country, which is more particularly known by the name of *New France*, and whose limits on the North extend to the *Highlands* near *Hudson's Bay*, which was settled and confirmed by the treaty of *Utrecht* ; and is bounded on the East by the *British* colonies ; by *Louisiana* towards the South-east ; and by the *Spanish* dominions on the West, there are but three mother languages, from whence all the rest are derived ; namely, that of the *Sioux*, the *Algonkin*, and the *Huron* languages.

The first of these nations is little known, no more than how far their name or language may possibly reach. The *French* have as yet had no manner of commerce, except with the *Sioux* and the *Astiniboels*, and that not without frequent interruptions. The missionaries attempted to make a settlement amongst the first of these nations ; but tho' this endeavour was not accomplished, the people appeared extremely docile. The ill success of this enterprise is the more to be regretted, as no nation could possibly afford better lights, with respect to the unknown countries lying to the North-west of the *Mississippi*, because they traffic with all the nations inhabiting those vast regions. These people dwell, for the most part, in Savannas, or meadows, in very capacious tents, made of skins, and very ingeniously contrived. Their common food is wild oats, which grow in great plenty in their marshes, and on the banks of their rivers ; and the flesh of buffaloes, which are covered with wool, and graze in prodigious multitudes in those meadows. They have no fixed abode, but travel from place to place in large companies, like the *Tartars*, stopping no longer in one place, than the plenty of game to be found in it will allow.

The *French* geographers distinguish this nation into the *Wandering Sioux*, the *Sioux of the Savannas*, the *Eastern*, and the *Western Sioux* ; a distinction, in the opinion of some writers verified in those matters, not too well founded. All those *Sioux* live exactly in the same manner, so that a tribe, or clan, which has resided last year on the Eastern shore of the *Mississippi*, will be found next on its Western bank ; and those perhaps who have been seen for some time past on the River *St Peter*, shall now inhabit some Savanna at a considerable distance from it.

The name of *Sioux*, which has been given by the *French* to those *Indians*, is entirely of *French* extraction, or rather it is no more than the two last syllables of the word *Nadouessioux*, the name given them by several nations ; others call them *Nadouessis*.

This nation is by far the most numerous of any we know in all *Canada*, and formerly very peaceable and unwarlike, till the *Hurons* and *Outawais* took sanctuary amongst them, when they fled from the fury of the *Iroquois*, or Five nations ; these people laughed at the simplicity of the *Sioux*, and soon instructed them in the art military at their own cost.

The *Sioux* have a plurality of wives, and punish adultery with extraordinary severity. This is done by cutting off the extremity of the nose of the delinquent, and by cutting the skin in form of a circle on the crown of the head, and afterwards tearing it off.

Charlevoix says, he has spoken with some persons who are persuaded, that the *Sioux* have the same accent in pronouncing the words of their language with the *Chiniese*, and it would be no difficult matter for any *French* gentleman, who knew both languages, to determine whether this nation derives its original from that ancient oriental people.

Those who have had any intercourse with the *Astiniboels* affirm, that they are tall of stature, well made, vigorous, active, inured to cold and all manner of fatigues ; that they pierce their bodies in every part, which they adorn with figures of serpents or other animals ; and that they undertake journeys of a prodigious length. There is nothing, however, in this description much differing from other *Indians* of this continent

Truth and fidelity of *Indians*.

Three languages of *Canada*.

First of the *Sioux*. Account of that people.

Distinction of the *Sioux*.

Of the name *Sioux*.

People numerous and peaceable.

Punish adulterers.

Pronunciation like the *Chiniese*.

Astiniboels described.

ment known to us : But the great characteristic of this nation is, their phlegmatic temper, which appears to an extraordinary degree, when compared with the *Cristinaux*, with whom they traffic ; who are, on the contrary, endowed with an extraordinary vivacity and spirit, always dancing and singing, and speaking with such a volubility of tongue, and such a torrent of expression, as is rarely to be found in any other *Indian* nation.

Remarkable
lake of *Affini-
boels*.

The true country of the *Affiniboels* is in the neighbourhood of a lake of that name which is very little known. The common, tho' uncertain opinion is, that this lake is six hundred leagues in circumference ; that all the roads leading to it are almost impassable ; that its shores on all sides are most delightfully pleasant ; that the air is very mild and temperate, tho' it is commonly placed on the north side of Lake Superior, where the cold is extreme ; and that it contains such a number of islands, that its common name in these parts is the lake of *Islands*. Some *Indians* call it *Micini-pi*, that is, the *Great Water* ; and in fact it appears to be the basin, or reservoir, of a multitude of very large rivers, as well as of all the lakes in *North America*. From this lake, say they, flows *Bourbon* river, which falls into *Hudson's Bay* ; the river *St Laurence*, which carries its waters to the ocean ; the *Mississipi*, which empties itself into the Gulf of *Mexico* ; the *Missouri*, which mixes its waters with this last, and is not at all inferior to it before their junction ; and a fifth, which, they tell us, flows Westward, and therefore undoubtedly disembogues itself into the Southern or *Pacific* ocean. It is pity this lake is not known to those literati who have searched every where for the Terrestrial Paradise, which would have been at least as properly fixed here as in *Scandinavia*. I will not take upon me to justify all the accounts which travellers have given us, and still less what certain *Indians* relate, who pretend, that in the neighbourhood of this lake of the *Affiniboels* are men resembling us *Europeans*, and living in a country where gold and silver are so common, as to be employed in the most trifling utensils. Father *Marquette*, who discovered the *Mississipi* in 1673, tells us, in the account he has left us, that certain *Indians* had not only told him of that river, which takes its rise from this lake, and flows Westwards, but added, that they had seen large ships at its mouth. It further appears, that the *Affiniboels* are the same people marked in certain old maps under the name of *Poulaks*, whose country, according to some relations, adjoins to that of the *Cristinaux*, or *Killistinous*.

Algonkin and
Huron tongues

The *Algonkin* and *Huron* languages divide almost all the nations of *Canada* between them, with whom the *French* have any sort of commerce ; and he who should be master of both, might travel over a tract of country more than fifteen hundred leagues in extent, without any interpreter, and might also make himself understood by upwards of a hundred different nations, who yet have each their peculiar and distinct language. The *Algonkin* in particular comprehends an immense space of country : It begins at *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of *St Laurence*, and makes a circuit of twelve hundred leagues, fetching a compass from the South-east by the North to the opposite point in the North-west. It is pretended also, that the *Wolf* nation, or *Makingans*, and most of the *Indians* of *New England* and *Virginia*, speak a dialect of the *Algonkin* language.

Indian nations
by the Gulf
and River *St
Laurence*.

The *Abenakis*, or *Canibas*, on the confines of *New-England*, have for their next neighbours the *Etechemins*, or *Malecites*, on the lands adjacent to the river *Pentagot* ; and further eastwards are the *Micmacs*, or *Souriquois*, whose country is properly *Acadia* or *Nova Scotia*, being the extended coast along the gulf of *St Laurence* reaching as far as *Gaspé*, from whence a certain author has given them the name of *Gaspésians*, and the islands in its neighbourhood. From hence, as far up the river *St Laurence* as *Saguinay*, there is no *Indian* nation to be found ; tho' when *Canada* was first discovered, and a great many years afterwards, they reckoned several nations within this space, who spread themselves over the isle of *Anticosti*, towards the *Monts Notre Dame*, and along the Northern shore of the river. Those most commonly mentioned in the antient relations are the *Bersamites*, the *Papinacbois*, and the *Montagnez*. They were also called, and especially these last, the *Lower Algonkins*, from their inhabiting along the lower part of the river, with respect to *Quebec*. The others are, for the most part, reduced to a few straggling families, which wander from place to place, without any fixed residence.

There were also some *Indian* nations who used to frequent *Canada*, coming from the

the Northern parts, sometimes by way of the river *Saguenay*, but more commonly by the *three Rivers*; but it is long since we have heard of them. Amongst others, the *Attikamegues*, an Indian nation very remote and surrounded by other nations, reaching to the neighbourhood of *Lac Saint Jean*, or *St John's Lake*, and even as far as the lakes of the *Mistassins*, and *Nemisican*. Almost all of them have been exterminated by the *Iroquois*, or Five Nations, or by diseases, the consequence of famine; a distress to which they have been reduced thro' fear of those barbarians. They are the more to be commiserated, if the character they bear in the French writers be true, that they were without vice, remarkably good natured, and exceedingly disposed to embrace Christianity. Their hearty and inviolable attachment to the French, in whose interests they were, and their regard to treaties, are also qualities extremely worthy of our esteem and commendation.

Nations of virtuous qualities exterminated.

Between *Quebec* and *Montreal*, there are also towards the *Three Rivers*, some of the *Algonkin* nation, who are not, however, incorporated in one village; they traffic with the French. If what the French writers tell us is to be credited, this nation, in the infancy of the colony, occupied all the Northern shore of the river, from *Quebec*, where *Champlain* found one of their settlements, and made an alliance with them as far as *Lake St Peter*.

Algonkin nation.

From the island of *Montreal*, following always the North coast, you meet with some villages of the *Nipissings*, *Temiscamings*, *Tetes de boule*, or round-heads, *Amicouis*, and, lastly, *Outawais*, or, as some pronounce and write, *Outaouaks*. The first who are the true *Algonkins*, and who alone have preserved the *Algonkin* tongue in its original purity, have given their name to a small lake situated between lake *Huron*, and the river of the *Outawais*. The *Temiscamings* occupy the banks of another small lake, which also bears their name; and appears to be the true source of the river of the *Outawais*. The *Round-Heads* live not far from these, and take their names from the figure of their heads, which they do esteem a very great beauty, and, for this reason, it is believed that the mothers take great care to form the heads of their children into this shape when they are in the cradle.

Nations above Montreal.

Round-heads.

The *Amikouis*, called also the nation of the *Beaver*, are almost reduced to nothing; the remains of them now are seen in the Island *Manitoualan*, situated towards the North part of *Lake Huron*. The *Outawais*, formerly a very numerous nation, inhabited the banks of the great river which bears their name, and of which they pretend to be rightful lords. There are now no more than three villages of them, and those very thin of inhabitants, of whom some account will be given hereafter.

Nations almost extinct.

In the *Narrows*, or strait between the lakes *Huron* and *Superior*, and in the place where one of these lakes, that is, the *Superior*, empties itself into the other, we meet with a rapid rift, formerly mentioned under the appellation of *le Sault St Marie*, or *the fall of St Mary*. The neighbourhood of this place was formerly possessed by an Indian nation, who came, as is said, from the Southern shore of *Lake Superior*, and were called *Saulteurs*, that is the nation living near the fall; a name which was very probably given them to avoid the trouble of pronouncing their real name, which they say is impossible to be expressed under two or three breathings, somewhat resembling *PAVOIRIGOUÉIOUHAK*. No Indian nation, as I am informed, from the French authors, inhabits the banks of *Lake Superior*, tho' the French, in the posts or forts they have built near this lake, traffic with the *Christinaux*, a nation coming from the North-East, and speaking the *Algonkin* tongue, and, with the *Assiniboels*, situated towards the North-West.

Saltuers nation.

On the West of *Lake Michigan* there is a great bay, which extends twenty eight leagues towards the South, called *la Baye des puants*, or simply, the *Bay*. The entry of this bay is very wide, and is a sort of archipel, some of the islands of which are from fifteen to twenty leagues in circuit. These were formerly inhabited by the *Poutewatamis*, whose name they still retain, excepting a few which you leave on your right hand, at present inhabited by certain Indians called *Noquets*. The *Poutewatamis* now possess the least of these isles, which formerly belonged to them, and have besides two other villages, one situated on *St Joseph's* river, and another at the *Narrows*. Towards the bottom of the bay are the *Sakis* and *Otcagras*; these latter are called by the disagreeable epithet of *Puans*, *Stinkards*, the reason of which

Nations in isles of Baye des Puants.

Puans and Malbommes nations.

is not as yet discovered ; but before you arrive in their country, you leave on the right, a small nation called *Malbommes*, *Moon-calves*, or *Folles Avoines*, that is, *Addle-Heads*.

Renards nation.

A small river, very much interrupted with falls, or cataracts, discharges itself into the bottom of the bay, and is known by the name of *la Riviere des Renards*, or the *River of Foxes*, on account of the neighbourhood of the *Outagamis*, commonly called *Renards*, or *Foxes*. All this country is extremely pleasant, and that which stretches Southward, as far as the river of the *Illinois*, is still more charming. It is, however, but ill peopled, being only inhabited by two weak nations, the *Kikapous* and *Mascoutins*. Some geographers have thought fit to distinguish these last by the name of the

Nation of fire

Nation of Fire, and their country by that of the *Land of Fire* ; an appellation which owes its rise to an equivocal term in the language of that people.

Miamis nation, three cantons.

It is eighty years since the *Miamis* have been settled on the Southern extremity of *Lake Michigan*, in a place called *Chicagou*, from a small river of this name, which throws itself into the lake, and has its source not far distant from that of the *Illinois*. These people are now divided into three cantons, one of which is on the river *St Joseph* ; a second on a river which bears their name, and discharges itself into *Lake Erie* ; and the third on the river *Ouabache*, which carries its waters into the *Mississipi* : These last are better known under the name of *Ouyatanous*, from the great affinity in language ; and there is scarce room to question that the *Ouyatanous* were, not long ago, one people with the *Illinois*. In short, the greatest part of the *Algonkin* nations, if you except those more advanced towards the South, are very little employed in the cultivation of the ground, but live almost entirely by hunting and fishing ; hence their disposition and manner of life are far from being sedentary, and yet they are by no means on the increase ; but, on the contrary, diminish daily. Not one nation among all those of this tongue is capable of reckoning six thousand souls ; some amount not to two thousand.

Huron language, its extent.

The *Huron* language is very far from being as extensive as the *Algonkin*, and the reason doubtless is, because the nations who speak the former are not of so wandering a disposition as the others. The *French* writer, whom I follow in this place, tells us, that some pretend the language spoken by the *Iroquois*, or the Five Nations, to be the mother tongue. Be that as it will, all the *Indians*, living South of the river *St Laurence*, from the river *Sorel* as far as the extremity of *Lake Erie*, and even the confines of *Virginia*, talk in this language ; and he who knows the *Huron* tongue is capable of understanding that of all the nations within this extent. There is, however, a great variety of different dialects, even almost as many as there are different cantons. The Five Nations, or cantons, who compose the *Iroquois* republic, have each of them their own peculiar dialect ; nor have all those nations that bear the name of *Hurons*, always spoken the same language in former times. The same author says nothing of the language of the *Cherakees*, a pretty numerous nation living amongst those vast savannas that lye between *Lake Erie* and the *Mississipi*.

Remarks on the Indians of Canada.

It will, however, be proper to observe, that as the greatest part of the *Indians of Canada* have been always from time to time in trade with one another, being sometimes allies and sometimes enemies, tho' the three mother or original languages I have been mentioning have no sort of affinity or analogy, these nations find means, in spite of this obstacle, to traffic together, without any necessity of an interpreter : whether it be that long and antient custom has taught them to communicate their thoughts by signs ; or that they have formed a sort of common jargon, which they acquire by repeated use.

Three original tongues.

I shall now lay before the reader the nature and character of the languages of the *Indians*, as they occur in authors most worthy of credit, and on whose judgment we have reason to rely. Those who pretend to have studied those languages, affirm that each of the three abovementioned has all the characteristics of primitive or original tongues. What is certain is, that they are of a very different original : This may be proved from the bare pronunciation. The *Siou Indian* rather hisses than speaks. The *Huron* cannot pronounce any of those letters called *labial*, or which are spoken only by means of the lips, but speaks through the throat, and every syllable is uttered with what the grammarians call an *Aspirate* before it. The *Algonkin* pronounces

pronounces his words with more softness, and speaks much more naturally, as well as smoothly. As to the first of these languages I have been able to procure but very slight information; but, with respect to the two others, as the *French* missionaries have studied them with great application, I shall give what *Charlevoix* says he had from the mouths of those who had applied themselves to this study with most success.

The *Huron* language, says that learned missionary, for copiousness, energy, and nobleness of expression, exceeds all the languages in the world; and those that speak it, tho' but a handful of people, still preserve a dignity of soul, and an elevation of sentiment, which agrees much better with the majesty of their language, and, he might have added, with what they have in times past been, than with what they now are in their present fallen and distressful condition.

Some pretend to derive their language from the *Hebrew*, which is also, as they say, the source from whence the *Greek* likewise flows. Every body knows what to think of this etymology, since whatever is most ancient and best, must all spring from the same fountain, without which there is no peace in *Israel*. The reader will gain but very little light on this subject by consulting the vocabulary of *Gabriel Sagbard*, a Recollet of much esteem, cited by some in support of this most orthodox system; and still less from those of *Jacques Cartier*, and the baron *La Hontan*. These authors took at a venture a few expressions, some from the *Huron*, and others from the *Algonkin* tongues, which they very ill remembered, and which had often a quite contrary signification to what they imagined to be the sense and meaning of them; an error common enough among the superficial writers of travels. We will therefore pass over the frivolous arguments they adduce on this topic, and proceed to what is founded, in my opinion, on much better authority.

The *Algonkin* has not the strength of the *Huron* tongue, but it is infinitely more smooth and elegant. Both are however very rich in a great variety and different turns of expression, together with a propriety and regularity, which are perfectly astonishing.

But what is still more surprising is, that nobody studies his language amongst those barbarians, or ever knew the use of letters or writing, and yet an ill chosen expression, or an improper term, or a fault against the rules of Syntax, is what is never known amongst them; and that children, in their most familiar discourse, speak with the greatest purity and propriety. It is something wonderful that this should be the case with nations very little cultivated; and the same, as I have been told by those who are allowed to be good critics, may be said of the *Spaniards*, and of those *Scotch* who have retained their antient language, which is a dialect of the old *Celtic*; and that you can never distinguish the condition of the lowest peasant or shepherd, from that of persons of the highest quality, by his speech or discourse.

But to return from this short digression, the manner in which those *Indians* animate every thing they say, leaves no room to doubt but that they understand the force and value of all the expressions they use, and all the beauty and delicacy of their language.

The different dialects derived from either of the mother tongues, have preserved neither the beauty nor force of their originals. The *Tsonnontbouans*, for instance, one of the cantons of the *Iroquois* or Five Nations, are thought, by the other *Indians*, to speak after a very rude and unpolished manner.

In the *Huron* language every word is declined, and they have a singular method, but what is at the same time very difficult to express, to mark the difference of the verbs, nouns, pronouns, and the other parts of speech. Simple verbs have a double conjugation, the one absolute and the other reciprocal: The third persons have two genders, this language having no neuter gender. As to numbers and tenses, there are the same differences as in the *Greek*; as, for instance, in speaking of going a journey, you express yourself differently if that journey be by land, from what you do if it be by water. There are as many different kinds of active verbs as there are things expressed by them; for example, the word *to eat*, has as many variations as there are different sorts of eatables. In speaking of any living creature, you express the verb quite different from what you do in speaking of an inanimate thing. Thus, when you speak of *seeing a man*, and again of *seeing a stone*, you make use of two different

Character of the *Huron* language.

Its derivation from the *Hebrew* exploded.

Tongues compared.

Illiterate nations speak correctly.

Indians understand rhetoric.

Dialects debase originals.

Construction of the *Huron* Grammar.

different verbs. To speak of using a thing which is your own, 'and of what belongs to another, the verb is quite different.

Defects of
the Indian
languages.

Causes.

There is somewhat pretty much like this in the *Algonkin* tongue, tho' differing in the manner, the detail of which is of very little consequence after what has been said of the *Huron*. If the great richness and variety of expression in those two languages render them extremely difficult to be learned, there is no less inconvenience arising from their exceeding poverty and barrenness in supplying terms for our ideas and conceptions. For as those nations, when the *Europeans* first began to have any dealings with them, were almost entirely ignorant of every thing but what was in use among themselves, and what fell immediately under the cognizance of their senses, they wanted terms to express other notions, or, if they once had such terms, they had by degrees forgot the use of them. Thus having no regular form of worship, and forming but very indistinct notions of the deity, and of every thing relating to religion, and never making any reflexions, except on such things as were perceptible to the senses, or what related to their affairs, and those very much limited; and unaccustomed to speak of the virtues, passions, and many other topicks of common conversation with us; being entirely ignorant of all arts, except those that were necessary to their state and condition, and which are reducible to a very small number; having no knowledge of the sciences, and observing only what was within their reach, and being entirely ignorant of the superfluities or refinements of polished life; when there was occasion to discourse of all these points, then it was that the vast defects of their language were discovered; so that you were obliged to make use of numberless circumlocutions, which were extremely tedious and perplexing to You, and not a little puzzling, not to say almost unintelligible to Them. Hence you were first of all obliged to learn Their language, and afterwards to teach Them another, partly composed of their own terms, and partly of those of the *European* languages, and those again transformed and modelled after the *Huron* or *Algonkin* manner, in order to facilitate the understanding of it, as well as its pronunciation to them. As for letters they had none, the want of which they supplied by a kind of hieroglyphics; and they were quite confounded to see the *Europeans* read their thoughts as quick, and explain themselves with the same facility in writing, as they could in speaking.

Original
tongues how
known.

If it is asked, how we come to know the *Sioux*, the *Huron*, and the *Algonkin* to be mother languages, and not those which we look upon as dialects, the answer is, that nothing can possibly be more easy: All these nations have somewhat of the manner and genius of the *Asiatics* in their way of speaking, which consists in giving a figurative turn to their thoughts and expressions; from whence some have probably been led to believe they draw their origin from *Asia*, a conjecture rational enough, and deducible from a variety of circumstances.

Advantage-
ous character
of the *Huron*
nations.

The nations of the *Huron* language are always more employed than the other *Indians* about the cultivating of their lands and in country affairs; they are also less dispersed abroad. This state and management have produced two effects; for, in the first place, they are better settled, better lodged, better fortified, have always a much better police, and a more distinct form of government, the dignity of the chief, at least among the *Tionontates*, who are the true *Hurons*, being hereditary. And, secondly, their country, at least before their wars with the *Iroquois*, of which *Charlevoix* says he was an eye witness, was much more populous, tho' polygamy was never allowed or known among them. They have also the character of being much more industrious, more expert in their business, and more prudent and provident in their conduct. All these good qualities can only proceed from the spirit of society, which they have better maintained than the other *Indian* nations. This is chiefly observable amongst the *Hurons*, who, tho' they scarce deserve the name of a nation at present, and are reduced to two indifferent villages, and those considerably distant from one another, are, however, the life and soul of all their assemblies and councils, in which the public business is debated.

Resemblance
between *Indi-
ans*, whence.

It is also true that with all this difference, which is not perceivable at the first glance, there is still a great resemblance in the qualities of the mind, in the manners, and in the customs of all the *Indians* of *Canada*, which is undoubtedly owing to their intercourse, and to the traffic they have constantly carried on with one another, from the remotest antiquity.

Thus much may suffice with respect to the languages spoken by the different *Indian* nations in *Canada*: We will next give, in as few words as possible, what relates to

to their manner of declaring and making war. The declaration of war, according to *Charlevoix* is in this manner : About ten or eleven at night, says that writer, as I was going to bed, I heard a shouting, which I was told was the war-cry, and soon after I saw a company of *Mississaguez* make their entry into the fort near the bay called *l'Anse de la Famine*. Some years ago those *Indians* having engaged in the war which the Five Nations made on the *Cherokees*, a numerous people, occupying a very fine country to the South of Lake *Erie*, three or four of those bravos equipped as for masquerades, with their faces daubed over, so as to inspire the spectators with horror, and followed almost by all the *Indians* living in the neighbourhood, after having rambled over every hut or cabbin, singing their war songs to the sound of an instrument they call *Chichikoué*, being a great gourd filled with pebbles, came to perform the same ceremony through the different parts of the fort, by way of compliment to the commandant and other officers. I must confess, says *Charlevoix*, that this ceremony has something extremely horrible in it, the first time one sees it especially, and before I recollected I was amongst barbarians. Their songs have a dismal and melancholy air, with a mixture of horror and affright, occasioned perhaps by the darkness of the night, and by the pageantry of the festival, for this is really such amongst the *Indians*. All this was intended as an invitation to the *Iroquois*, who being weary of the charge of the war, or perhaps because they were not in a humour for it, asked some time to consider of it, and so departed each to his home.

Indian manner of declaring war.

It appears that they invoke in these songs the god of war, called by the *Hurons*, *Areskoni*, and by the *Iroquois*, *Agreskoué*; but we are not informed what name he has amongst the *Algonkin* nations. The relation of this name to that of *Ares*, the Greek name for that god, is very singular: For *Aregouen* in the *Huron* and *Iroquois* language signifies to make war, and is conjugated thus: *Garego*, I make war; *Sarego*, thou makest war; *Aregu*, he maketh war. Besides, *Areskoni* is not only the *Mars* of those nations, but also the sovereign of the gods, or, as they express themselves, the Great Spirit, the creator and master of the universe, the genius who governs all things, but he is chiefly invoked in military expeditions, as if the most honourable attribute of the deity were that of being intitled the God of Armies.

Areskoni, the Indian god of war.

The shouting of this name is what makes the war-cry before the fight begins, as well as in the heat and fury of the battle; and it is often repeated too on a march, as well to encourage themselves to undergo the fatigues with cheerfulness, as to implore this god's support and assistance.

War-cry.

To lift up the hatchet is another form of declaring war; and every individual has an incontestable right to this privilege, except amongst the *Hurons* and *Iroquois*, where the matrons make peace and war at their pleasure. We shall see in its proper place, how far their authority extends among these nations.

Lifting up the hatchet, a symbol of war

If a matron has a mind to engage any one, however independent of her, to serve in the war, whether to appease the manes of her husband, son, or near relation, or whether it is only that she may have some prisoners to replace those she might have lost by death or captivity, she is first to present him with a collar of porcelain, or sea-shells; and it is very rarely known that this gratification is without effect.

Matrons engage soldiers.

When the business concerns making war in form between two or more nations, the expression, or symbol, on this occasion, is, to hang the chaldron, or kettle, over the fire; and this no doubt derives its original from the barbarous custom of eating their prisoners, as well as the slain, after boiling them. They plainly say, in their simple manner, that they are preparing to eat such a nation, to signify that they intend to make a cruel war against them, and they generally fulfil their promise. When they intend to engage their ally in the quarrel, they send him a porcelain, that is, a large shell, to invite him to drink the blood, or, as the terms literally import, the soup or broth made of the flesh of their enemies. After all, this practice may be very ancient, tho' it by no means follows from hence, that those nations have always been anthropophages, or cannibals; and perhaps it is only an allegorical way of speaking, of which the scriptures afford us several examples. *David's* enemies, it is likely, were not used to eat human flesh, tho' he says, *Dum appropriant super me nocentes, ut edant carnes meas*. When the wicked, even mine enemies came upon me to eat up my flesh. Thus at last, it seems, certain nations, grown quite savage and brutal, substituted the reality for the figure.

Hanging the kettle over the fire, a warlike symbol.

Porcelaines,
their descrip-
tion and use.

These porcelains, or what they call *Wampum*, as before mentioned, are certain shells found on the coasts of *New England* and *Virginia*; they are long, fluted or channelled, of an oblong acute figure, without ears, and moderately thick. The flesh of the animal contained in them is bad eating, but their inside is of so beautiful a lustre, and the colours are so vivid, that art is capable of producing nothing comparable to it. In those times when the *Indians* went quite naked, these shells served them for the same uses as *Adam's fig-leaf*, when he became sensible of his guilt and shame together. They also wore them at their ears like pendants, and still esteem them as their greatest wealth, and finest ornament; and, in short, they have exactly the same idea of them that we have of gold, silver, and precious stones. *Jacques Cartier*, in his memoirs, speaks of a sort of shell-work made in form of cornices, which he says he found in the island of *Montreal*. He calls it *Esfurni*, and affirms it had a virtue in it of stopping bleedings at the nose. It is not unlikely this work consists of the same shells with those here mentioned; but there are none such to be found on the banks of the Island of *Montreal*, and it is not pretended that those shells have the virtue attributed to the shell-work of *Cartier*. There are two sorts of these shells; the one white, and the other of a violet colour. The first are the most common, and possibly, on that account, less valued: The second seems to take a fine polish; and the deeper, the more valuable they are esteemed. Both of them, however, are made into small oblong or cylindrical beads, which are bored and strunged together, and these are called necklaces, or belts of *Wampum*. These necklaces are no other than four or five threads or thongs of skins, about a foot in length, strung with those beads of porcelain. The collars are made in form of fillets, or diadems, composed of those necklaces, bound together with threads so as to make a contexture of four, five, six, or seven rows of beads of a due proportion in length. All these circumstances are regulated according to the importance of the business to be negociated, and the rank and quality of the persons to whom the collar is to be presented.

Porcelaines,
the treasure
and archives
of the *Indians*

By the different mixture of those beads of various colours, they form any character at pleasure, and this often serves to distinguish the business in agitation. They are also sometimes painted; at least, it is certain the red collars are often sent when war is upon the tapis. These collars are preserved with care, and not only compose part of the public treasury, but are also in the nature of annals and registers, which those to whom the care of the archives, which are deposited in the chief's cabin, is entrusted, are to make the subject of their studies. When there happen to be two chiefs of equal authority in one village, the care of the archives and treasury devolves upon them by turns, and each has his own night, which night, as it is taken at present, is supposed to last a whole year.

Bloody flag
substituted for
a collar.

None but affairs of great consequence are transacted by means of those collars; for those of less importance, they make use of brooches, or necklaces of porcelain, skins, coverings, maize, or *Indian* corn, either in grain, or flower, and such like matters, for all these constitute part of the public treasury. When the business is to invite some village or nation to enter into a league, or alliance with them, a flag dipped in blood is sometimes sent instead of a collar. But this custom is modern, and there is reason to think that the *Indians* have taken the first hint of it from the red flags of the *English*. Some assert that the *French* first used these red ensigns in transacting with the *Indians*, who from thence have taken the hint to stain their flags with blood when they intend to declare war.

Of the calu-
met.

The calumet, or pipe, is no less sacred among those nations than the collar of porcelain, and is, according to their notion, even of divine original, for they are persuaded that it was a present made them by the Sun. This instrument is more in use among the Southern and Western nations, than those of the North and East, and is more commonly used in treaties of peace than in war. As to the name of *calumet*, which the *French* give it, it is a *Norman* word, signifying a *reed*, or *pipe*; and the calumet of the *Indians* is properly the tube, shaft, or funnel, of a tobacco-pipe, though both the shaft and the pipe together are commonly meant by this word. In the calumets, or pipes, of state or ceremony, the tube is very long, and the pipe in form of one of our battle-axes: It is commonly made of a reddish marble, very easy to work, and is found in the country of the *Aioux*, beyond the *Mississipi*. The funnel is of light wood, painted with different colours, and adorned with the heads, tails, and feathers of the most beautiful birds; but this is probably for ornament sake only.

The

The custom is to smoke in this pipe when the proposal is accepted, and it is very rare, or perhaps without example, that the obligation imposed by this acceptance has ever been violated. The *Indians* are persuaded, that the sovereign spirit would never suffer such an infraction to pass unpunished. If an enemy in the midst of an engagement presents the pipe, it is lawful to reject the offer; but if it is once accepted, the party consenting must that moment refrain from all hostilities. There are pipes for all the variety of treaties that may be brought upon the tapis; even in commerce with one another, after the agreement is made, the pipe is presented to ratify the transaction, and this ceremony gives it the stamp and sanction of religion. When the business is concerning war, not only the pipe then used, but also the feathers with which it is adorned, are red: Sometimes those on one side only are of this colour; and it is pretended, that by the manner in which the ornaments are disposed, you may discover what nation is designed to be attacked by those who present this instrument.

Its sacred and manifold uses

There is no manner of question, but that the *Indians*, by inducing those, whose alliance or commerce they solicit, to smoke in the pipe, intend to make the Sun the witness and guarantee of the treaty; for they never fail to puff the smoke towards that luminary: but to say that, from this practice, as well as from the common use of those pipes, we are to infer, as some have done, that this pipe is the *Caduceus*, or wand of *Mercury*, is the less probable, as this wand had no relation to the Sun. And since there has nothing been found in the traditions of the *Indians* that can justify this conjecture, and much less to prove they could have any knowledge of the *Greek* mythology, it would be much more natural to suppose, that those nations, instructed by experience that the smoke of their tobacco dissipates the vapours of the brain, and disposes the person that uses it for debating on public affairs, and has therefore been introduced into the public councils, where they have always their pipes in their mouths; they could not imagine a more proper symbol to confirm what has been resolved, than this instrument, which has had so great a share in the public deliberations. It will perhaps appear more obvious still to imagine that those people believed the most natural type of an indissoluble union was to smoke in the same pipe, and especially if that smoke were offered to some divinity, to confer on it the sanction of religion. Thus smoking in the same pipe is equivalent to drinking in one cup, which has been an immemorial custom among many nations; and these are customs too natural to the mind of man, to search for any hidden mystery in them.

Reasons and intent of this practice.

The largeness and ornaments of those pipes which are presented to persons of distinction, and on occasions of importance, have nothing very mysterious in them. It is to the *Panis*, a nation settled on the banks of the *Missouri*, and extending very far towards the confines of *New Mexico*, to whom the pretend they pipe was given as a present by the Sun. Thus this custom, which they were the first to introduce, has been raised to the rank of a miracle, and all that can be conjectured from this tradition is, that possibly the *Panis* have been more anciently accustomed to pay divine honours to the Sun, than the other *Indian* nations on this part of the continent of *America*, and that they were the first who made use of the pipe as a symbol of the inviolable obligation of treaties.

Use of the calumet introduced.

It is very rarely that these *Indians* refuse to engage in a war, to which they have been invited by their allies; on the contrary, they seldom wait till they are called to take up arms, the least motive being sufficient to determine them to it. But the thirst of vengeance is the predominant motive with them, and they have always some recent or ancient injury to revenge, no length of time being capable of healing those wounds, though of the slightest kind. Thus you can never be sure of a lasting peace between two nations that have been at variance for any considerable time; and, on the other hand, the desire of replacing their dead slaves by taking of prisoners, or of appeasing the manes of the deceased, the caprice of some individual, a dream, which every one interprets after his own fancy, with other reasons or pretexts equally frivolous, occasion your frequently seeing a company set out on an expedition to-day, who but yesterday had no thought of hostilities.

Indians mindful of injuries

It is true, that those smaller expeditions, which are carried into execution without the advice of the council, have generally no great consequences; and as they require not any great preparations, they are not the object of public concern. But, in general, the graver senators are far from being dissatisfied to see the youth keep themselves in breath,

Ways of moderating the military ardour of their youth.

breath, and exercise their warlike genius, and there must be very extraordinary reasons to curb their natural ardour, before they are restrained; and the public authority is besides very seldom employed to this end, every one being master of his own resolutions and actions amongst the *Indians*. When they disapprove of their project, they try to intimidate them, partly by spreading false reports; others they win over underhand; and it is no very difficult matter to induce the leader to give over the enterprize by presents: Sometimes a dream, true or false, no matter which, is all that is wanted for the purpose. In some nations the last resource is to apply to the matrons, and this is seldom without effect, though never made use of except in matters of great importance.

Preliminaries
of war.

A war in which the whole nation is interested is not so easily resolved, but weighed with great deliberation, putting the inconveniences into the scale as well as the advantages; and all the while the affair is under deliberation, the utmost care is taken to keep their designs from the ears of the enemy. The war once resolved, the first thing to be done is, to provide provisions for the campaign, and to equip the warriors, which takes up no great length of time. The dances, songs, feasts, together with certain superstitious ceremonies, which vary considerably according to the use of different nations, require a much longer time.

Ceremonious
preparations
and speech of
the general.

The person appointed to command never thinks of levying soldiers till after a fast of several days, during which he is bedaubed with black, has no converse with any person, and calls night and day on his tutelar genius; but, above all, is very careful to observe his dreams, which the persuasion that he is marching to a certain victory never fails to render favourable. The fast once ended, he convenes his friends, and, with a belt of wampum in his hands, addresses them in these words, "My Brethren, the sovereign spirit authorises my designs, and inspires me with my present resolutions. The blood of such a one has not been wiped off; his corpse has not been covered, and I am going to discharge this office towards him." After expatiating on the other motives which have determined him to take up arms, he then proceeds; "I am therefore resolved to march to such a place, to take scalps, or to make prisoners"; or, "I am going to eat such a nation. If I fall in this glorious enterprize, or if any of those who shall accompany me shall lose his life in it, this belt will serve to receive us, that we may not remain hid in the dust or mud." By this seems to be meant, that this belt is to be the property of him who shall bury or avenge the slain.

His equip-
ment, songs of
death and war

Having pronounced these words, he throws the belt upon the ground, and he that takes it up declares himself his lieutenant, for which he receives the thanks of the general for the zeal he thus testifies to avenge his brethren, or to support the honour of the nation. The company then set about heating water, to wash the chief from the daubing with which he has been smeared, after 'which they comb and anoint, or paint his locks. His face is then painted with different colours, and he is attired in his most splendid apparel. Thus equipped, he chaunts, with a hollow and dismal tone of voice, the song of death; his soldiers, I mean all those who have offered themselves as volunteers in the expedition, (for no person is compelled to go) bawl out one after another the war-song; for each individual has one peculiar to himself, which no person besides is permitted to sing; and there are also songs appropriated to certain families.

Sacrifice and
feast of a dog.

After this preliminary, which is transacted in some remote place, and oftentimes in a hut, the chief goes to communicate his project to the council, which sits to deliberate upon its expediency, without admitting the author of the scheme to be present at their debates. As soon as the project is accepted, the general gives a repast, in which the chief, and sometimes the sole viands is a dog. Some pretend, that this animal is offered to the god of war before he is put into the chaldron, or kettle; and this may possibly be customary with some nations: What is certain is, that on this occasion they make repeated invocations to all the genii, whether good or evil, and, above all, to the god of war.

Prisoners,
scalps, and
war-kettle.

All this ceremony lasts some days, or rather is repeated for several days successively; but amidst this universal attention to what passes on this occasion, every family keeps sight of its particular interests, and is very solicitous and intent on taking measures for securing its share of the prisoners of war, either to replace the slave, they may have lost by mortality, or to avenge the dead. In this view they give presents to the chief, who on his part gives his word as a pledge for the performance of his promise. In the default of prisoners,

prisoners, their next demand is to have scalps, which is more easily granted. In some particular places, as among the *Iroquois*, as soon as any military expedition has been relieved, the war-kettle is set over the fire, and the allies are required to send somewhat to it, to shew their approbation of the enterprize, and to signify their resolution to bear a part in it.

All those who enroll themselves give also to the chief, as a symbol of their engagement, a bit of wood with their mark upon it; and whoever after this should draw back, would be in danger of his life, or at least would certainly be disgraced for ever. The party or company, once formed, the war-chief prepares a new feast, to which all the village is invited, and where, before any thing is tasted, he, or an orator for him, and in his name pronounces these words: "My brethren, I know that as yet I am altogether unworthy of the honour of being esteemed a man; but you yourselves can bear me witness, that I have however seen the face of an enemy. We have been slain, the bones of such and such persons remain yet unburied, they cry out against us, and they must have satisfaction. They were men; how then were we able to soon to forget them, and to remain so long quiet on our mats? In short, the genius, who is watchful for my glory, has inspired me with the resolution to avenge them. Youth! take courage, trim your locks, paint your visage, fill your quivers, and cause your forests to resound with your war-songs; let us relieve the departed, and shew them that their avengers are ready at hand."

War symbol.

General's oration.

After this harangue, and the applauses with which it never fails to be attended, the chief advances into the middle of the assembly, with his battle-ax in his hand, and then sings his song, all his soldiers make responses singing, and swear to second him to the utmost of their power, or to die in the cause. All this is accompanied with gestures highly expressive of their firm resolution never to give ground before an enemy.

War-cry.

But it is to be observed, that not a word escapes from any soldier that discovers the least dependence. The whole of their engagement consists in promising to act with the most perfect union. And, besides, this very engagement requires great returns on the part of the chief. For example, whenever any *Indian*, in the public dances, striking with his battle-ax upon a pillar erected for that purpose, recalls to the remembrance of the audience his noblest feats of arms, the chief under whose conduct he has performed them is obliged to make him a present; at least this is the custom amongst some nations.

Military obligation among Indians.

The songs are followed by dances; sometimes they are only a fierce sort of march, but always in cadence; and at other times very animated motions, figurative of the operations of a campaign, and always too in cadence: In fine, the feast ends the ceremony. The war-chief is no more than a spectator in it, with his pipe in his mouth; and it is even common enough for him who gives the repast, and does the honours of it, not to touch any thing.

Military dance & feast

The following days, and till the march or departure of the warriors, are spent in transactions no way interesting, and not at all uniform or constant. But I ought not to forget a custom which is singular enough, and with which the *Iroquois* especially never dispense. It appears to have been contrived to discover those who are endowed with solid good sense, and who are capable of governing themselves; for those people whom we treat as barbarians, cannot conceive that a man can be animated with true courage, who is not master of his passions, and who knows not how to bear every thing, even the sharpest trial, that can happen to him.

Iroquois notions of good sense and true courage.

The oldest warriors of the company destined for the campaign play all the tricks imaginable to the youths, and especially to such as have never as yet seen an enemy. They throw hot embers on their heads, make them the most cruel and provoking reproaches, load them with all manner of injuries; and even push this farce to dreadful extremities. The young volunteers are however obliged to bear all this pain and provocation with the most perfect indifference, and even insensibility; for to discover the smallest sign of impatience, would be sufficient to expose them to the censure of being declared incapable of carrying arms for the future. But, when this ceremony is practised amongst persons of the same age, which very often happens, the aggressor must take care to do nothing that denotes the least tendency to an insult, otherwise it is sure to be revenged as soon as the game is ended. For all the time it continues, they are to bear every thing without the least murmur, though this pastime often

Indian way of teasing youth with patience and fortitude.

goes such lengths as throwing fire-brands at one anothers heads, and giving one another great blows with cudgels.

Arifices of
Indian quacks

As the hope of being cured of their wounds contributes much to engage the bravest of these youths to expose themselves to the greatest dangers, after what has been related they set about preparing the medicines with which their physicians or jongleurs are loaded. The whole canton being assembled, one of these quacks declares that he is going to communicate to the roots and plants, of which he has amassed a sufficient quantity, the virtue of healing all sorts of wounds, and even of restoring the dead to life. That instant he begins to sing, the other quacks of the order make responses, and it is believed that, during the concert, which is none of the most melodious, but accompanied with many grimaces on the part of the actors in the farce, the medicinal or healing quality is diffused over those simples. The principal jongleur, which is the name for these quacks in my authors, then takes upon him to prove their efficacy; and begins by causing his lips to bleed; on this he applies the remedy he has prepared for it; immediately the blood, which this hedge-doctor sucks with abundance of art, ceases to flow, on which all the assistants cry out a *miracle*! This done, he takes a dead animal, sets it before the assembly, allowing them time sufficient to examine whether it is entirely such as it appears. He then causes it to move by means of a canule, or pipe, which he had taken care to insert in its tail, blowing up, at the same time, his dose of the herbs, by virtue of which this miraculous resurrection is to be performed, on which the cries of wonder and astonishment are redoubled. To close all, the company of jongleurs make the tour of the huts, singing as they march the praises of the virtues of those wonderful remedies. These artifices are however far from imposing upon the natural good sense of the *Indians*, they serve however to amuse the multitude, and every body knows the force of custom.

Indian solemn
sacrifice.

The following solemnity, which is extracted from the memoirs of a *French* gentleman, who was himself an eye witness to it, is practised amongst the *Miamis*, to whom it is probably common with some other *Indian* nations living in the neighbourhood of *Louisiana*. After a solemn feast, the figure of pagods made of bear-skins, and their heads painted green, are placed on a kind of altar before which all the *Indians* pass, making genuflexions, their jongleurs leading the band, and holding in their hands a bag, filled with all the utensils commonly used in their invocations. He that makes the greatest contortions of body, and every one in proportion as he distinguishes himself in this exercise, is applauded with prodigious acclamations. The first homage thus rendered to the idols, all the company dance in great confusion, to the sound of a drum and a *Chichicoué*, during which, some jongleurs seem as if employed about enchanting a number of *Indians*, who appear to expire under their incantations, but are afterwards happily brought to life again by the application of a certain powder to the lips. After the farce has lasted some time, the president of the feast, attended by two men and two women walking on each side, passes through all the huts, and advertises the *Indians* that the sacrifices are ready to begin. If he meets any one in his way, he places both hands on his head, whilst the other embraces his knees. The victims offered are always dogs, and nothing is heard but the cries of those animals which they are strangling, and the howlings of the *Indians*, who seem to mock or make responses to them. When the viands are ready, they are first offered to their pagods, after which they are eaten, and the bones afterwards burnt. In the mean time the jongleurs are busied in raising the dead, and the whole is terminated by making presents to those quacks of whatever they most desire of all that the village or canton affords.

Preparations
of war.

From the time of the resolution of making war to the departure of the warriors for the campaign, the nights are passed in singing, and the days in making the necessary preparations. Warriors and others are deputed to sing the war-song amongst their neighbours and allies, whom they often take care to prepare before hand, by means of secret negotiations. If the expedition is to be undertaken by water, they build new, or repair the old canoes: If it be in the winter season, they provide raquets or snow-shoes, and sleds.

Snow-shoes
described.

The first of these, which are absolutely necessary to walk upon the snow, are about three foot long, and fifteen or sixteen inches wide where broadest; they are of an oval figure, excepting only that the hinder extremity always ends in a point. Small sticks fastened across, about five or six inches from either end, serve to strengthen them

them, the foremost being like the string of an opening in the shape of a bow, which receives the foot, and is tied down with thongs. The texture of the raquette or snow-shoe, consists of straps of leather about two lines in breadth, bordered with some light wood hardened in the fire. To walk well on these snow-shoes you must turn your knees somewhat inwards, keeping your legs asunder at the same time. It is difficult enough to learn the use of them, but afterwards you walk as easily and with as little fatigue as if you had nothing on your feet. It is impossible to make use of these with common shoes, and you are obliged to take those of the *Indians*, which are a sort of socks made of dried hides, folded over the extremity of the foot, and tied with cords.

The sleds which serve for transporting the baggage, and in case of need the sick and wounded, are two small and very thin boards, each about six inches broad, and from six to seven feet in length. The foreparts are somewhat raised, and the sides bordered with small tenter-hooks, to which are fixed thongs for fastening down whatever is laid on the carriage. One *Indian* will draw a sled, however loaded, with ease, by means of a long leathern strap, which is fastened to him, coming over his breast, and which they call a collar. The sleds are also used for carrying burdens, and mothers make use of them likewise for transporting their children with their cradles; but in this last case, they pass them over their foreheads and not over their breasts as in the former.

Description
of a sled.

Every thing being ready, and the day appointed for their departure come, they take their farewell with many and strong marks of the most unfeigned affection. Every one is willing to have something which has been used or worn by the warriors, giving them at the same time pledges of their own friendship, and assurances of an eternal remembrance. As for the warriors they go into no hut, where they are not obliged to leave their robe, which they always exchange for a better, and never without one at least as good. At last they all meet at the apartment of the chief, whom they find armed as on the day when he first proposed the expedition to them, and as he appears in public from that day forwards. The warriors have their faces painted, every one according to his fancy, and all of them generally so as to strike terror. The chief, after a short harangue, leaves his cabin, singing the song of death as he goes; all of them follow him in file, or one by one, observing a profound silence, and the same is done every morning when they begin or continue their march. Here the women go before with the provisions, and when joined by the warriors, they deliver all the baggage into their hands, themselves remaining almost naked, at least as much as the season will permit.

Ceremonies
preparatory
to the march.

The weapons of the *Indians* were formerly the bow and arrow, and a kind of javelin, headed or pointed, as well as the arrow, with bone worked into various shapes, and the battle-ax, or, as they call it, the break-head. This weapon was a small club of a very hard wood, which had a round head and an edge on one side. The greatest part of them had no defensive arms, save only that they covered their bodies all over with small boards of a light substance. Some wore a sort of cuirass made of rushes interwoven, or of small pliable rods very neatly worked. In antient times they were not without pieces for the arms and thighs made of the same materials; but as this armour was found not to be proof against fire arms, they have laid it entirely aside, and have since substituted nothing in its place. The *Western Indians*, however, still use a sort of bucklers made of bulls hides, which are very light, and, says my author, muket proof. It is somewhat odd that the other *Indians* never bethought themselves of this piece of armour.

Arms of the
Indians of-
fensive and
defensive.

What is very singular, when they make use of our swords, they handle them like a pike: But when they can procure muskets, powder, and ball, they lay aside their bows and arrows, and are excellent marksmen. The *Dutch of New York*, when that colony was in their possession, are said to have been the first who supplied the *Indians* with fire arms, and to have taught them the use of them. The *French* followed their example, by arming their *Indian* allies after the *European* manner. The *Indians*, have also a kind of ensigns or colours to distinguish their own people, and to help them to rally: These are small pieces of bark, cut into a round form, which they fasten to the end of a pole, and on which is drawn the mark of their village or nation. If the party be numerous, every tribe or family has its own ensign with its distin-

Their ensigns

guishing mark. Their arms are also ornamented with different figures, and sometimes with the peculiar mark of the chief in the expedition.

Their Manitous, symbols

But there is somewhat of which they are still less forgetful than even of their arms, and which they are infinitely more careful to preserve, and that is their manitous, which are so many symbols representing the tutelar genius, or familiar spirit of each individual. These they put altogether into a bag made of rushes, and painted with different colours; and oftentimes, to do honour to the chief, this bag is placed on the prow of his galley, that is, his canoe. If there are too many manitous to be contained in one bag, they are distributed into several, which are committed to the care of the lieutenant, and a guard composed of the elders of each family. To these are joined the presents which have been given in order to receive prisoners in exchange, and the tongues of all the animals killed in the campaign, which are to be offered up as a sacrifice to the spirits on their return.

Mark of distinction.

On a march by land, the chief carries his own bag, which he calls his matt; but he may lay his burden on whom he thinks proper, and this is never scrupled, being looked upon as a mark of distinction, and communicating, in some sort, a right of survivorship to the supreme command, should the chief and his lieutenant happen to fall before the campaign is ended.

March of the warriors to the field.

When they are to proceed by water, as soon as the warriors are embarked, the canoes move gently onwards, keeping always in a line in close order; then the chief rises up, and holding in his hand his chichicoué, he sings aloud the war-song peculiar to himself, his soldiers answering with three *He's*, for that is their manner of shouting, fetched with all their might from the bottom of their breasts. The elders and chiefs of the council, who remain on the shore, next exhort the warriors to discharge their duty like men, and above all things to take care of being surprized. This of all injunctions is what an *Indian* stands most in need of, and of which these people are the least mindful. This exhortation does not however interrupt the chief, who still continues his song. Lastly, the warriors, on their part, conjure their relations and friends never to forget them; then, after sending forth in a body the most horrible shouts, they set out at once, and with so much speed, that they disappear in an instant.

Their proceedings.

The *Hurons* and *Iroquois* use not the chichicoué, but give it to their prisoners, so that this instrument, which is a warlike symbol to the other *Indians*, seems to be a mark of slavery with them. The warriors never make short marches, especially when in any considerable body. Every thing is an omen of good or bad success with them; and the jongleurs, whose office it is to explain these omens, hasten or retard the marches at their pleasure. While they are not in a suspected country, they take no manner of precaution, and sometimes they are so dispersed in hunting, that you will scarce find two or three warriors together; but however scattered they may be on their march, they are always sure to re-assemble punctually at the time and place appointed for the rendezvous.

Invocation of their manitous

They encamp a considerable while before sun-set, and their way is commonly to leave a considerable space before the camp, which is surrounded with a palisade, or rather a sort of lattice work, on which they place their manitous, turned towards the way their march or rout lies. These symbols are then invoked during the space of an hour, and the same act of devotion is performed every morning before they decamp. This done, they imagine they have nothing to fear, being persuaded that the genii or spirits take upon them the office of centinels, and the whole army reposes in security under their safe-guard. No experience is able to undeceive or deter them from this idle and dangerous confidence, which takes it rise from a lazy and indolent disposition, which nothing can overcome.

Endearment of allies.

The warriors hold as enemies all they meet on their march. If they should happen, however, to meet with allies, or with parties nearly of equal force with themselves, and of nations with whom they have no particular quarrel, they make a coalition. If those allies happen to have been making war on the same nation, the chief of the stronger body, or that which has first taken up arms, gives the other some scalps, of which they never fail to make provision for those occasions, with these words: "You are our associates in this cause; you have fulfilled your engagements; your honour is secured; and you are free to return home." But this is to be understood only in case of an accidental rencounter, and provided they have not promised to go out with them, and that the others have no need of any re-inforcement.

When

When they are on the point of entering the enemies country, they make a halt, in order to perform a ceremony which is singular enough. In the evening a great feast is given, after which they go to sleep. When all of them are awaked, those who have had any dreams go from fire to fire, singing their death song, in which they take care to insert their dream after a dark and enigmatical manner. Every one does his utmost to explain it; and, if nobody succeeds, the dreamer may return home if he pleases. After this, new invocations are made to the genii, and they animate themselves to attempt the most dangerous enterprizes, swearing to each other mutual assistance. At last they begin their march again; and, if they have brought their canoes thus far, they now quit them, taking all the care imaginable to conceal them. Were all the injunctions prescribed on these occasions observed, it would scarce be possible to surprize a party of *Indians* whilst in the enemies country. After this they must make no more fires, and refrain from shouting or hunting, and even from speaking, except by signs. These laws are however very ill observed, it being next to impossible for an *Indian* to bear the least curb or restraint. They neglect not, however, sending out scouts every night, who spend two or three hours in traversing the country. If nothing is discovered, they sleep in the greatest security, leaving the guard of their camp to the manitous.

Military ceremony and conduct.

Upon discovery of the enemy, they send some to reconnoitre them, on whose report they hold a council of war. The attack is generally made at day-break, the enemy being then supposed to be in the most profound sleep; and all the night they continue with their faces flat upon the ground without the least motion. They approach the enemy in the same posture, creeping upon their feet and hands, till within arrow-shot. Then starting up at once, the chief gives the signal by a faint hollow shout, to which the whole body answer by the most hideous howlings, making, at the same time, their first discharge: Afterwards, without leaving the enemies time to recover from their surprize, they fall upon them with their battle-axes. These rencounters, since they have exchanged their wooden hatchets for those of iron, have become much more bloody. The action once over, they scalp the dead and dying, and never think of taking any prisoners till the enemy has given over making resistance.

Method of fighting.

If they find the enemy on his guard, or too strongly entrenched to be attacked with any probability of success, they retire, if they can, without being discovered. If otherwise they take a resolution to conquer or die, and in this case there is often much blood spilt on both sides. A camp that has been forced is the very image of fury; the savage cruelty of the conquerors, and the wild despair of the conquered, who know what they have to expect, should they fall alive into the hands of their enemies, causes both parties to make incredible efforts. The figure of the combatants, besmeared over with black and red, augments the horror of the fray, which, says my author, would be a very lively copy, from which one might form a picture of the horrible condition of the damned in hell. The victory being once sure, the victorious first dispatch all those that would, in their opinion, be cumbersome to them in their march, making slaves only of such as they imagine capable of undergoing fatigue.

Desperate rage of combatants.

The *Indians* are naturally intrepid, and preserve, in spite of their brutal fierceness, a great deal of cool blood, even in the heat of the combat. They are never willing, on any account whatever, if they can avoid it, to engage on open plains. Their reason is, that they hold a victory purchased with much blood of the conquerors unworthy of being called a victory, and that the glory of a chief consists principally in bringing back unhurt all who follow him to the campaign. It has been said, that when two enemies, who are at the same time acquaintances, meet in the heat of an action, they hold conferences with one another like the heroes in *Homer*; and that, on these occasions, they challenge or perhaps admonish their antagonist.

Military maxim.

Their art of war consists almost wholly in surprizes, or stratagem, in which they are generally successful enough; for if the *Indians* are negligent in taking the necessary precautions against a surprize, they are no less vigilant and dexterous at surprizes in their turn. They have also a wonderful faculty of knowing whether an enemy has passed any particular way, discovering by the marks or prints of their foot steps, and the manner of their direction, whether on the grass, mould, or sand, and even upon rocks themselves, which way the persons who have travelled that way are gone; nay more they will tell you, from the size and figure of the foot-

Indian art of war.

Sagacity.

steps,

Cruelty to
prisoners.

steps, by their distance from each other, by their manner of treading, whether they are men or women, or of what nations they are who have left those traces. This is unanimously asserted by all who have lived amongst the *Indians*, so that there seems little reason to doubt its being fact. If any of their prisoners, by reason of their wounds, is not in a condition to be transported, they burn them upon the spot; and as this is generally done in the first transports of their fury, and whilst they are under the necessity of retiring with expedition, such prisoners meet with milder tortures, than those who are reserved to be tormented at their leisure.

Indian tro-
phies.

Amongst some nations the custom is, for the chief of the victorious party to leave his hatchet on the field of battle, on which he takes care to delineate the mark of the nation, that of his family, and his own portrait, that is, an oval, within which are drawn all the figures with which his face is painted. Others again paint all those marks on the trunk of some tree, or on a piece of bark, with charcoal pounded and ground with other colours. To these are added certain hieroglyphical characters, by means of which, passengers may learn the smallest circumstance, not only of the action, but of every particular event of the campaign. The chief is distinguished in this table by the above-mentioned marks; the number of his exploits, by so many mats; his soldiers, by so many lines; the prisoners, by an equal number of small marmourets which bear a staff, or *chichicoué*; of the dead, by an equal quantity of human figures without heads, besides those particularities which distinguish men, women, and children. These inscriptions are not, however, always near the spot where the action has been; for when a party are afraid of being pursued, they place these trophies out of their rout, on purpose to lead the pursuers out of the right way.

Treatment of
captives.

The conquerors are very expeditious in their retreat out of the enemy's country; and, lest they should be retarded by the wounded, they either carry them by turns on a sort of litter, or, if it is winter, they transport them on sleds. When they re-embark on board their canoes, they cause their prisoners to sing, and this is practised every time they happen to meet any of their allies. This honour is purchased at the expence of a feast to be given by those who receive it, and of something worse than the trouble of singing to the unhappy captives. On those occasions they invite their ally to carefs them as they call it, that is, to do them all the mischief that comes into their head, or to beat them after such a cruel rate, as sometimes to maim them for ever. Some chiefs are, however, more humane to their prisoners, not suffering them to be quite so cruelly treated, but they are at the same time highly attentive to guard them. In the day-time, they are tied by the neck and arms to one of the benches of the canoe, and, if the march is by land, there is always one to keep hold of them. In the night they are stretched along the ground quite naked, their neck and arms tied down, by means of tenter hooks fixed in the earth, so that they cannot move; their hands and feet are moreover fastened by means of long cords, in such manner as to prevent their making the smallest movement, without awaking the *Indians* who sleep on these cords.

Tidings of
the campaign

When the warriors arrive within a certain distance of the village from whence they set out, they make a halt, and the chief sends to give notice of his approach. Amongst some nations the messenger, as soon as he is come within cry, makes different shouts, so as to give some notion of the success and principal adventures of the campaign. First, he signifies the number of their killed, by so many death-shouts. Upon this, the youth approach him to gain more certain information, and sometimes the whole village pours out; but only one person accosts the messenger, to learn from him the particulars he brings. As the former relates each single adventure, the other turns himself and repeats it aloud to the company, who answer him by so many acclamations, or cries of lamentations, as the news he relates happens to be joyful, or otherwise.

Lamentations
for the slain.

The envoy is then conducted into a hut, where the elders put the same questions as had been already asked. After this a public crier invites the whole body of the youth to go forth to meet the warriors, and the women to carry them refreshments. At first they are entirely taken up with lamenting the slain, the envoy continually repeating the death-cry. No persons is suffered to approach him; but when he enters the village, he finds the people assembled, he relates to them in brief, all that has happened, and then retires to his hut, where they bring him something to eat, and for some time all are employed in bewailing the deceased.

The time allotted for wailing being expired, they make another cry to denote the victory. Then every body dries his tears and nothing is to be seen but universal joy. Something like this is practised at the return of the hunters: The women, as soon as they have been advertised of their approach, go out to meet them; and, before they inform themselves of the success of the hunting, signify, by their tears, what persons have died in the village since their departure. To return to the warriors, from the moment the women have joined them, the punishment and sufferings of the prisoners commence. When any of the captives are to be adopted, which, however, is not customary among all the *Indian* nations, those who are to become their parents go, after notice given them, to a farther distance to receive them, but take care to conduct them to their cabins by some round-about way. The captives are generally long ignorant of their future fate, and few escape the first transports of the fury of the women, to which all those who are doomed to die are entirely given up. The courage with which they receive this storm of barbarous rage and cruelty is quite astonishing. Above all, should any one of these furies happen to have lost a son, a husband, or any other person who was dear to her, were it even thirty years ago, she discharges her vengeance on the first she meets; and it is quite inconceivable to what height she will carry her rage. No regard, either to modesty or humanity, has the least restraint on her, and, at every blow she fetches, you would certainly conclude the victim must fall dead at her feet; and it is to the last degree wonderful, with what ingenuity they prolong the most shocking torments. The whole night is past in the camp of warriors in this manner.

Cruelty of the women to the prisoners.

The next day is appointed for the triumph of the conquerors; the *Iroquois* and some other *Indian* nations affect great modesty, and still greater disinterestedness on those occasions. The chiefs first make their entry into the village alone, without any other marks of victory, observing a profound silence, and retire to their cabins, without signifying that they have the least right or pretension to any of the prisoners. Amongst other nations the custom is entirely different; the chief marches at the head of his corps, with the air and port of a conqueror; next follows his lieutenant, preceded by a crier, whose office is to renew the death-cries. The warriors follow two and two, the prisoners in the middle crowned with flowers, their hair and visage painted, holding a staff in one hand, and a *chichicoué* in the other, their body almost naked, their arms tied with a rope above the elbow, of which the warriors hold the ends; singing incessantly their death-song to the sound of the *chichicoué*.

Triumph of the conqueror

This music has something mournful and disdainful at the same time, the captives discovering nothing that has the least air of a prisoner, or of a person under affliction. The following is nearly the purport of their songs. "I who am brave and undaunted, fear neither death nor the cruelest torments. Let cowards who are less than women dread them; the brave hold life in no sort of esteem, in comparison of honour. May fury and despair choke my enemies! Why cannot I devour them, and quaff the last drop of their blood."

Song of triumph.

The prisoners are made to halt from time to time, when the *Indians* croud round them, dancing, and causing the captives to dance with them: These seem to do it with great cheerfulness, relating, at the same time, their most remarkable exploits, and mentioning, by their names, all those who have been killed or burnt by their hands. But, especially, they take care to remark those who have been most dear to the assistants, and one would conclude they were solely intent on provoking the fury of the tormentors. These bravados have constantly the effect that ought naturally to be expected from them, exciting the utmost transports of rage in all who hear them, so that their vanity costs them extremely dear, though, by the manner in which they receive these tortures, you would imagine, that, to put them to the most exquisite pain, were doing them the most sensible pleasure.

Bravery of the prisoners.

Sometimes they oblige them to run between two rows of *Indians*, who are armed with stones and cudgels, and lay upon them as if they would dispatch them at the first blow. They, however, are never known to fall under this operation, those favages, even in their greatest rage, taking care never to strike on any part where the blow might prove mortal. In this course, or march, any one has a right to stop the sufferer, who is also permitted to act in his own defence, though generally to no purpose. On the arrival of the captives in the village, they are conducted from cabin to cabin, and every where made to pay for their reception in the same

Their cruel treatment.

humane manner. In one they pluck off a nail ; in a second they take off a finger, either with their teeth, or with a knife that resembles a saw, rather than an edge tool. An old man then tears off their flesh till the very bones are seen ; a child pierces them with an awl where he can ; a woman scourges them with the most intenable brutality, till her arms are weary with whipping. But all this while there is no warrior, not even their masters, who lays a hand upon them. They are not, however, permitted to maim them, without the permission of those whose property they are, which is rarely granted. Excepting this, they have a right to inflict what punishments and cruelties they think fit, and, if they are led through several villages, whether of their allies, friends, or of their own nation, and at their desire, their reception is every where the same.

Their distribution.

They next set about dividing the captives, whose fate depends on the will and pleasure of those to whom they are distributed. As soon as the council, in which their fate is decided, breaks up, an herald, or crier, invites all the people to assemble in the square, where the distribution is always made without the least clamour or dispute whatsoever. Those women who have lost their children, or husbands, in the war, are commonly the first provided. Afterwards they take care to discharge their promises to those who have given them collars ; if there are not a sufficient number of captives for this purpose, the deficiency is made good by scalps, which are worn for ornament on festivals and rejoicing days, and afterwards hung up at the doors of their cabbins. If, on the contrary, the number of prisoners exceed that of those who have any pretensions, the surplus is sent to their allies. A chief is made good only by a chief, or by two or three slaves, who are always burnt, even tho' the chief had died of sickness. The *Iroquois* never fail to set apart a number of their prisoners for the public use, in which case the council disposes of them as they see fit ; tho' the mothers may yet annul their sentence, as being absolute sovereigns of the life and death of those who have been condemned or absolved by the council.

Their fate by death of slaves or adoption.

Amongst some nations the warriors never part with the right of disposing of their prisoners, and those in whose favour the council has distributed them are obliged to deliver them back into their hands, if so required. But this is seldom done, and, when it happens, the warriors are obliged to give up the pledges of those to whom the prisoners had been given. If a warrior, on his arrival, declares his intention in this point, it is generally not opposed. The greatest part of the prisoners of war are usually condemned to die, or to a state of slavery, which is extremely rigorous, their lives depending on the pleasure of their masters. Sometimes they are adopted, in which case their situation differs nothing from that of children of the nation, of which they are become members, they enter into the full enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of those whose places they supply, and oftentimes they become so very zealous on the behalf of the nation that has adopted them, as to go to war against their own country. The *Iroquois* have hitherto been supported solely by this piece of policy ; for as they have been in war, for time immemorial, against all the circumjacent *Indian* nations, they must have been long since reduced to nothing, had they not taken care to naturalize a considerable number of their prisoners of war.

Form of adoption.

It sometimes happens that instead of sending the surplus of their prisoners to their allies, they bestow them upon private persons who made no demands of that sort, in which case, they are either obliged to ask the opinion of the chiefs of the council what they are to do with them, or otherwise they are under the necessity of adopting them. In the first case, he to whom a slave has been presented sends some person of his own family to bring him home ; he then ties him to the door of his cabin ; this done, he assembles the chiefs of the council, informs them of his own intentions, and asks their opinion, which is commonly agreeable to his wishes. In the second circumstance, the council, after placing the prisoner in the hands of him for whom they intend him, address him in the following manner. " It is now a long time since we have been deprived of such a one, your relation, or friend, who was the support of our village : " Or, " We regret the spirit of such an one whom you have lost, and who, by his great wisdom, maintained the public repose and tranquillity ; he must this day be made to appear again ; he was too dear to us, and too valuable, to defer any longer the bringing him again to life ; we therefore replace him upon his matt in the person of this captive."

Some private persons, on account of their superior credit and estimation, have a prisoner given them, without any restriction or reserve, and with full power to dispose of him at their pleasure. In this case the council in delivering him into their hands, exhorts them in these words: "Behold wherewithal to repair the loss of such an one, and to glad the heart of thy father, of thy mother, of thy wife, and of thy children, whether thou shalt choose to cause them to drink of the broth of this flesh, or that thou lovest rather to replace the departed upon his matt in the person of this captive. Thou mayest dispose of him as seemeth right in thine own eyes."

Form of words in bestowing prisoners.

When a prisoner has been adopted, they conduct him to the cabin where he is to remain, and begin by loosing his bands. Next they set on water to warm, in order to wash him; then they probe his wounds, if he has any, and he is soon cured were they even full of worms. Nothing is forgotten to make him lose the memory of what he has undergone; they then set meat before him, and, lastly, they cloath him in good and decent apparel. In short, they do all that could be done for a child of the nation, or even for the very person he brings to life again, as they express themselves. Some days after a feast is made, in which the name of the person he represents is given him with abundance of solemnity; and he then not only enters into full possession of all his rights and privileges, but also enters into all his contracts or obligations.

Benefits of adoption.

Amongst the *Iroquois* and *Hurons*, those who have been destined to the flames are sometimes treated at first, and even till the moment of their execution, with as much lenity and indulgence as those who have been adopted. These are probably victims which they fatten for sacrifice, being actually offered to the god of war. The sole difference between these and the other captives is, that they smear their faces with black. Except this, they give them the best food, speak to them with an air of humanity, and even friendship, giving them the title of son, brother, or nephew, according to their relation to the person whose manes is to be appeased by the sacrifice; and sometimes they give them their pleasure of the women, who are in the nature of wives to them during the time they have yet to live. To prevent their endeavouring to escape, they conceal as much as possible the fate they are to undergo.

Captives destined for sacrifices.

The moment every thing is ready for the execution, they are delivered up to a woman, who, from a mother degenerates into a very fury, passing, from the tenderest and most endearing caresses, to the last transports of rage and madness. She begins by calling upon the shade of him whom she is about to avenge, in terms such as these: "Approach, whilst I am about to appease thee, and whilst I prepare thee a repast: Drink large draughts of this broth which is ready to be poured out before thee: Receive the victim which I prepare for thee in the person of this warrior: Him will I burn, and put into the chaldron: Burning hatchets will soon be applied to his flesh: They are ready to flea off his hair: They will drink out of his skull: Leave, therefore, thy complaining: Thou shalt have thy vengeance fully satisfied." This formula, which is properly the sentence of death, varies considerably in the expression, but is always the same in substance. A crier then causes the captive to come from the cabin, proclaiming aloud the intentions of him or her to whom he belongs, and closes the proclamation by exhorting the youth to do their parts well. Next advances a second herald, who addresses himself to the sufferer in these terms. "Take courage, brother, thou art going to be burnt." He again answers coolly; "It is well, I thank thee." Then the whole village set up a shout, and the prisoner is conducted to the place of execution.

Sentence by a woman, and preliminaries to execution.

The captive is commonly tied to a post by the hands and feet, but so as to suffer him to turn quite round it. Sometimes, however, when the execution is to be in some cabin, whence there is no danger of his escaping, they omit tying him, and leave him to run from one end of the hut to the other. Before they begin to burn him, he sings his death-song for the last time; next he makes the recital of his valiant feats, and almost always in the manner that is most insulting to the by-standers. He then beseeches them not to spare him in the least, but to remember he is a man, and a warrior. Thus he goes on singing cheerfully in the midst of torments, insulting and defying his executioners to the last groan.

Resolution of the sufferer.

The tormentors are generally as many as there are spectators or inhabitants in the village, men, women, and children, who seem to vye with each other who shall exceed in all manner of cruelty. The inhabitants of the hut, in which the prisoner

Burnt in the
most tortu-
ring manner.

has been kept, are the only persons who have no hand in these acts of brutality ; at least this is the practice amongst some nations. They generally begin with burning the feet, then the limbs, ascending by degrees to the head ; and sometimes they protract those sufferings for a whole week, as it happened to a *Canadian* gentleman who had fallen into the hands of the *Iroquois*. Those who are the least spared, are such who, after having been adopted, or set at liberty, have made their escape, and have been taken a second time : These are looked upon as unnatural children, and as ungrateful persons, who have made war upon their relations and benefactors, and to such no sort of favour is shewn. Sometimes the sufferer is left loose, even when the execution is not in a cabin, and he is also allowed to stand upon his own defence, which he does not so much from any hope or prospect of saving his life, as to avenge his death before hand, and to have the glory of dying like a man of courage. There have been many instances to prove what a prodigious degree of strength and fortitude such a resolution is capable of inspiring, of which the following, attested by persons worthy of credit, who were eye witnesses, is one very remarkable :

An *Iroquois* captain of the canton called *Onneyouth*, chose rather to expose himself to the worst that could happen, than to dishonour himself by flying, which he looked upon as still the more unworthy of a hero from the ill example he must thereby give the youth under his command. He fought a long time like one resolved to die with his arms in his hands, but the *Hurons* his enemies, were resolved on taking him, if possible, alive. He was conducted together with those who were taken prisoners, at the same time, into a canton where they were converted and baptized by some *French* missionaries, and all burnt a few days after, giving marks of an astonishing constancy. The *Iroquois* commander believed he might lawfully do his enemies all the mischief in his power, and retard the hour of his death as much as possible. They had caused him to ascend a stage or theatre, where they began by burning his body in every member without the least mercy, himself appearing as much insensible as if he were not in the least suffering. But on perceiving one of his companions, who was tortured just by him, discover some sign of weakness, he testified much uneasiness at it, omitted nothing that might encourage him to bear up under his calamities, from the hopes of a happy immortality in heaven, and shewed vast satisfaction to see him die at last not only like a brave man but a Christian.

His patience,
astonishing,
vivacity and
resistance, and
hopeful end.

Those who had thus put his companion to death fell upon him with such rage, as if they would tear him to pieces. He appeared not at all moved at it, and they were now at a loss to find any part of his body that was sensible to pain, when one of his executioners, after making an incision in the skin quite round the head, tore it entirely off, by mere force and violence. The pain made him fall into a swoon, when the tormentors, believing him dead, left him. A moment after he recovered from his swoon, and seeing nothing near him, but the corps of his friend, he took up a fire-brand with both hands, scorched and flead as they were, defying his executioners to come nigh him. This uncommon resolution struck terror into them, they made hideous shouts, ran to arms, some laying hold of burning coals, and others seizing red-hot irons, and all at once poured upon him. He stood the brunt of their fury with the courage of despair, and even made them retire. The fire that surrounded him served him for an intrenchment, which he compleated with ladders they had used to ascend the scaffold, and thus fortifying himself, and making a sort of citadel of his funeral pile, which was now become the theatre of his bravery, and armed with the instruments of his torture, he was for a considerable time the terror of a whole canton, and not one had the heart to approach him tho' he was more than half-burnt to death, and the blood trickled from all parts of his body. A slip of the foot in shunning a fire-brand darted at him, delivered him once more into the hands of his enemies, who, as you may well imagine, made him pay extremely dear for the fears he had occasioned them. After wearying themselves with tormenting him, they threw him into the middle of a great coal-fire, in full confidence that he would never rise from it. But they were deceived ; for, when they least thought of it, they beheld him again, armed with fire-brands running towards the village, as if he were going to set it on fire. All hearts were frozen with fear, and no person dared to face him ; when, just as he had almost reached the first cabins, a stick thrown at him, and falling between his legs, brought him to the ground, and they laid hold of him before he could recover himself. Here, first they

they cut off his hands and feet and rolled him upon burning embers, and then threw him below the burning trunk of a tree, the whole village gathering round him to enjoy the spectacle. He lost such a quantity of blood as almost to extinguish the fire; so that they had now no manner of apprehension remaining of any future attempt. He made, however, another, which struck terror into the most undaunted. He crept on his knees and elbows with so much vigour, and with such a threatening countenance, as astonished, if not affrighted them. In this state, the missionaries approaching him, in order to dispose him to bethink himself of the state of his soul, at that dreadful moment which was at hand, he seemed to listen with attention, and to have his thoughts occupied solely with such meditations, when one of his executioners, taking his opportunity, struck off his head.

If those nations make war like barbarians, we must, however, allow that in treaties of peace, and generally in all their negotiations, they discover such a dexterity, address, and elevation of soul, as might do honour to the best policed nations. They never think of making conquests, or of extending their power and dominion. Some of those nations know no manner of dominion or sovereignty; and those who have never left their native country, and who look upon themselves as the lords and sovereigns of the soil, are not so jealous of their property as to hinder new comers from settling on it, provided they attempt not to molest them. The points which are the only subjects of their treaties, are, to make alliances against powerful enemies; to put an end to a war which may have become burthensome to both parties; or, rather, to treat of a suspension of hostilities, for every war or dissention is everlasting amongst the *Indians*, when they fall out between different nations. Thus there is little stress laid on a treaty of peace, whilst any of the parties are capable of molesting or giving uneasiness to the other.

Talents of the
Indians for
negotiations.

During the whole time of the negotiation, and even before it commences, their chief care is, that they may not seem to make the first advances, or, if they do, they use all their address to make their enemy believe that the overtures proceed not from fear or necessity; and this last is managed very artfully. A plenipotentiary keeps up an air of haughtiness, even when the affairs of his nation are in the worst situation; and he is generally fortunate enough to persuade those with whom he is treating, that it is their interest to put an end to hostilities, however successful they may have been. On this account, he avails himself of every thing that may contribute to his success, employing all the eloquence and address imaginable. For should his proposals happen not to be relished, he is obliged to keep well on his guard, a blow of the hatchet being often the sole reply made on such occasions; and it is not even enough to have escaped the first surprise, he has also grounds to fear being pursued, and burnt if taken, if any pretext can be found, as, for instance, that of reprisals, for such proceeding. Thus it happened to some *French* amongst the *Iroquois*, to whom they had been sent on the part of the governor general; and the Jesuits who resided amongst those *Indians*, and were a sort of agents for the colony, were always expecting to be sacrificed to some ancient grudge, or misunderstanding, or to the remonstrances of the governor of *New York*.

Artful management and
danger of negotiations.

It is surprising, in short, that nations who never make war from motives of interest, and who even carry their disinterestedness to such a height, that their warriors never load themselves with the plunder and spoil of the conquered, and, if they bring home any booty, abandon it to the first that pleases to take it, and, lastly, who take up arms for glory, or to revenge themselves on their enemies; it is, I say, quite astonishing to see them so well versed and practised in the greatest refinements and intricacies of state policy, and even so as to keep ministers, residing amongst their enemies, at the public expence. They have one custom with respect to these agents, which appears sufficiently extravagant, though it may be reckoned prudent enough, at the same time, which is, that they never lay any stress on any intelligence they receive from those pensioners, if the advice be not accompanied with some present. Their policy here arises, no doubt, from this consideration, that, in order to give an entire credit to any piece of intelligence, it is not only necessary that he who communicates it have nothing to hope from it, but even that it should be attended with some expence to him, both because the public, and not any private interest, ought to be his only motive for sending it, and also that he may

Residents maintained among
enemies

Odd custom with regard to them.

not rashly, or before he has well weighed the importance, trouble them with trifling and superficial matters.

Government
of the *Indians*
of *Canada*.

The nations on the continent of *North America* have, for the most part, a kind of aristocratical form of government, the modes of which are almost infinite. For tho' each canton has its own chief, independant of all the other cantons of the nation, on whom the subjects have full as little dependance, there is, however, no matter of importance transacted without the advice of their elders. Amongst those nations that live towards *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, their sagamos were more absolute, and it does not appear that they were obliged to make largeesses to their people as the chiefs are accustomed to do almost every where else. On the contrary, they levied a kind of tribute on their subjects, and their grandeur did by no means consist in their disinterestedness, and in keeping nothing for themselves; but it is probable that the dispersion of the *Acadian Indians*, and it may be their commerce with the *French*, may have contributed much to the change of their ancient form of government in this particular, the detail of which may be found in *Champlain* and *Lescarbot*.

Clans, titles,
and distin-
guishing
marks.

Amongst several nations there are three tribes, or clans, which are reckoned chief or superior to the rest, and which are probably as old as the nation itself. They have, however, one common stock; but there is one of these three branches which is held the first in rank, and has a pre-eminence over the other two; and those of this tribe, or family, have the quality or honorary title of brethren given them, whereas they give others only that of cousins. These tribes are mixed without however being confounded, each having its particular chief in the village, and, in affairs which concern the whole nation, these chiefs assemble, and are the council which deliberates upon them.

Nations and
tribes take the
names of a-
nimals.

Each tribe bears the name of some animal, and the nation in general has one of its own which distinguishes it from others, the figure of which is its mark, or, what is the same thing, its ensigns armorial. When they sign any treaty, the figure of this animal is always drawn on it, except, in some particular cases, when they make use of different signatures. Thus the *Huron* nation is the nation of the Porcupine: Its first tribe bears the name of the Bear, or the Roebuck, for authors are not agreed on this point; the two next in rank have taken for their animals, the Wolf and the Tortoise; in short, every canton has its peculiar animal, and it is this variety which has probably misled the writers of several erroneous relations. It is also proper to take notice that, besides these distinctions of nations, tribes, and cantons, by different animals, there are also other differences which arise from certain events, or from some particular customs. The *Hurons* called *Tionnontatez*, for instance, who are of the first tribe, are commonly distinguished by the title of the nation of Petun; and there is yet in being a treaty of those *Indians* with the *French*, to which they have affixed as their mark the figure of a Beaver. The *Iroquois*, or Five Nations, have the same animals with the *Huron Indians*, a colony of whom they have been reckoned by some *French* writers, with this difference, however, that amongst the former the family of the Tortoise is divided into the Great and the Little Tortoise.

Titles of
chiefs of fa-
milies and
villages.

The chief of each family or clan bears its name, and is known by no other title in all public transactions; the case is precisely the same with the chiefs of villages. But besides this title, which is only, as we may say, a sort of representative one, they have another which distinguishes them more particularly, and is in the nature of a mark of honour. Thus one is called *Most Noble*, another *Most Ancient*, and so of the rest. Lastly, they have a third title, which is personal; but this is probably in use amongst those nations only where the quality of chief is hereditary.

Titles con-
ferred and
revived.

These titles are conferred with a great deal of ceremony: The new chief, or, if he should not be of age, his representative, is to give a repast, to bestow largeesses, to make the elogium, or panegyric, of his predecessor, and to sing his song. There are, however, instances where a certain name is had in such veneration, that no person afterwards dares to take it, or at least, not before it is in a manner antiquated, in which case they call it, restoring the person who formerly bore it to life.

Dignity of
chief elective.

In the Northern parts, and in general wherever the *Algonkin* language prevails, the dignity of the chief is elective: But then the whole ceremony of election and installation consists in feasting, accompanied with dances and songs. The chief elect never omits to make the panegyric of his predecessor, and to invoke his genius.

Amongst

Amongst the *Hurons*, where this dignity is hereditary, the succession is thro' the females; hence, on the death of a chief, it is not his own son, but the son of his sister who succeeds to the chiefship; or, in default of such issue, the nearest of the female line. If the whole branch, or line, should happen to be extinct, the noblest matron of the tribe or nation makes choice of the subject who is most to her liking, and declares him chief.

Dignity hereditary descends by females.

In case of a minority, the hereditary chief has a regent appointed for him, who exercises all his authority, but always in the name of the minor. These chiefs are distinguished by very little external marks of respect, and if they are generally obeyed, it is because they know how to confine their commands within the limits of their power. Thus they rather signify their desire, or simply propose what they would have done, and as their authority is very limited, and their power is but of small influence, they are very careful not to stretch them beyond the bounds of moderation. Thus the reasonableness of the service, and not the will or influence of the chief enforces obedience; and this is always more cheerfully performed by the subjects, as their actions are free and properly speaking their own, and as they can have no apprehensions of the degeneracy of their constitution into tyranny and arbitrary government.

State of a regent in a minority.

Each family, tribe, or clan, (which are names for the same thing) has moreover a right to choose a councillor, and an assistant to the chief, who is to watch over their particular interests, and without whose advice the chief can undertake or execute nothing. These councillors are especially to have an eye over the public treasury, and it is theirs particularly to assign the uses to which it is to be applied. The formality of their reception is prescribed in the general council, but the *Indians* never acquaint their allies with their admissions, as it is usual with them in notifying the election and installment of their chiefs. Amongst the *Hurons* the women name those councillors, and they often choose persons of their own sex for these employments.

Councillors assistant to chiefs.

This body, or college of chiefs, is the first in power above all the others: The second is of the elders or senators, consisting of such as have attained the age of manhood, the precise year of which is uncertain: The third and last is that of the warriors, which comprehends all capable of bearing arms. This body have often the chief of the nation, or canton for their head; but before he is capable of enjoying this honour, he must have distinguished himself by some remarkable feat of arms; otherwise he is obliged to serve in quality of a subaltern, that is, as a simple centinel; for there is no distinction of rank or quality in the *Indian* militia.

Colleges of chiefs, elders, and warriors.

In effect a large body may have several chiefs, this title being common to all who have once commanded; but these chiefs are entirely subject to the orders of the commander in chief of the party, who is a sort of general without rank, or authority, being neither capable of rewarding or punishing, for even his soldiers may quit the service at their pleasure with impunity; and yet this shadow of a general is almost never disobeyed: So true it is, that amongst men who are governed by reason, and conducted by a principle of honour, and the love of their country, independency and subordination are perfectly consistent, and that a free and voluntary obedience is the best support and security to a general. The other qualities requisite to accomplish a war-chief, are, that he be brave, disinterested, and fortunate; and it is no wonder that a general endowed with all these qualities should be well obeyed.

Best source of obedience to a general.

Amongst all the nations of the *Huron* tongue, if you except the *Iroquois* canton of *Onneyouth*, amongst whom the power resides alternately in either sex, the women have the chief authority. But tho' this may possibly be their original constitution, it is found, however, to be very seldom true in practice: For the males, contrary to the original contract, and to the *Magna Charta* of free-born *Indians*, never acquaint the other sex, who are the barons of the *Hurons*, with any but trifling affairs, tho' all is carried on and executed in their name, and by the chiefs, who are no more than their lieutenants. Thus the actual authority of the *Huron* fair is little more than a shadow. It is, however, affirmed by some, that the women are the first who sit upon whatever is proposed in council, and that they send down their resolves to the chiefs, who make the report to the council general, that is, the council of elders or senators; tho' all this probably serves only for form sake, and with the restrictions just mentioned. The warriors also hold consultations among themselves on affairs of their own province; but nothing of importance, or which concerns the nation or canton, can

Chief authority resides in women.

be resolved in this council. All is subject to be revised and confirmed in the court of seniors, whose determinations are decisive.

Wisdom, privacy, and policy conspicuous in public assemblies.

Some writers make no scruple to assure us, that in those assemblies every thing is managed with so much wisdom, mature deliberation, dexterity, and, in general, with so much probity, as would have done honour to the *Roman* senate, or to the *Arcopagus* of *Athens*, in the happiest and best times of those republics. Here nothing is done precipitately, and those violent and tyrannical passions of private ambition and interest, which have so much changed, or rather disfigured the face of government, and public business amongst those who call themselves polite nations, have not, as yet, prevailed, amongst those whom we very unjustly call savages, over the good of the common wealth. Those who are concerned in the event of those deliberations never fail to set abundance of springs in motion, and employ so much address and such a fine and subtle kind of politics to accomplish their designs, as are perfectly astonishing in men of so simple and an almost barbarous appearance. They are particularly great masters in the art of dissimulation, and no people exceed them in an artfulness, which is peculiar to them, of covering their designs; and, what flows from the same fountain of natural sagacity, when they take the field, in concealing their march from the enemy none are to compare with them. The point of honour, and the glory of the nation, are the chief motives of going to war, joined to, what is much less excusable, an insatiable and most ungovernable thirst of revenge, for in this they believe their honour is concerned in a peculiar manner. They may think perhaps too, that good policy and self preservation require that they should not teach their enemies to insult or injure them, by suffering them to do it with impunity.

Motives to war.

Public orators

Each tribe has its orator in the village or canton, who only has a right to speak in the public councils, and in their general assemblies. These orators are observed to speak always well, and to the point in debate: And, besides this natural eloquence, which no persons, who have frequented their meetings, has ever denied them, they have a thorough knowledge of the interests of their constituents, with an inexpressible and singular talent at setting them in their best light. The women have also an orator on some occasions, who speaks in their name, and as if he was only the interpreter of their sentiments.

Busy temper of the Indians

One would naturally imagine that nations who may be considered as in some sort without property, whether public or private, and who have no ambition to extend their territory, would have few differences to unravel with one another. But the restless nature of the human mind, which is incapable of subsisting without action, is ingenious in finding out matter of employment. Thus those savages are eternally busied in treating, and are never without a multitude of affairs on the carpet; such as concluding new or renewing old treaties, tenders of service, mutual congratulations, new alliances, invitations to become parties in a war, compliments on the death of some chief, or great personage, and other matters of the same nature; all this business is transacted with an attention and capacity, not only in every respect capable of managing the most important affairs, but also oftentimes much greater than it appears to be; those who are deputed for this purpose being frequently charged with secret instructions, the apparent motive of their commissions being only a veil to cover their real and more serious designs.

Valour and policy of the Iroquois.

The *Iroquois* nation, commonly called the *Five Nations*, has made the greatest figure for two centuries in this part of *North America*. Their success in war has given them an incontestable superiority over all the others, so that from quiet and pacific, as they formerly were, they are now become to the last degree turbulent and intriguing. But nothing has more contributed to render them formidable than their advantageous situation, of which they were not long insensible, and which they have turned to their best advantage. As they are situated within the colonies of *Great Britain*, near those of *France*, they were soon conscious of their being necessary to both nations, and both, in effect, have used their utmost efforts to engage them either to come over to their own side, or at least to remain neutral. Persuaded as they were, that should either of these nations happen to suppress the other, themselves must become the slaves of the conquerors, they turned all their thoughts to preserve the balance between both, in which we must confess they have succeeded to a miracle, if we

we consider that all their forces conjoined have never exceeded five or six thousand combatants, and that they have long since been diminished above one half.

As to what concerns private persons and the inferior government of villages, their affairs are reduced to very few, and those transacted in very little time. The authority of the chiefs seldom or never intermeddles with them, so that, generally speaking, persons, who have any degree of credit, are entirely taken up with the management of public affairs. One single point, tho' of small importance, is long under deliberation: All is concluded with wonderful coolness, and nothing is decided till it is fully understood by all who are pleased to assist in it. On making an elder a private gratification, you are always sure of his vote, if he accepts the present, tho' they are not easily brought to receive such favours, and there is scarce any instance of an *Indian* who has failed to perform his obligations in this respect; nor are they ever known to receive with both hands.

Government of villages.

The youth become early acquainted with public affairs, whence they become grave and ripe, at an age in which *European* nations are still children, as having seldom an opportunity of being so much as spectators of any thing that relates to public business. This admission gives them a strong love for the public good, even from their earliest youth, and inspires an emulation which they are very careful to foster, and from which every thing may be hoped.

Youth early politicians.

The greatest defect of this government is an almost total want of criminal justice in this country; this defect, however, is far from being attended with the same consequences it must certainly be amongst *Europeans*, as private interest, the great spring of our passions, and the chief source of all those disorders which are so pernicious to society, has no power over men who never think of growing rich, nor take any care for to-morrow.

Want of criminal justice.

We might also find fault with their manner of educating their children, for their extreme indulgence will not suffer them to be chastised on any account. Whilst they are children, their excuse is, that they have not the use of reason, and the *Indians* are of opinion that the understanding is never improved by punishment. When they are grown up, their answer is, that they are masters of their own actions, and therefore responsible to none. They even carry these two maxims to such an extravagant length, as to suffer themselves to be abused by persons who are intoxicated with liquor, and without so much as defending themselves for fear of hurting them. "For why, say they, should one hurt persons who know not what they do."

Indulgent education.

In short, those *Americans* are perfectly of opinion, that man is born free, that no power on earth has any right to infringe his liberty, and that nothing is capable of compensating the loss of it. Their desires are more bounded than ours, because their springs are so too, and as they covet only the necessaries of life, with which nature has abundantly provided them, they scarce so much as think of its superfluities. This toleration and impunity is, however, the occasion of great disorders, and is itself no small one. They have almost no subordination in public, still less in private life, every one living as he lists, father, mother, and children, cohabiting like so many persons who had come together by accident, and as if they were linked by no ties of nature, the children ordering the affairs of the family, without so much as consulting their parents any more than if they were utter strangers, brought up in a total independance from their infancy, and unaccustomed both to the voice of nature, and to the most indispensable obligation of human life, and of civil society.

Liberty of *Americans* source of disorders.

The most horrid crimes, even parricide itself, are suffered to go unpunished, so that when they happen, they are less, in some measure, to be ascribed to the person who commits them, than to the public which suffers them. There are, however, some exceptions from this custom, which is perhaps the greatest piece of barbarity that can be objected to the natives of this part of *America*. I am myself inclined to think that crimes perpetrated by persons intoxicated only meet with this indulgence, and the reason they give for it, is, that such persons know not what they do, and therefore are to be treated as lunatics.

Horrid crimes excused by drunkenness.

They seem to rank women and children in the same class with persons in liquor, as they hold it unworthy of men to defend themselves against them, provided always, that no attempt be made against their lives, or that there be no danger of being maimed, in which case they endeavour if possible to avoid the danger by flight. But should an *Indian* kill any person belonging to the same cabin, if he be found

Murder excused, or extenuated.

have been in liquor, which the criminals often feign, when they meditate an assassination, they content themselves with lamenting the fate of the defunct as an unhappy accident; for as to the person who committed the murder, he knew not, say they, what he did. In case it should happen that the murderer were found to have done it in cold blood, they make no hesitation to extenuate or rather defend the crime, by saying, he must certainly have good grounds for so doing. If it be proved that the aggressor had no cause of complaint against the deceased, the punishment of the murder is left entirely to those of his own cabin, who have power to judge him to death, which indeed seldom happens, without any form of justice, whence this punishment has more the air of private revenge, than of the execution of public justice. And sometimes the chief is glad of any opportunity to get rid of a troublesome subject. In short, crimes are punished in such a way, as neither to satisfy common and natural justice, nor to establish the public peace and security.

Punishment
left to rela-
tions.

The murder of a person who has a numerous kindred, committed by one who has the same connections, is always attended with unhappy consequences, and is sometimes capable of raising a combustion in the whole canton, or even in the entire nation. For this reason, the council of seniors is very attentive, on such occasions, to accommodate matters betimes, and the public generally makes the presents, and perform every other necessary formality towards the offended family. The immediate punishment of the offender would be sufficient to appease the whole storm, and the relations of the deceased have a right to inflict what punishment they think proper, provided they get him into their power. But his own cabin think it a disgrace to themselves to suffer him to be punished, and the village or canton frequently refuse to compel them to give him up to justice.

Murder how
punished by
the Hurons.

The *Hurons* are said by some missionaries, who had long resided in their country, to punish murder in the following manner: They stretch the dead body upon poles in the upper part of some cabin, and oblige the assassin to remain under it for several days together, and to receive not only on himself, but also on what is allowed him for his sustenance, all that falls from the putrid carcase; unless he can prevail with the relations of the defunct, by means of a certain gratification, to have his food preserved from the putrefaction. But Father *Brebeuf*, from whom this account is extracted, does not say whether this punishment was in consequence of the sentence of the laws, and an exertion of the public justice of the nation, or inflicted by way of reprisal only by the relations of the dead, in the case of the murderer's falling into their hands.

Persons slain
replaced by
adoption.

Be this as it will, the most common method of indemnifying the relations of the slain, amongst those *Indians*, is to replace him by a prisoner of war. In this case the captive is generally adopted into the place of the party that has been killed, when he enters into the full enjoyment of all his advantages, so that both the dead and the quarrel are soon forgotten.

Witchcraft
capital.

There are, however, certain odious crimes which are punished with immediate death, at least amongst some nations; such as, for instance, wizzards or magicians, for ill offices, which they are supposed to exercise towards certain persons by means of certain arts. Whoever is suspected of witchcraft or magic, can never be safe any where, they even compel them to undergo a kind of rack or torture to make them discover their accomplices, after which the criminal is condemned to the same sort of death as the prisoners of war, but the consent of his family must first be had, which is only for form sake, or in compliance with ancient custom, for they dare by no means run the risk of a refusal. Those who are least obnoxious are commonly stung before they are burnt.

As also disho-
nouring the
family by
theft.

Those who dishonour their families, that is, who are guilty of theft, are also to undergo the same punishment; and it is commonly the family who executes the sentence, and rights themselves in that manner.

Amongst the *Hurons*, who were formerly much addicted to thieving, and who performed it with a dexterity and address which would have done honour to our most accomplished pick-pockets, it was lawful on discovering the thief, not only to take back what he had robbed, but also to carry off all the goods and chattles of his cabin, and to strip his wife, children, and himself stark naked, without their daring to make the least resistance.

In other cases, in order to shun all disputes on such occasions, they agreed on certain maxims, from which they never departed. For example, every thing lost, if but an instant before, became the property of the finder, if the loser had not already reclaimed it. But the least fraud on the part of the former, was sufficient to found a claim of restitution, which occasioned sometimes vehement and most vexatious contestations.

Law of loser and finder.

I must not omit one particular, with respect to the crime of murder. It has been related above, that, in order to prevent the fatal effects of such crimes, the public took upon itself the charge of making the necessary submissions, and paying the presents for the slayer. But what is surprising enough to us, this very circumstance is more efficacious to prevent murder, and all its fatal consequences, in this country, than the severest laws, and the most exemplary punishments. For as those sorts of satisfactions, or compensations, are extremely chargeable to those *Indians*, whose extreme haughtiness surpasses all imagination, the criminal is more affected by this burden, and by the stain to which he subjects the public, then he could possibly be on his own account; and their zeal for the honour of their country, lays a greater restraint upon them than death, or the cruellest torments.

Indians how restrained from murder.

This impunity, however, seems to be but of a later original amongst them, since the first missionaries who went amongst them found many footsteps of the ancient severity, and of the rigour with which crimes were punished. Theft, in particular, has always been deemed an indelible stain on the honour of a family, and any one had a right to wash it out in the blood of the offender. One of those missionaries, Father *Brebeuf*, perceiving one day, a young *Huron* who was dispatching a young woman, ran towards him to prevent an action which appeared so atrocious, asking him what could provoke him to so horrid a violence. "She is my sister, said the other, and a thief, and I am now going to expiate the injury done me and all our family, by the death of the wretch who is the occasion of it."

Crimes more severely punished in former times.

Huron kills his sister for theft.

The *Indians*, at least amongst several of the *Algonkin* nations, allow of a plurality of wives, and the general custom is to marry all the sisters together, from a persuasion that sisters are more likely to agree together, than mere strangers. In this case, all the wives are of equal rank, and on the same footing; but among the true *Algonkins* they are of two different ranks, the second being mere slaves to the others. In some nations the fashion is to have a wife in every quarter where they commonly resort in the hunting season; and, this custom, we are told, has been lately introduced amongst the *Hurons*, who, in former times, were known to have been contented with one wife. But there is a much greater disorder still which prevails in the *Iroquois* canton of *Tsonnontbouan*, who allow of a plurality of husbands.

Plurality of wives and husbands.

Both *Hurons* and *Iroquois* are, however, remarkably scrupulous as to the degrees of kindred or affinity in their marriages. They tolerate not the remotest degree of consanguinity between the parties, in which respect adoption has the same force as affinity. The husband, however, in case of the death of his wife, is obliged to marry her sister; and the wife is obliged to observe the same rule with respect to her husband's brother, in case of his decease without issue by her, and provided she is still capable of having children. The reasons they alledge are precisely the same with those of the *Levitical* law in *Deut. xxv. 5. Suscitabit semen fratri suo*. The husband who refuses to comply with this law of marrying the sister, or near relation of his deceased wife, subjects himself to all the outrages of the party rejected, and he is obliged to endure all without murmuring. When, through any deficiency of relations, the widow is permitted to marry out of her husband's family, they are obliged to make her presents, as a public acknowledgement and testimony of her prudent deportment; and this is what she may lawfully claim, provided she has behaved herself discreetly and virtuously all the time of her married state.

Amongst what persons marriage is lawful.

Where marriage is of obligation.

Amongst all these nations, and particularly amongst the *Algonkins*, are certain families of eminent rank and quality, which are not at liberty to intermarry with any others. The state of marriage is generally held sacred and inviolable in this country, and concubinage, or marriages contracted for a certain space of time only, are commonly held as transgressions against good order and sound policy. A husband who should abandon his wife must expect many ill offices from her relations; and a wife who should absent herself from her husband, must be content to endure much more of the same sort of treatment.

Marriage held in honour, and concubinage disgraceful.

Elopement,
and separa-
tion by mu-
tual consent.

Amongst the *Miamis* it is customary for the husband to cut off the nose of a wife that elopes from him; but with the *Hurons* and *Iroquois* the married couple may quit the society of each other by mutual consent. This is done without any noise, and the separated parties are at liberty to contract new engagements. Their reason for this conduct generally is, what one of them said one day to a missionary, "My wife and I cannot agree together; my neighbour is exactly in the same situation; we have changed wives, and now we are all four content. What can be more reasonable than to make one another mutually happy, especially when it can be done at so little expence, and without the least detriment to any one?" This custom is, however, regarded both as an abuse and a novelty, which last it certainly is, at least among the *Iroquois*.

Jealousy fre-
quent, and of
ill conse-
quence.

But the great disturber of domestic peace amongst the *Indians* of *Canada* is jealousy, which commonly rages amongst both parties alike. The *Iroquois*, however, used to boast, that they are free from this evil; but, besides that somewhat of this sort is inseparable from human nature, if both parties happen to love each other, those who have frequented their company assure us, that they are no less subject to this passion than the rest of their countrymen on the same continent. When a woman discovers that her husband entertains any liking to another, the rival must be very much upon her guard, and the rather as the husband, who is guilty of this act of infidelity, dares not stir in her defence or protection. A husband who should use his wife ill on that account would incur eternal infamy.

Customs rela-
ting to mar-
riage.

The parents settle all marriages between themselves, the parties never appearing in them, but abandoning themselves blindly to the will of those on whom they depend. Nothing is, however, concluded without their consent, though this be a mere piece of formality. The first advances are made by the matrons; but it is never known that the friends of the future bride make any overtures. If a young woman has stood long in the market, it is not unusual for the relations to try what they can do to get her a man. But this must be done under-hand, and with a great deal of cunning and address to cover their design. In some parts the girls are never forced to marry, and are permitted to make as many essays of marriage as they think proper, previous to a state which the ceremony, they think, serves only to render the more insupportable.

Remarkable
continence of
new-married
couples.

The behaviour of the young folks during the courtship, or rather the bargain, is for the most part extremely modest, though the same, it seems, cannot be said in praise of ancient times. There is one circumstance related by good authors, which *Charlevoix*, who should be a judge of what men are capable in point of continency, thinks absolutely impossible, which is, that in several places the new married couple cohabit a whole year without knowing each other, so that a woman with child, in the first year of her marriage, would be looked upon as a person who had lost her character; and justly, because, say they, persons should marry out of friendship, and not to satisfy their passions. Hence Platonic love seems not confined to our continent, and those pure flames of that refined and celestial passion, which is, however, much more talked of every where than felt, make themselves perceived, even among the savage philosophers of *America*. We will not enter into the detail, which, as that good father, to whom I owe this particular, thinks, rather weakens than augments the probability of what is here affirmed. After what has been said, we ought to be less scrupulous in believing what is related of the behaviour of the young couple during their abode in those places, where they are permitted to converse together in private. For tho' custom allows them much secret familiarity, yet in those habitations where modesty is exposed to the greatest dangers, and ever under the covert of the night, it is pretended that nothing ever passes that is capable of wounding the chafest imagination.

Presents pre-
liminary to
marriage.

The future bridegroom is to make all the presents, in which, as indeed in every other particular of his behaviour, he takes care to shew his intended spouse all the respect imaginable. In some places, the young man is contented with sitting down by the side of his beloved in her cabin; which, if she suffers, and remains in her place, it is taken as her consent, and the marriage is concluded. However, amidst all this outward deference, he gives her intimations that he is very soon to become her lord and master. Amongst the presents he bestows, some are rather to be regarded as so many marks and symbols of her future slavery, than as testimonies of the respect of a lover: Such as the collar, the chaldron or kettle, and the faggot, which are brought into her cabin, to shew that it is her part to carry burdens, to provide fuel for her

her house, and to dress her husband's victuals. And it is even customary, in some parts, for the bride to bring into the cabin beforehand all the wood to be consumed in it the following winter.

It is remarkable besides, that in every one of the above particulars there is no manner of variation between such nations where the women have all the authority in their hands, and those where they are of no weight in public business; for even the women who are, at least in appearance, the mistresses and sovereigns of the state, and make the chief body of the nation, when they have reached a certain age, and have children capable of causing them to be respected, yet have no manner of deference paid them before, and are, at the same time, the very slaves of their husbands, in what relates to the management of their domestic affairs.

Remark on female authority.

There is perhaps no nation under the sun that, in general, despise the sex more than the *Indians*; and to call one of them a woman, is the greatest insult. The children, however, which is at the same time odd enough, belong only to the mother, and acknowledge her authority alone. The father is regarded as no more than an alien, in relation to them, with such restriction however, that if he is not treated as a father, he is always respected as master of the cabin. It is not certain whether this be universally the case in *Canada*, no more than what is found in good memoirs, that the young women, besides what services their husbands have a right to demand of them, with regard to their domestic affairs, are also obliged to provide for their own relations, which is probably the case, when such relations have no other person left to do these services, and when their great age or infirmities have rendered them incapable of helping themselves.

Customs and services relating to wives and mothers.

However this be, the new husband has also his peculiar functions. Besides hunting and fishing, obligations which last as long as his life, he is first of all to make a marriage for his wife, build her a cabin, or else to repair one for her reception; and whilst he remains with his father and mother in law, he is to bring thither all the produce of his hunting. Amongst the *Iroquois*, the woman never goes out of the cabin, because she is deemed the mistress, or at least the heiress of it. Amongst other nations she goes, two or three years after their marriage, to live with her mother in law.

Offices and employment of husbands.

The *Canadian* women are commonly delivered without hard labour or assistance: Some are, however, much longer in travail than others, and suffer extremely. When this happens, the youth are first acquainted with it, who, all of a sudden, and when the sick woman least of all suspects it, set up a loud shout at the door of her cabin, the surprise of which causes a speedy delivery. The women never lye-in in their own cabins; they are frequently surprised with their pains, and delivered when at work, or on a journey. As for others, who take more care of themselves, they generally build them a hut without the village, where they remain forty days after being brought to bed. This is, however, said to be practised only when they lye in of their first child. This term being expired, all the fires of the cabin to which they are to return are extinguished, all the baggage shaken, and a new fire kindled on their entrance. Much the same formalities are observed, with respect to all the sex, at certain times, which are peculiar to them, and not only so, but also whilst they are pregnant, and in time of suckling. They commonly suckle three whole years, during which, and their pregnancy, their husbands never approach them. This custom occasions frequent infidelities on both sides; and it is affirmed, that the women in those countries make common use of certain simples, with which they are acquainted, to prevent the consequences of those irregularities.

Custom of women in labour, lying in and suckling.

Nothing can exceed the fondness of mothers towards their children, whilst in the cradle; but, from the moment they are weaned, they abandon them entirely to their own conduct, not from any indifference, or hardness of heart, for they never lose their maternal tenderness while they live, but, from a persuasion that it is better to let nature work her will in them, and that she ought to be restrained in nothing.

Mothers, how they treat their children.

The act by which they conclude their age of infancy is the giving them their name, which, amongst these nations, is a thing of no small importance. This ceremony is performed in a feast, at which are present none but persons of the same sex with the child to be named. During the repast, the child is held on the knees of his father or mother, who never ceases invoking and recommending him to the genii, and, above all, to the genius who is to be his guardian; for they believe that every

Ceremony of naming the child.

one has his own tutelar spirit, though not when he is born. They never invent new names, but each family has a certain number which are properly its own, and which they use by turns, and in rotation. Sometimes too they change them as they grow older, and some may not be born after a certain age, though this custom is believed to prevail only amongst certain nations. And as it is usual amongst some nations, on taking any name, for the person who takes it to succeed in place of him who last bore it, it often happens, that a child is treated as a grandfather by a person who for age might very well be his own.

Salutations.

They never salute or accost any person by his own name in familiar discourse; this would be a great piece of uncivility. They always give him the quality he bears with respect to the person who addresses him; and if there be neither affinity nor relation between the two, they salute one another by the name of brother, uncle, nephew, or cousin, according to their age, or the degree of respect they would shew the person to whom they speak.

Motives for revival of names.

It may be further remarked, that it is not so much with a design to perpetuate their names, that they chuse to revive them, as from a desire, that those on whom they are bestowed should imitate the virtues and exploits of those who bore them, or revenge their deaths, if they have been killed or burnt, or, lastly, to comfort their families for their loss. Thus a woman who has lost her husband, or son, and so becomes destitute of all support, delays not to bestow the name of the deceased on some person to fill his place. In short, there are several other reasons why they change their names, which it would be too tedious to mention; a dream, the prescription of some quack, or some other reason equally frivolous, being sufficient for that purpose.

Dance of the Calumet, or Pipe.

As dancing is an act of great consequence amongst the natives of *Canada*, being an essential in treaties, and several other matters of high moment, a description of some of those most noted may help to convey a more distinct, as well as curious and entertaining idea, of the nature of those people. Of these the chief seems to be the dance of the Calumet, which is performed with abundance of variation, according to the occasion and people who exhibit the solemnity. It is properly a military festival, in which the sole actors are soldiers, and one would imagine it were only a contrivance to give them an opportunity of displaying and descanting on their exploits. Some have believed that this ceremony had its rise from the wand of *Mercury*, and that in its first institution it was esteemed the symbol of peace. All who danced this dance, says *Charlevoix*, an eye-witness; all who sung, and who beat the drum, and played on the *chichicoué*, were young persons, equipped as when they go to war. Their faces were painted with all manner of colours, their heads adorned with feathers, which they also held in their hands, like fans. The calumet, or pipe, was also ornamented with them, and set up in the most conspicuous place, which was surrounded by the band of music and dancers. The spectators were divided into several groups, or separate bodies, the women apart from the men, and attired in their best apparel, which at a distance made a very pleasant sight. Between the orchestra and the *French* commandant of the post where this ceremony was performed, who was seated in the porch of his own apartment, they had fixed a post, which, after every dance, one of the warriors approached, and struck with his battle-axe. After this signal given, there ensued a profound silence, when this hero related aloud some of his principal feats, and those for which he most valued himself, and, after receiving the customary applause, went to take his place, and then the play began again in the same manner. This ceremony, which was performed by the *Sakis* and *Oschagras*, two *Indian* nations, lasted two full hours for each nation, in which, says *Charlevoix*, I took very little delight, not only because of the monotony and disagreeableness of the music, but also because this dancing consisted only in some contortions of body, expressive of nothing, and void of all meaning, and very far from being any way diverting.

Remarks.

This feast, that writer proceeds, was made in honour of the new *French* commandant, in which, he says, he saw none of those ceremonies mentioned in some authors, such as placing the commandant on a matras, making him presents, placing a crown of feathers on his head, and presenting him the calumet; nor were there any naked men, painted all over, adorned with feathers and collars of porcelain, and holding in their hands the calumet. Perhaps this is not the custom of those particular
savages,

savages, and perhaps also M. de Montigny had dispensed with this part of the ceremonial. I observed only, that here and there all the assistants made great shouts of applause in honour of the dancers, and especially during the dance of the *Ojibagras*, who, of the two nations, diversified their play more, shewed an extraordinary agility, are lighter and better made, and, in short, bore away all the honours of the day.

The dance of the Discovery is probably more entertaining. It has not only more action in it, but is also more expressive of the subject, which it represents, than the former. It is properly a lively representation of all the particulars of a campaign; and as these *Indians* turn all their thoughts to surprise their enemy, as before observed, their whole art military consists only in stratagem; hence, probably, this dance has obtained the name of the Discovery. Be this as it will, one man alone dances; at first he advances slowly into the middle of the place, where, after remaining some time without motion, he represents, one after another, the departure of the warriors for the campaign, the march, their encampments, the setting out on the discovery, the approach towards the enemy, and the halt as if to recover breath. Then, all of a sudden, transporting himself into a fury, you would imagine he were going to kill all the world; after this, recovering from the fit, he seizes on one of the assistants as if he were taking him prisoner of war; shews the manner of using the battle-ax with regard to another; takes aim at a third; and, last of all, falls a running with his utmost speed. He then pauses and recovers his former coolness, which signifies the retreat; then, by different cries, he expresses the various situations of his own mind during his last campaign; and, lastly, closes the scene with the recital of all the fine actions he had performed during the war.

Dance of the Discovery.

When the dance of the calumet, or pipe, has, as usual, the conclusion of some treaty, or the making some alliance against the common enemy for its object, they engrave in that case a serpent on its funnel, or stem, and beside it they place a board, on which are represented two men of the two confederate nations, with an enemy under their feet, who is known by the mark of his nation. Sometimes, in place of the pipe, they make use of a battle-ax. But if the business be only a simple alliance, they represent two men holding each other by one hand, and carrying the pipe of peace in the other, and each having the mark of their own nation beside them.

Dance of the Calumet, or Pipe, with various figures

In all treaties they give pledges on both sides, such as collars of porcelain, calumets, or pipes of ceremony, flaves, sometimes deer-skins or elk-skins, well dressed, and adorned with figures made of hair of porcupines; and it is on those skins that the above-mentioned representations are made with this hair, or else with simple colours.

Treaties attended with pledges.

There are other dances of a simpler kind, in which their sole view is to give the warriors occasion to relate their exploits. The *Indians* are particularly fond of this custom, and never tired of it. He who gives the repast invites all those of the same village by tuck of drum, and they assemble in his cabin, if it be capable of containing all the guests. The warriors dance one after another, then striking on a post a silence ensues, when every one says what he can for himself, and now and then stops to receive the congratulations of the audience, who are far from being sparing of their praises. But should any of them be found bragging of a feat which is not true, any one present is at liberty to smear his head with earth or ashes, or to play him any other roguish trick he thinks proper. The general way is to black his face, saying to him, "What I now do is that I may hide thy shame, for the first time thou seest an enemy thou wilt certainly turn as pale as ashes." Thus all nations agree in the opinion that no boaster can possibly be a brave man. He who has punished the vain-glorious in this manner takes his place, and if he falls into the same fault, the other is sure to have his revenge in kind. The greatest chief amongst them would not be free from this censure, and must endure it with patience; this dance is always in the night time.

Ordinary dance of the warriors.

In the Western parts there is a different sort of dance which they call the Buffalo dance. The dancers form themselves into several circles, and the symphony, which is always composed of the drum and the *chichicoué*, is placed in the middle of the space. They take care not to separate those of the same family; and never join hands, but every man bears his buckler and arms. Those circles turn not all the same way, and tho' they caper very much, and spring to a great height, they never lose the measure nor cadence of the music. The chief presents his buckler from time to time,

Buffalo dance

each of the assistants strike on it, and at every blow they repeat some of their warlike exploits. He then cuts some tobacco from a post, where it is always carefully hung on these occasions, and presents it to his friends. If any one of the rest can make it appear that he has performed finer things than the present pretender, or that any part of the praise of the deeds he has boasted belongs properly to himself, the chief has a right to retake the tobacco he has cut and presented, and to bestow it on some other. The dance is accompanied or followed with a feast. The original of the name of this festival is quite unknown, unless perhaps it comes, as *Charlevoix* conjectures, from the bucklers they carry in it, which are made of hides of buffaloes. I should be apt to imagine too, that the circles were originally intended to represent the manner of hunting those animals, which are inclosed and taken by hemming them round.

Dances for
diseases and
diversions.

There are also dances prescribed by their physicians or quacks, as a cure for certain diseases; but these exercises are commonly performed after a very wanton and lascivious manner. Some dances are intended merely for diversion, and relate to nothing else. These are always in a round form to the sound of the drum and chichicou, and the women by themselves. The men dance with their arms in their hands, and, tho' they join not hands, take care not to spoil the figure, which is a circle. The music of the *Indians* consists only of two or three notes, on which they are perpetually chiming, so that one of us soon grows weary of such entertainments, and especially the first time, both on account of their extreme tediousness, for they last very long, and also because one hears nothing but the same sounds repeated without end.

Game of the
Platter.

Amongst the games of the *Indians* one of the most frequent, and to which they are most addicted, is called the Game of the Dish or Platter. This is most in vogue amongst the *Hurons*, who are so besotted on it, as to sacrifice all the peace of their lives, and reason itself, to its allurements. They often risk their all at it, and cannot be persuaded to leave it off, even after losing all their goods and furniture of their cabins, and stripping themselves naked. Some have staked their liberty for a certain time, a circumstance, which sets the ardency of their passion for it beyond all doubt, since no people under heaven sets a greater value on their liberty than those nations. This game, which we shall call the game of the Platter, can only be played between two persons, each of whom has six or eight little bones, somewhat resembling, both in size and figure, the stones of apricots. These have six faces of unequal dimensions, the two chief of which are painted, the one black and the other of a pale yellow, or straw colour. These bones are made to hop or leap into the air, by striking the ground or table with a round hollow dish, in which these bones are first placed, and then shaken or rattled. When they cannot get a platter, they are forced to be content with tossing their bones with their hands. If on falling they all present the same colour, he to whom it falls, gets six points. The party is forty, and in proportion as the other gets, the winner discounts so many points from those he gained before. Five bones of a colour give only one point for the first time, but after throwing them a second time they sweep the board, any less number is reckoned nothing. He that wins the party continues the game, but the loser yields his place to some other, who is named by the person who marks his party. For they all take their different parties from the beginning, so that the whole village is often concerned in the game, and even sometimes one village plays against another. Each party chooses its own marker, who gives up at pleasure, which happens only when his own side has the worst. Every stroke that is plaid, and especially if it be decisive, is attended with a prodigious shout. The players seem as if transported, and the spectators are seized with the same frenzy. All of them make a thousand different contortions, bespeak the bones, and load the genii of the opposite party with imprecations, and the whole village resounds with hallooing and bellowing. If all this be not enough to recall their luck, the losers have it in their power to put off the party till the morrow, on paying the expence of a very sorry treat to the company.

They then prepare to return to the fight, each invokes his own guardian genius, throwing at the same time tobacco into the fire to his honour; above all they beg of him to grant them happy dreams, and, as soon as day appears, they recommence the game. Great parties last generally five or six days, and often-times the intervening night gives them no interruption. In the mean time, as all the assistants, at
least

least those interested in the game, are transported with eagerness, and as quarrels frequently arise, which are never known to happen amongst the *Indians*, but either when they are drunk or at play, it is easy to guess how much both parties stand in need of rest at the end of a game.

These parties at play, are sometimes ordered by the prescription of some physician, or at the prayer of some sick person; and a dream of either is sufficient for that purpose. This dream is always taken for the command of some genius, in which case they prepare for the game with uncommon care. They assemble several nights successively to make a preliminary trial, and to see who is like to have the happiest fortune, or luckiest hand at a throw. They consult their genius, they fast, and, if they are married persons, abstain from their wives, and all this to obtain a favourable dream. Every morning they relate those they have had, and amongst all those things they could possibly have dreamt, and which they imagine to have some lucky interpretation, they make a collection which they inclose in fatchels and carry about them. If any one has the reputation of being more fortunate than another, which is equivalent, in the opinions of these people, with having a more powerful genius, and more disposed to grant them his protection, they never fail to make him stand near the person who holds the platter. They will even sometimes go a great way to seek such a person, and if old age or some other infirmity should happen to disable him from coming on his own legs, they will carry him on their shoulders.

Ceremonies preparatory to the game.

They have often invited the missionaries to be present at those parties, out of a belief, that their genii were more powerful than their own. It happened that a sick woman, in one of the *Huron* villages, having called one of their pretended physicians, this quack ordered the game of the platter, directing, at the same time, another village for the scene of this transaction. The patient sent without delay to ask the permission of the chief of it, which was granted, and the game being finished, the woman made them a thousand acknowledgments for her cure. She was so far, however, from being recovered, that she was much worse than ever; but they are obliged to counterfeit an ease and satisfaction, even when they have least grounds. The ill nature of this wench, and of her relations, discharged itself on the missionaries, for refusing to be present at the game, reproaching them, for that since their coming into the country the genii of the *Indians* had no longer the same power as in former times. On these religious remonstrating to them the weakness of their pretended divinities on this occasion, they answered them coolly, "You have your Gods, and we have ours; only we are the worst off of the two, because ours are not so powerful as yours."

Story of a sick woman.

The game of Straws is another *Indian* diversion, practised amongst the *Miamis* and *Ponteuatamis*. This is played, sometimes at least, in the chief's cabin, and in the square before it. These straws are small rushes of the thickness of a stalk of corn, and of the length of two fingers. They take a parcel of these, containing commonly two hundred and one, and always an odd number. After they have shuffled them very well, making, at the same time, a thousand contortions, and invoking their genii, they divide them by a sort of awl, or pointed bone, into packets of ten; every one takes one at a venture, and he to whose share the packet with the eleven falls, gains such a number of points, according to an agreement made before-hand. The party is sixty, or four-score.

Game of Straws.

They have also different ways of playing the same game, in which it is observed, that dexterity has full as large a share as chance; that the *Indians* are, in general, great cheats in all sorts of games; that they are so entirely addicted to gaming, as to spend whole days and nights at it, and oftentimes continue playing till they have stripped themselves quite naked, and have nothing left to lose. They have another diversion still, which, if it be less detrimental to the fortunes, is quite as destructive to the morals of these nations. Of this we have the following account:

Indians addicted to gaming.

Towards night they set up, in the middle of some great cabin, a number of posts, placed in a circular form, in the midst of which are the players on instruments. On each post is placed a packet of down, amongst which are some of all sorts of colours. The youth of both sexes dance round those posts, the girls with packets of down of the colour they fancy most. One of the young men advances, from time to time, to lay hold of a packet of that colour which he knows is agreeable to his mistress, and placing it on her head, dances round her, intimating, by signs, some place of meeting

Dance prompting an assignation.

meeting, where he would be glad to see her. The dance ended, the feast begins, and lasts the whole day. In the evening every one retires, when the girls, in spite of the vigilance of their mothers, find a way to the place of assignation.

Game of the
Cross.

The *Miamis* have two games besides, one of which is called the *Game of the Cross*. This is played with a ball and sticks bent, and smoothed like racquets. Two poles are set up, which serve as boundaries, at a certain distance, in proportion to the number of players. If there are four-score players, half a league is allotted for the space between the poles. The players are divided into two bands, who have each their pole, and the strife is, who shall drive the ball to the pole of the other party, without suffering it to touch the ground, and without touching it with their hands. In either of these cases the game is lost: at least, he who suffers the ball to drop, or who touches it, can only repair the fault by driving the ball to the end at one blow, which is seldom possible.

Game of
Toss-ball.

The other game is much like this last, and not in the least dangerous. Two boundaries are marked off, as in the former, the players filling the space between them. He who is to begin, tosses a ball into the air perpendicularly as he can, that he may the more easily catch it, and throw it towards the boundary. All the rest have their arms lifted up, and he who catches it, gives it a toss, as before, or, at least, throws the ball to one of the same side, whom he believes more expert than himself; for, to gain the party, the ball must never fall into the hands of the adversary, till it has reached the boundary. The women too play at this game, though but seldom, and their parties are of five or six of a side, and the side that first suffers the ball to fall to the ground, loses the game.

Religion of
the Indians.

I shall next lay before the reader what I have been able to collect concerning the opinions, traditions, and religion of the *Indians* inhabiting this part of the continent of *North America*. Nothing is more certain, than that they have an idea of the supreme being, though their notions of his nature are, at the same time, very confused. All of them, however, agree in respecting him as the sovereign spirit, the master and creator of the universe. They have also several other opinions concerning his nature, but they are such incoherent systems, and blended with so many wild imaginations, and ridiculous fables, and all with so little uniformity, that nothing very satisfactory can be said of them. It is pretended, that the *Sioux* approach nearer to our notions of the divine nature in this hemisphere; but the little commerce the *French* have hitherto had with this people, has rendered it impossible for them to give us any tolerable account of their traditions, or that may be, with any shew of grounds, depended on.

Three gods.

All the *Algonkin* nations seem to agree in giving the supreme being the title of the *Great Hare*; some of them call him *Michabou*, and others give him the name of *Atabacan*. Most part of them too assert, that he was formerly born upon the waters, with all his retinue, consisting of quadrupeds, like himself; that he created the earth out of a grain of sand, drawn from the bottom of the ocean; and, lastly, that man was formed by him out of the dead bodies of the other animals. Some of them also speak of a God of the waters, who opposed, or, at least, refused to lend his assistance to carry the designs of the *Great Hare* into execution. This God is, according to some, the *Great Tiger*. But we are to observe, that there are no real tigers in *Canada*, so that this tradition, in all appearance, comes from some foreign country. Lastly, they acknowledge a third God, called *Matcomek*, whom they invoke in the winter season, of whom I have been able to learn nothing worth mentioning.

Origin of
mankind.

The *Areskoui* of the *Hurons*, and the *Agreskoui* of the *Iroquois*, is, according to the notions of those people, the supreme Being, and, at the same time, the God of war. These last give a different origin to mankind from the *Algenkins*, and carry it much beneath the creator of the universe. They will have it, that six men first of all made their appearance on the theatre of the world. If you ask them; who placed them there? Their answer is, they cannot tell. They add, that one of these men ascended into heaven to search for a woman, named *Atabensic*, whom he had knowledge of, and afterwards proved with child by him; that the Lord of Heaven, on discovery, thrust her down from the height of the empire of heaven, and that she was received on the back of a tortoise; and that she was afterwards delivered of two children, one of whom killed the other.

There is no more mention made of the other five men, nor of the husband of *Atabensic*, who, as some say, had only one daughter, the mother of *Thaouitsaron* and *Jouskeka*. This last, who was the elder brother, killed the other, and, in a short time after, his grandmother discharged on him the care of her government of the world. They say too that *Atabensic* is the moon, and *Jouskeka* the sun. There is, however, little coherence in this, as in too many other systems of religion, the sun being often held the same with *Areskouï*, so far as he is esteemed the Great Genius.

Three fabulous deities.

The idea they have of spirit is that of a being of a more excellent nature than others, and they have no terms to express any thing that exceeds the compass of their own understandings, which, if we may rely on good authorities, are extremely limited with respect to incorporeal things, or such as are not within the cognizance of their senses. They attribute, however, a kind of immensity to their spirits, believing them every where present, and invoking and addressing them in all places wherever they happen to be, taking it for granted that they hear them, and act according to their desires. If you press them to give you a farther account of those matters, they tell you that this is all they have been taught; there are even none but certain old men initiated in their mysteries, that knew so much.

Indian notion of spirit.

According to the *Iroquois*, the posterity of *Jouskeka* became extinct after the third generation; after that happened a deluge which not one survived, so that, in order to re-people the earth, it was necessary to transform the brute animals into men. Thus all nations seem to have this tradition of a deluge; but this is no miracle, if we consider the number of them which have happened in different periods, and in various parts of the globe; and there is scarce room to doubt of one peculiar to *America*, and much more recent than some of the rest.

Tradition of a deluge.

Besides the great, or sovereign spirit, of whom, as well as their other principal divinities, with respect to the origin of the world, they have a thousand absurd traditions, which it would be too tedious to relate in this place, they have also an infinity of good and evil genii, or inferior spirits, who are the sole objects of their private worship. The *Iroquois* place *Atabensic* at the head of all the good, as they make *Jouskeka* the chief of the others, and sometimes confound him with that god who drove his grandmother from heaven, for suffering herself to be seduced by a mortal. They address themselves to their evil genii only to prevent their doing them ill turns, and they believe the others designed to be the guardians of mankind, each of whom has his own tutelar genius. These are called in the *Huron* language *Okkis*, and in the *Algonkin* *Manitous*. To them they have recourse in all dangers and undertakings, or when they want any extraordinary favour. There is even nothing however unreasonable or contrary to good manners, which they think they may not lawfully ask of them. They are however far from believing they have any right to their protection at their birth; in order to merit it, they must first of all be expert in the use of their bow and arrows: This favour is even received with much preparation, and is properly the most important article in their whole lives: The chief circumstances in this ceremony are as follows.

Good and evil genius.

They begin with blacking the visage of the child; then they cause him to observe a fast of eight days, without eating so much as a morsel of any thing, in which time of purification his genius is to appear to him in his dreams. The empty brain of a child cannot fail of producing such dreams, which they are very careful to make him repeat every morning. They are however obliged to put an end to the farce before the lawful time, few children having strength enough to support it so long, tho' this causes little inconvenience, as these folk are not like some others altogether unacquainted with the commodious methods of dispensations. The tutelar genius is always, or at least for the most part, the subject of the infant's dreams, in which every phantom or image is regarded as the symbol, or figure, under which the spirit appears. Tho' it happens to those *Indians* as it does to the greatest part of mankind, to attach themselves to the figure, whilst they entirely lose sight of the substance.

Ceremony of engaging the good genius.

These symbols, however, have no signification by themselves; and sometimes the symbol is a bird, sometimes the foot of some animal, or a piece of wood; in short, the most common and worthless thing in the world. They are, however, preserved with the same care that the ancients had of their *dii penates*, or household gods. There is even nothing in all nature, if we credit those *Indians*, which has not its

Symbols of the genius.

Nothing
without its
spirit.

spirit, tho' these spirits are of all ranks and classes, and all of them have not an equal power or virtue. When they find themselves at a loss to comprehend any thing, they attribute it to some superior genius; and then their way of expressing themselves is, by saying, *This is a spirit*. The same is said, and with more grounds, of men of extraordinary or of superior talents, or who perform any thing beyond common, *they are spirits*; which is equivalent to saying, *they have a tutelar genius of an order superior to the common run of mankind*.

Religious im-
postors.

Some of them, but especially their quacks, endeavour to persuade the multitude that they suffer transports, and are in extasies, or, in other words, that they are filled with a divine enthusiasm, the parent, says *Charlevoix*, of all false religions. And the natural vanity of man, or, what might be said with more justice, their selfishness, has not been able to discover any machine more capable of governing the ignorant, and the multitude at last draws those who value themselves most on their superior understanding along with them down the stream of popular error; an observation justified by the experience of all ages. The *American* impostors are not beholden to any other nation in regard to this point, and none are better acquainted with the secret of drawing every possible advantage from the holy craft. The quacks above all take care to make the people believe that, in those extasies, their geni' reveal the secrets of the most distant events that lie hid in the womb of futurity. And as they sometimes have the good luck to guess tolerably well, they by this means acquire infinite credit, and are believed to be inspired with some genius of the first order.

Worship of
the tutelar
genius.

As soon as they have declared to a child what he is to look upon as his tutelar genius, from that time forth they instruct him carefully with respect to the obligation laid on him, to honour him, to follow all the advice he may receive from him in dreams, to merit his favour, to put his whole trust and confidence in him, and to dread the effects of his wrath, should he neglect to acquit himself of his duty. This ceremony terminates in a feast, and it is also customary to prick on the body of the child, the figure of the *Okki* or *Manitou*, to whose protection he has been recommended. So solemn an engagement, the mark of which can never be erased, must needs, one would imagine, be most inviolable; tho' a very trifle, they say, is sufficient to destroy it.

Genius
changes.

The *Indians* are not easily induced to allow themselves to be in the wrong, even in affairs in which the honour of their gods is concerned, and make no manner of difficulty of justifying themselves at the expence of their divinities. Thus, on any fault committed, the blame is always thrown upon their tutelar genius, for which too they look out for some other without ceremony, which is done with the same precautions as at first. The women have also their *Manitous*, or *Okkis*, but are far from paying them the regard which the men shew them, because perhaps they have not so much business for them. They offer up different sorts of gifts, or, if you will, sacrifices to these spirits. They throw into the lakes and rivers tobacco, or birds, first strangled, in order to propitiate the gods of the waters. In honour of the sun, and sometimes of inferior divinities, they throw into the fire all manner of things useful in common life, and what they believe they derive from those inferior beings. This is sometimes done out of gratitude, and by way of acknowledgement, but oftner like some others, from views of interest. And even those acknowledgements are made with an eye to some advantage, those nations being entirely unacquainted with sentiments of love towards their gods. We may observe also a sort of libations amongst the *Indians*, and all this accompanied with invocations, couched in very mysterious terms, which they have never been able to explain to the *Europeans*, whether it be that they have really and at bottom no meaning at all, or that the sense has not been transmitted in the same tradition which conveyed the words; and perhaps they are willing we should never comprehend the meaning of them at all.

Fasts.

Some pretend that their fasts have no other end besides accustoming them to endure hunger; and probably this motive may have some influence on them. But every circumstance with which they are accompanied leaves no room to doubt that religion is the chief thing regarded in them. We need nothing else to persuade us of this, besides their attention to observe their dreams at those times, such dreams being considered as so many oracles and revelations of the divine will.

Vows

Vows are also acts purely religious amongst those nations, in which their custom corresponds exactly with those of the other parts of the world. As, for instance, in a scarcity of provisions, a circumstance which often happens in their voyages and huntings, they vow to their genii to give to one of their chiefs in honour of them, a proportion of the first beast they shall kill, and oblige themselves not to eat meat till they have performed their promise. If the thing becomes impossible, on account of the too great distance of the chief, they burn the part allotted for him, and thus it becomes a sort of sacrifice.

The *Indians*, in the neighbourhood of *Acadia*, had formerly, in a particular part of their country, which bordered on the sea, a very old tree, of which they relate very wonderful things, and which was always laden with offerings. The sea having laid open all its roots, it supported itself a long time almost in the air, against the united violence of winds and waves, which confirmed the *Indians* in the notion of its being the residence of some great spirit; and even its fall was not capable of undeceiving them, for so long as the end of any branch of it was to be seen above water they still continued the usual offerings to it.

Most part of their feasts, songs, and dances, have also probably their origin in religion, of which they preserve several traces, which has induced some, tho' upon very slight grounds, to believe the *Indians* descended from the antient *Hebrews*. There are in fact some of them who never use any knife in certain repasts, and are very careful not to break the bones of the beasts that are eaten on those occasions. Some think too their living apart from their women, in the time of certain disorders peculiar to their sex, and the sound of a word often used in some of their songs which is the same, or very near it, with that of the *alleluja*, are so many arguments in favour of this pedigree. But it might, with equal reason, be alledged that, the custom of piercing their ears and nostrils is observed in compliance with the law of circumcision, the use of which is known to be much more ancient than the promulgation of the law of *Mount Sinai*. The feast, on the return from the chase, in which nothing is to be left, has also been taken for a kind of holocauste, or for one of the rites of the *Jewish* passover, and the rather, as it is usual with the *Indians*, when they find themselves unable to manage their share, or portion, to make use of the stomachs of their neighbours, as the *Jews* did, in the case when a family was not sufficient to consume the whole paschal lamb by themselves.

An ancient missionary, who resided for a long time among the *Outaouais*, writes, that an old man officiates as priest in the festivals of the *Indians* just now mentioned. He begins with offering them their thanks for the success they have had in hunting, after which some other *Indian* takes a loaf of tobacco, breaks it in two, and then throws it into the fire. From hence, my author concludes, that those who have cited this nation as a proof of the possibility of atheism, properly so called, are really ignorant of their manners and notions. They never indeed dispute about religious matters, and their extreme indolence in this respect, by which I suppose he means their unwillingness to enter into such discussions, is the greatest obstacle that has obstructed their conversion to Christianity. But it cannot, with any justice, be concluded from this circumstance that they are void of all notions of a God. Indolence is said to be their predominant inclination, which is even invincible in their most interesting affairs, tho', in spite of this vice, and even of that spirit of independence, in which they have been educated, there is no nation that live in a state of greater dread, confused as their notions are of the divinity, never ascribing any thing to chance, and determining every thing by certain omens, which they look upon as so many warnings from heaven, and revelations of the divine will.

It has been affirmed by several writers, who have left memoirs of the natives of the continent of *North America*, that there were formerly amongst them certain young women, living apart from all commerce and knowledge of man, and who never married. These vestals, say they, were held in great veneration, tho' the most antient missionaries take no notice of them. There have actually been amongst the *Iroquois* and *Hurons*, and that not long since, certain recluses, who preserved their virginity. And those *Indians*, to this day, shew you certain plants, which, according to them, have no manner of virtue or efficacy, unless employed by virgin hands.

The belief of the immortality of the soul is most firmly rooted amongst the *Americans* of this part of the continent. They conceive of it however not as a substance

Vows.

Venerable tree.

Indians deemed the offspring of the *Hebrews*.

Unjustly charged with atheism.

Indian vestals

Indians believe the soul immortal.

purely spiritual, no more than their genii, being incapable of giving any clear and distinct notion of either. When they are asked what they think of souls, they answer, that they are a kind of living shadows, and images of the body, and by consequence derived from the same principle. They believe that every thing in the universe is animated and informed with a soul. It is therefore, from tradition only, they hold that the soul never dies. In the different ways of expressing themselves on this head, they often confound the soul with its faculties, and the faculties with their operations, tho' they are not ignorant of the difference between them, when they please to express themselves with greater exactness.

Notions of separate souls. They are also of opinion that the soul preserves the same inclinations after it has been separated from the body, which it had before the separation, for which reason, they bury with their dead every thing made use of by them when alive. They are also persuaded that the souls hover about the carcase till the feast of the dead, after which, it goes into the country of souls, or transmigrates, according to some, into a turtle dove.

Two souls in one body. Others of them acknowledge two different souls in man, to one they ascribe all that has been just now mentioned, and pretend that the other never quits the body, except to inform or animate some other, tho' this, according to their system, happens only to infants, who having enjoyed but a small portion of human life, have leave granted them to begin a second course of life. For this cause they bury children along their high ways, that the women may collect their souls as they pass. These souls, which are so very faithful companions to their bodies, are at the same time to be supported and fed, and it is to discharge this pious duty, that they carry victuals to their tomb; this practice, however, is of short continuance, whence the souls are to accustom themselves by degrees to longer fasts, since they often find it difficult enough to provide for the living, without supplying those who have left their society for that of the dead.

Presents made to the dead. There is one circumstance which they never forget, even in the greatest extremities. As it is usual with us for the living to strip the deceased of every thing, the *Indians*, on the contrary, not only carry every thing that belonged to them to their tombs, but presents are also made them by their relations and friends. And this is the reason they were so much scandalised at the *French*, who opened their sepulchers in order to rob the dead of their beaver robes. Tombs are held so sacred in this country, that to prophane them is reckoned one of the greatest acts of hostility that can be committed against any nation, and the most undoubted proof, that they are resolved to observe no measures with them for the future.

Region of souls. The region which, according to them, is to become the everlasting abode of their souls, after separation from their bodies, is situated at a great distance Westwards, so that their souls are several months on their journey thither. They have even surprising difficulties to surmount, and are exposed to prodigious hazards, before they are able to reach it. They take notice above all of a certain great river they are to pass, on which several have been shipwrecked; of a dog, from whom they have much ado to defend themselves; of a place of suffering, that is their purgatory, where they expiate their faults; of a cave, in which the souls of those prisoners of war who have been burnt are tormented, and where they arrive after making all possible delays.

Vain opinions and fables of the other world. This notion is the cause why, after the death of those unhappy persons, they are very careful to search every place, striking incessantly with rods, and making at the same time hideous cries, to drive away their souls, which they are afraid would otherwise continue to hover about their cabins. The *Iroquois* say, that *Atabescic* makes his ordinary abode in this *Tartarus*, where his constant employment is to seduce souls to their utter ruin: But that *Jouskeka* leaves no stone unturned to fortify them against the wicked designs of his grandfather. Amongst the fabulous stories of what passes in the other world, which are so like those of *Homer* and *Virgil*, there is one seems copied from that of *Orpheus* and *Eurydice*, so much to the lie that there needs nothing but changing the names to make it exactly the same.

Indian Paradise. Moreover, the happiness with which the *Indians* flatter themselves in their elysium, is not considered merely as the reward of a virtuous life; for to have been a good hunter, brave in war, happy in all undertakings, and to have killed and burned a great number of enemies, are the sole titles they plead to be admitted into their paradise, the felicity of which consists in an unexhaustible plenty of game and fishing,

an eternal spring, vast abundance of all things, without being obliged to work, and the full and most exquisite gratification of all the senses. Thus the foundations of every nation's belief, in regard to a future state, are, we see, exactly the same, even of those systems which are held most metaphysical, proposing all sorts of happiness of which we have any idea, or perhaps are capable, and that, without end, for the good; and, for the vicious, every thing that is the reverse of this felicity. Nor is the observation of *Charlevoix* perfectly just in this place, where he says, that a virtuous life is not what gives a title to the *Indian* elysium; by which, I suppose, he means the virtues of private life; for fishing and hunting are economical virtues in this country; and as for the merit drawn from the number of enemies killed, every body sees the connection this has with the public good, and the defence and security of the community.

These temporal blessings are also the sole object of their prayers. All their songs, which are originally their forms of prayer, turn only upon the good things of this world, there being no mention in them, no more than in their vows, of any thing relating to another.

The souls of beasts have also a place in the lower, or rather in the Western regions of the *Americans*, and are full as immortal as ours. They also allow them a kind of reason, and not only every species, but even every individual animal, has, according to them, its peculiar guardian spirit. In short, they make no difference between the brutes and men, except in degree only, man being, according to them, no more than the king of animals, who have all the same faculties, though he possesses them in a superior degree. They hold also, that there are in hell models of souls of all sorts, though they trouble themselves very little with diving further into those matters, as well as with every other topic of pure speculation.

As to dreams, they vary very much in their manner of explaining themselves on this topic. Sometimes it is the reasonable soul, which walks abroad, whilst the sensitive soul continues to animate the body. Sometimes it is the familiar genius, who gives wholesome advice with respect to what is to happen; now it is a visit paid by the soul of the person of whom they are dreaming. But in whatever way the dream be conceived, it is always regarded as a thing sacred, and as the means the gods most commonly use to make known their will to mankind. They cannot conceive it possible for the *Europeans* to make so light of them, and, for the most part, look upon dreams as the desires of a soul inspired by some spirit, or as an order from him. Hence they make it a religious duty to comply with it. Thus an *Indian* having dreamt of cutting off a finger, caused the same to be actually chopped off, after having prepared himself for this important action by a feast. Another seeing himself, in a dream, prisoner amongst his enemies, was much perplexed; but, after consulting the quacks, he was, by their advice, tied to a post, and burnt in several parts of the body.

The *Indians* have happy and unhappy dreams. To dream, for instance, of seeing a great number of elks, is a sign of long life; but to dream of bears, is a sign of dying soon, except when this happens, as has been said, at the time when they are setting out to hunt those animals.

To shew to what an extravagant degree they carry these suppositions, I shall lay before the reader a fact attested by irreproachable witnesses, who were themselves spectators of it.

Two missionaries were on a journey with some *Indians*, and one night as all were asleep, one of their guides started up, quite out of breath, and trembling with fear, making efforts to cry, and beating himself, as if possessed with a devil. Every body was soon awake with the noise; at first they believed the person seized with some frenzy; they laid hold of him, and tried every method that could be thought of to reduce him to a settled temper, but all to no purpose; the madness getting the better of him more and more, so that being unable to confine him, they were obliged to hide all arms from him for fear of some accident. Some time after this it was proposed to give him a potion made with certain herbs of great virtue; but when they were least aware of him, the patient leapt into the river. He was immediately drawn out, and tho' he could not conceal what he suffered from the cold, he could not be persuaded to come near the fire, which was kindled on purpose, but sat himself down at the foot of a tree, where, appearing somewhat calmer, they brought him some broth which they had prepared for him; he told them they must give it to

this child, by which they meant a bear's skin which they had stuffed with straw; they complied with his request, pouring the broth down the throat of that animal. Then they asked him the occasion of his distemper. "I dreamt, said he, I had a screech-owl in my belly." They all fell a laughing, but however the business was how to cure his disordered imagination which was done in the following manner:

Method of
cure.

They pretended all of them to be afflicted with the same disorder, and crying out as loud as they could, that they had each some animal in their belly, adding that they did not like throwing themselves into the river to unhouse the creature because of the excessive cold; and that they thought sweating much the better way of the two. The *Hypochondriac* relishing this proposal, they immediately set about erecting a stove, which they all went into with loud cries, and afterwards fell every one to imitate the animal he pretended he had in his belly, one counterfeiting a goose, another a duck, this a bustard, that a frog, and the dreamer his owl. But what was peculiarly diverting in this farce was, that they all beat time on the back and shoulders of the patient, in order to weary him into a sleep, tho' the same prescription would keep any but an *Indian* from closing his eyes for several days to come. They succeeded however in their intention, the patient fell into a sleep, which held him a considerable time, and when he awaked found himself perfectly cured, not perceiving the sweat, which must certainly have exhausted him, nor sensible of the blows and bruises he had received, having lost all remembrance of the very dream which had cost him so much terror and pain together.

Obligations
of dreams.

But not the dreamer alone is to discharge the obligations to which they imagine themselves subjected by their means, and it would be highly criminal for any person consulted by the patient in this case, to refuse performing any thing he may require; a circumstance, which, amongst any other people than *Indians*, might have very troublesome consequences. But as they are perfectly free from views of interest, and are all equally subject to the same inconveniences, they abuse this custom less than any other sort of men would probably do, where the same frets prevailed. If the thing required be of such a nature as that it cannot be afforded by the person of whom it is demanded, the public takes the burden on itself; and if it should be necessary to go five hundred leagues to find it; and let it cost what it will, it must at all events be had. This boon is preserved with the utmost care, and if it be an inanimate thing, their anxiety about it is but moderate, but if it be some animal, the death of it fills them with the most dreadful apprehensions.

Difficult case.

Should an *Indian* dream of killing another, the affair becomes still more serious, for he will certainly in that case be the death of him, if he can accomplish it by any means whatever. But woe to the dreamer, should any other take it into his head to dream that he revenges the deceased. With a little precaution, however, one is easily extricated from this embarrassment, and a dream which seems to oppose and contradict the first is all that is requisite for the purpose. In this case he whose dream is prior, says, "I see and am satisfied, that your spirit (or familiar) is much superior in strength to mine, for which cause we will insist on it no longer." Some indeed are more difficult to be satisfied on this head, but there are very few who may not be contented, and their genii appeased by some present.

Mad feast of
dreams.

Whether religion was ever concerned in the festival called *the feast of dreams*, or, which the *Iroquois*, and some other nations, have much better termed *the feast of the turning of the brain*, cannot easily be ascertained. This is a kind of Bacchanalian festival, which lasts generally fifteen days, and is celebrated towards the end of winter. There is no sort of folly which is not committed on those occasions, every one running from cabin to cabin, disguised in a thousand ridiculous manners: They break and throw down every thing, and no body dares to hinder them. If any person be desirous of shunning this confusion, and to get out of the reach of a thousand affronts, which must otherwise be endured, there is no way left for him but to desert the village for a time. On meeting any person, the first greeting is to give him some dream to interpret, and if he can unravel it, it is to his cost, for he is to give the dreamer the subject of his dream. On the conclusion of the masquerade, every thing is restored, a great feast is made, and every one thinks how the sad effects of their madness may be repaired; and this is often attended with no small inconveniences, or rather mischiefs, as time and occasion, which was longed for in silence, in order

to have amends of those who might have given them an abuse, now offer themselves ; but all is to be forgotten as soon as the feast is over.

The description of one of these feasts, from the memoirs of a missionary who was present at it fore against his will, is as follows : It was held at *Ommontagué*, and proclaimed by the senators, or elders, with the same solemnity as if it had been an affair relating to the state. Scarce had they returned to their different places of abode, when, all of a sudden, men, women, and children turned out naked, notwithstanding the extreme cold. At first they visited every cabin, after which they strolled about from place to place, without knowing whither they went, or what they wanted, and a spectator would have concluded them persons transported besides themselves with drunkenness or madness. Some confined their extravagance within more moderate bounds ; but others were for making use of all the indulgencies of this carnival, during which they are reputed *non compos*, and, by a fundamental maxim in the *Indian* laws, deemed not responsible for their actions, and at full freedom to revenge their private grudges. On some they threw buckets of water, which freezing instantaneously with the intense cold, struck to the very heart of those on whom it was thrown ; others they saluted with volleys of hot embers, and filth of all kinds ; some discharged fire-brands at the head of the first person they met ; and others again broke and demolished all the furniture of the cabins, and falling upon those to whom they bore any ill will, loaded them with blows. In short, there was no deliverance from this sort of persecution, but by interpreting their dreams, which were absurd and inconceivable to the last degree.

The missionary and his companion were upon the point of being something more than mere spectators of what passed. One of these furies entering a cabin, in which they had seen them take sanctuary, at the beginning of the hubbub, and had just left, and not finding them there, cried out to explain his dream, and, upon hesitation, said he would kill a *Frenchman*, when immediately the master of the hut threw a suit of *French* cloathes upon the floor, which the dreamer again and again ran through with a sword. Upon this, he who had thrown down the cloathes, falling into a fit of transport in his turn, said he was for revenging the *Frenchman*, and that he was going to reduce the whole village to ashes. He began by actually setting fire to his own cabin, in which this scene happened, and where, after every body had left it, he shut himself up. The fire was already kindled in several places within, but did not as yet discover itself without, when one of the missionaries returning, and being told what had been done by his landlord, made what haste he could to break open the door, seized the *Indian*, whom he thrust out, extinguished the fire, and shut himself up in the cabin. His host, in the mean time, ran over the whole village, crying out that he would set fire to every thing ; upon which they threw out a dog to him, in hopes he would glut his vengeance on that animal ; but he insisted, that the offering was not sufficient to expiate the death of his guest, who had been murdered in his house. Then they threw him a second dog, which he tore to pieces, and then all his rage subsided, and he recovered his former tranquility.

This *Indian* had a brother, who was also willing to bear his part in the play. He dressed himself in much the same manner as we represent the Satyrs, covering himself from head to foot with the leaves of maize. He caused two women to be attired like *Megeras*, or Furies, their faces blacked, their hair dishevelled, with a wolf's skin over their bodies, and bills in their hands. Thus escorted, he visited all the cabins, howling and shouting with all his might, climbing on the roofs, and playing a thousand antics, with an agility equal to that of the most famous rope-dancer ; then making hideous cries, as if some vast misfortune had befallen him, he at last descended, and walking with a solemn pace, preceded by his two Bacchanalians, who becoming transported in their turns, overturned with their bills every thing that came in their way. They were scarce recovered from their trance, when another woman took their place, and entering the hut where sat the two Jesuits, armed with a musquet she had got by causing some person to expound her dream, sung the war-song, making a thousand imprecations upon herself, if she did not bring home prisoners.

A warrior passed close after this Amazon, with a bow and arrow in one hand, and a bayonet in the other. After he had made himself hoarse with hallooing, he fell, all of a sudden, on a woman, who little thought of any such attack, and

Mad pranks
of dreamers.

Bacchanalian
women.

Other scenes
of distraction
and folly.

holding his bayonet to her throat, and twisting his hands in her hair, cut off one of her hands, and went his way. One of the *jongleurs* then made his appearance, bearing in his hand a staff adorned with feathers, by means of which, he boasted, he could divine the most hidden secrets. An *Indian* woman attended this personage, holding a vase full of a certain liquor, of which she now and then gave the quack to drink. He no sooner tasted of it, than he spit it out, blowing on his hands and staff, and at each time he explained such riddles as were proposed to him. Two women followed, indicating, that they wanted something. One spread a matras, or covering, by which it was conjectured, that she asked for fish, which were accordingly given her. The other having a hoe in her hand, they concluded she wanted a field to cultivate; she was therefore immediately led out of the village, and set to work with her hoe. A chief had dreamt, it seems, of seeing two human hearts; his dream was difficult to interpret, and this caused a general uneasiness. He made a great deal of noise; the feast was therefore prolonged for another day, but all to no purpose, and it was absolutely necessary that he should be appeased. Sometimes were seen bands of armed men, who threatened to come to blows; at others, troops of buffoons, playing all manner of farces. This madness lasted for four days, the games being reduced to this length from the accustomed time of fifteen, probably out of respect to the Jesuits, towards whom they carried their complaisance so far as not to molest them, nor the Christian *Indians*, in the exercise of their functions and religious duties.

Witchcraft in
abhorrence.

Practices of
the *jongleurs*.

Indians in
dread of mag-
ic.

The *Indians* have recourse to none but the good genii; the wizards only, and those who are addicted to witchcraft, are thought to be in compact with the evil genii; and the women are chiefly suspected of following this abominable practice. Their *jongleurs*, or priests, who are also their physicians, not only refrain from it, at least openly, but make it a particular part of their profession to qualify themselves for discovering witchcraft, and preventing its pernicious effects. All that is related to this purpose is mere quackery; for sometimes they make use of the venom which they extract from serpents; sometimes of herbs gathered in certain seasons, and whilst they are muttering some particular words; or, lastly, of certain animals, which they strangle, and of which they throw some parts into the fire.

Amongst the *Illinois*, and some other nations, they make an odd kind of human figure, to represent such persons as they intend to destroy, and which they pierce to the heart. Sometimes they take a stone, and, by virtue of certain incantations, pretend to form such another in the hearts of their enemies. The *Indians* have such dreadful apprehensions of magic, that the slightest suspicion of practising it exposes one to be torn to pieces; and yet we find every where persons who follow this dangerous employment.

Pretensions of
the *jongleurs*.

The quacks of *Canada* make profession of corresponding with the genii which they call *beneficent*, and pretend to know, by their means, what passes in the most remote regions, as well as what is to happen in the most distant futurity; that they can discover the cause and nature of the most hidden or complicated distempers, with their method of cure; determine what is to be done in the most difficult and perplexing affairs; explain the most obscure dreams; procure success in the most difficult undertakings and negotiations; and, lastly, render the gods propitious to their hunters and warriors. They are even said to perform things capable of imposing on more than the multitude; and when they shut themselves up in their stoves, in order to raise a sweat, one of their most ordinary preparatives, they resemble exactly what we read in the poets of the ancient *Pithias*, (*Priestesses of Apollo*) on the tripod, entering into all their convulsions and enthusiasm, with the same tone of voice, and performing actions seemingly beyond human power, and inspiring the spectators with an awe and terror which they cannot resist. These *jongleurs* are also the only persons to whom it is lawful to conjure or raise up spirits on occasion of public transactions.

Preparation,
initiation, and
employment.

These quacks are not permitted to exercise their profession, till they have first entered into a sort of treaty, or compact, with the genii, for which they qualify themselves by long and rigorous fasting, during which they are continually weeping, smoking, howling, singing, and beating the drum. This initiation is afterwards performed in a sort of Bacchanal, with extravagant ceremonies, and a strange enthusiasm. Their office is restrained to prophecy, or interpreting the wills of the gods, the chiefs being their sole priests, who offer sacrifices to the gods in all public ceremonies, and the masters of families in domestic worship. The chief, or at least most profitable employment

employment of their quacks is that of physic, the principles of which are founded on the knowledge of simples, on experience, and on the different situations of the patient, but always with a considerable mixture of quackery and superstition, at the expence of the vulgar.

The chief use they make of simples is in wounds, fractures, dislocations, luxations, and ruptures. They blame large incisions, and extract not only the pus, but even splinters, stones, iron, and all other noxious matter from wounds, by a mixture of the juice of different plants, which is also the diet of the patient, till the wound is cured; and he who probes it, swallows some of it before he proceeds to suck the wound, when there is a necessity for this method; but this is seldom done, the most common way being to inject the juice into the wound with a syringe. They are allowed, however, to have excellent remedies, and very valuable secrets, for the cure of certain distempers, and particularly for the palsy, dropy, and venereal disease.

In some countries, as soon as the sick person is given over, the way is to dispatch him, that he may not languish. In the canton of *Onnontagué* they bury children unweaned with their mothers, from a persuasion, that no other women could bring them up. And some nations, when their sick are in a desperate state, are said to leave them to die of hunger and thirst. Others, we are told, shut the eyes and mouth of the dying person, that they may not see the distortions of their features in their last agonies.

When the sick person finds himself going the way of all flesh, he assumes a stoical heroism, and beholds himself on the point of separation from those who are dearest to him without the least emotion. As soon as the sentence of death is pronounced by the mouth of the quack, he makes an effort to harangue the by-standers; and, if he happens to be the head of a family, he makes a sort of funeral sermon on himself before-hand, which he closes with his best counsel to his children; then, after taking leave of all the people, he orders a feast to be given, in which all the provisions in the house are to be served up, when he receives the presents of his family. In the mean time, they cut the throats of all the dogs they can find, that their souls may carry the news to the nether world, that such an one is just upon setting out for those regions, all the carcases being thrown into the chaldron, to increase the repast. The feast being ended, the tears begin to flow, which are afterwards interrupted to bid the last farewell to the sick man, to wish him a happy voyage, to comfort him for the loss of his friends and relations, and, lastly, to assure him that his children will support the glory of his great actions.

The cool blood with which they face the king of terrors is perfectly admirable, no *Indian* having ever been alarmed to hear that he had only a few hours to live. Nothing is to be seen but dancing, singing, invocations of the genii, feasts which are prescribed by the physicians, and remedies, according to our way of thinking in *Europe*, more likely to finish than cure a sick person, who, if he happens to recover, ascribes all the honour to the spirits.

Their generosity and affection towards the dead are no less wonderful. Here you will see mothers preserve the bodies of their children for whole years, without being able to stir from them, and others drawing the milk from their breasts, and shedding it upon the tombs of their infants. In case of a fire in any village, where there are dead bodies, they are always the first object of their care. They even strip themselves of their richest garments to cloathe the dead, uncovering their tombs, from time to time, to renew their clothes, and depriving themselves of their necessary food, to lay it on their sepulchres, and in places where they imagine their souls are to haunt. In short, the expence they are at for their dead far exceeds what is bestowed on the living.

The sick man has no sooner yielded up the ghost, than nothing is to be heard but wailings, which last as long as their family are in a condition to uphold the expence of it, for they are obliged to keep open table all the time. The corps of the deceased is exposed at the door of the cabin, attired in his richest robe, his visage painted, his arms and all his equipage by his side, and in the posture he is to be in when laid in the tomb, which is, according to some, the same with that of a child in the womb. There are women hired, whose business it is to lament the deceased, who are said to be very expert in their profession, singing, weeping, and dancing continually, but so as not to lessen the sorrow of the relations, which is real and unfeigned. After the interment, which is in a sort of cell, hung with furs instead of tapestry, and

Their practice of surgery

Different treatment of dying persons

Behaviour in the last moments.

Indians undaunted at death.

Their respect to the dead.

Honours paid to the deceased.

much neater than any cabin, they erect a pillar, or pile, on the tomb, on which is hung every thing they conceive capable of doing honour to the deceased. Sometimes too they affix his portrait, with a sort of basso relievo, informing the passenger who lies interred there, with the particulars of his life most to his advantage. Thither they bring fresh fresh provision every morning, and if any animal eat of it, they believe it to be the soul of the dead, who appears in that shape. The interment is followed by making presents to the family, in the name of the village, and sometimes of the whole nation; even the allies send their quota when the deceased happens to be of distinguished rank. But before this the family give a repast in the name of the defunct, accompanied with games, and prizes for such as distinguish themselves in them. These games are a kind of jousts, or tournaments, races, and shooting at a mark, the whole ending with songs and cries of victory.

Mourning of the family.

The family of the deceased bear no part in the diversions, and are obliged henceforth to observe a sort of mourning, which is very severe. It consists in cutting off their hair, blacking their faces, and keeping themselves standing, with their heads wrapt in a covering. At the same time, they are to look at no person, make no visits, eat nothing hot, abstain from all manner of pleasures, wear no cloaths, and never to warm themselves by the fire, even in the midst of winter. After this mourning, which lasts for two years, there is a second, less irksome, which lasts two or three years more, and is also capable of a little relaxation. But no abatement is to be made without the consent of the cabin to which the widow or widower belongs, and such indulgences are never obtained without the charge of a feast.

Singular notion of the Indians.

The *Indians* have a very singular notion, that such persons as die a violent death, though in the service of their country, have no communication with the rest in the other world, for which cause, they burn or bury them the moment they expire, and sometimes even before, never laying their bodies with those of their other dead, nor allowing them any share in their great ceremony, which is renewed every eighth year amongst some nations, and every tenth amongst the *Hurons* and *Iroquois*.

Feast of the dead.

This is called the feast of the dead, or of souls, and is by far the most celebrated and solemn act of religion known amongst those nations. The first thing is to fix the place of assembly, and then to choose the king of the feast, who is to preside in it, and to invite the neighbouring villages. The day appointed being come, they meet together, and march in procession, two and two, to the burying-place, where, after digging up the dead bodies, they remain some time in dumb contemplation. The women are at first to break in upon this religious silence, raising most lamentable cries, which augments the horror of the spectacle. This first act over, they take the carcases and gathering together the scattered and loose bones, lay them on the shoulders of those appointed to carry them, taking care to wash and cut off the rotten parts and other impurities, from such bodies as are not intirely putrified, wrapping the other remains in new robes of beaver. They return to the village in the same order they came out, where every one deposits his load in his own cabin. During the march, the women continue their wailings, the men discovering the same marks of sadness, as on the day of the death of the person, whose remains they are carrying. This is followed by a feast in every cabin, in honour of their dead. The next day is allotted for public feasting, accompanied as on the day of interment, with dancing, games, and combats, for which there are also prizes proposed. From time to time, they utter certain cries, called the Cries of Souls, giving and receiving presents of the strangers present, some of whom come from a great distance. On these occasions they treat also of other affairs, and sometimes elect their chiefs at these meetings. All this is performed with remarkable decency, order, and modesty, every one appearing filled with sentiments proper for the occasion, the very songs and dances inspiring a certain sadness, and the whole spectacle being capable of filling the most insensible hearts with sorrow.

The last funeral procession and interment.

Some days after they repair in procession to the great council-room prepared on purpose, where they hang up the bones and carcases against the walls, in the same order as when taken from the burying place, and where they expose to public view the presents destined for the dead. And if, amongst all those sad remains, there happen to be those of a chief, his successor gives a great repast in his name, and sings his song. In several places the carcases are carried from canton to canton, and every where received with great demonstrations of the most lively sorrow, always accompanied with presents.

presents. At last they carry the relics of mortality to the place where they are to remain for ever. All these processions move along to the sound of instruments, accompanied with the finest voices, the attendants all observing just time and measure in every step. This last and general burying-place is a large vault, lined with the finest furs, and every other valuable thing. The presents for the dead are placed apart, and the families in the same order as the procession arrives take their places on a sort of scaffolding erected round the vault; the moment the corps are deposited the women set up a fresh wailing and weeping; then all the attendants descend into the vault, and every one takes a small quantity of its earth, which is preserved with great care, as supposed to have a virtue of procuring good luck at play. The bodies and bones being laid in order, covered with new furs, overspread with the bark of trees, on which are laid, stones, wood, and lastly earth, every one returns to his own home, only the women continue for some time to visit this mausoleum of the nation, watering it with their tears.

There is no difference in the drefs of the *Indian* nations, in the hot season, their sole garment, at such times, being generally a sort of frock, or banyan. In the winter they wear more or fewer clothes in proportion to the climate. They wear on the feet a kind of socks, made of doe-skin dried in the smoke; for stockings they wear also skins, or pieces of stuff, wrapt round their legs. A waistcoat of skin covers their bodies down to their middle, and above that they wear a sort of cloak when they can afford it, if not, they make themselves a robe of bear-skins, or of several skins of beavers or otters, or such like furs, with the hairy side inwards. The tunics, or vests, of the women reach below the knees, and in cold weather, or when they are on a voyage or journey, they wrap their heads in their mantle or robe. Some wear small bonnets, and others a capuchin joined to their vests. They have also a piece of stuff or skin, which serves them instead of boddice, and covers them from the waist down to the mid-leg. They are vastly fond of white shirts, which they wear over their vests till they are foul, and then only next their skin, where it remains till it falls off with rottenness. Their tunics of skin are generally prepared in the smoke like their socks, which is done by first suffering them to be thoroughly seasoned with the smoke, and afterwards rubbing them, when they wash like linen. They are also dressed by steeping them in water, and then rubbing them till they grow dry and supple; they are, however, much sonder of our shirts.

Many of them, as the *Piëts* did formerly, paint, or prick their bodies all over, others in some parts only. This practice is not only for ornaments sake, but is also a very good defence against the cold, and the biting of the gnats. In *Canada*, however, those who live near the *British* settlement, instead of painting their bodies all over, are content with making the figures of certain birds, or serpents, or other animals, and sometimes of leaves, and such like, without any order or proportion, sometimes on the face, and sometimes on the eye-lids only, each according to his particular fancy; and many women paint their cheeks over the jaws, as a preservative from the tooth-ach.

This operation, which is not very painful, is performed in this manner. They begin by tracing the contour of the figure they intend on the skin, stretching it well at the same time; then with the bones of the fins of fishes, or with needles, they prick it in lines till the blood comes; and, lastly, they rub it with charcoal and other colours pounded very fine. These powders insinuate themselves into the skin, and can never be extracted. The skin afterwards swells, becomes inflamed with an itching, and if a fever happens, which is common enough in hot weather, when the operation is carried too far, they are sometimes in great danger of their lives.

The colours with which they paint their faces are said to produce the same advantages in respect to the cold, and are no less ornamental than the puncture. This operation is performed by the warriors on setting out for the campaign, to strike terror into the enemy; and by the youth, to give themselves the same air with the veterans, as well as to heighten the charms of their faces; in which last case the colours are more vivid, and in greater variety. The prisoners who are to die are also punished in this manner, probably, like the antients, to adorn those victims of the god of war. Lastly, they paint the dead, in order to do honour to them, when they expose them clothed in their best robes.

Dress of Indians.

Painting of their bodies.

How performed, and its effects.

Its use and end.

Colours and
ornamental
dres.

The colours used on those occasions, are the same they employ in dressing their skins, being either extracted from the bark of certain trees, or from earths of various sorts, which if not lively are at least extremely durable. The men add to these ornaments down of swans or other birds, with which they powder their hair after it has been anointed with fat. To these they add feathers of various colours, and tufts of the hair of different animals, all arranged in a very fantastical manner. The disposition of the hair, sometimes bristling on one side, and smooth and flattened on the other, and frizzled in twenty different manners equally extravagant; pendants in their ears, and sometimes in their nostrils; a great shell of porcelain, or, as they call it, wampum, at their neck or breast; crowns of rare and curious feathers, with the claws, talons, feet, beaks, and heads, of birds of prey; with the antlers of stags, are so many parts of the *Indian* dress, and the furniture of their wardrobes, the most precious and magnificent part of which is employed in adorning the unhappy captives when led to execution, or on their first entering the village of the conquerors. It is observable that the dress of the men is for the most part confined to their heads.

Ornamental
dres of wo-
men.

It is quite the reverse with that of the women, who bestow on their heads hardly any ornament at all, being extremely jealous of the beauty of their hair, and deeming it an intolerable disgrace to have it clipped. Thus on the death of a relation, the greatest mark of sorrow they can shew, is to cut off part of their hair in token of honour to the deceased. To preserve its charms, they frequently anoint it with fat, and powder it with the bark of the spruce-fir pulverised, and sometimes with vermilion, wrapping it afterwards in an elk's or serpent's skin, and forming it into tresses, which hang down to their middle. The ornaments of the face consist in drawing some lines on them with vermilion or some other colour. They never pierce their nostrils, and it is only customary with certain nations to pierce their ears. When this is the case, they insert into them or hang beads of wampum at them, like the men. When they have a mind to be very fine, they dress themselves in robes with all sorts of figures painted on them, with small collars or belts of wampum fastened to them, at random, without order or symmetry, and a kind of border worked tolerably neat with hair of porcupines, which they also paint with different colours. They adorn in the same manner their childrens cradles, which they load with all manner of gew-gaws.

Indian hus-
bandry the
employment
of the wo-
men.

Besides the care of the household affairs, and the providing wood for fuel, the husbandry falls almost entirely to the share of the women. As soon as the snows are melted, and the waters sufficiently drained off the lands, they begin to prepare the ground, by burning the stubble of the maize, or *Turky* corn, and other herbage, which has remained since the last crop, and then till it with a crooked piece of wood which has a very long handle. Besides the nature of the corn that the *Indians* cultivate, which is all summer corn, the particular nature of the soil will not permit their sowing any thing before winter; though the true reason seems to be that their corn will never sprout if sown in autumn, because the winter would kill it, or it would rot on the melting of the snows. And it is also conjectured that the wheat of *Canada*, though brought originally from *Old France*, may have acquired the same quality of summer corn, which has not strength like that of *Europe*, to sprout several times when sown in the months of *September* and *October*.

Beans, pom-
pions, melons
&c.

Beans, or what the *French* call *fevetoles*, [a small round bean] is a favourite article in the *Indian* husbandry, the stem of which serves to support them, and is exactly the same with those of *France*. They make no use of pease, though they thrive much better in *Canada* than in *Europe*. *Tourn-sols*, or sun-flowers, water-melons, and pumpions, are planted apart, and, before transplanting, are nursed for some time in a kind of hotbed, made of a light and black mould.

Culture of
maiz.

In the Northern quarter, they sow but little, and in some parts none at all, and what maize they use, they get by bartering for it with other commodities. This kind of pulse is very wholesome, light, and nourishing, though some are of opinion, that the liquor in which it is boiled, at least what the *French* use, gives it a corrosive quality, the effects of which are found in time. When the maize is in the ear and green, some roast it on the grid-iron, when it is very pleasant to the palate; the *Canadians* call it *Bled Groule* [husky corn]. There is a particular kind of it which opens as soon, laid on the fire, called *Bled fleuri* [blown corn] and is very delicious. This is presented to persons of distinction on their arrival in any village, with much

the

the same intention and formalities as when they present them with the freedom of a town in *Europe*.

Of this vegetable is made what they call *sagamité*, the favourite food of the *Indians of Canada*. This is prepared by first roasting the maize, then beating it and peeling off the husks, after which it is boiled, and makes a tasteless kind of broth, when there is no meat boiled with it, or some plums to give it a relish. It is sometimes made into flower, called *farine froide* [tasteless meal] in these parts, and is the best and most commodious provision for those who undertake long journeys or voyages; those who travel on foot carry no other. Maiz is also boiled in the husk when it is yet green and tender, then, after roasting it a little, they peel off the husks and dry it in the sun; thus prepared it will keep a long time, and the *sagamité* made of it has an excellent relish. Sagamite, an Indian food.

The *Indian* women make a kind of bread of maize, which though it be nothing but a lump of ill-kneaded and unleavened dough, and roasted under the embers, yet is reckoned a delicacy amongst these people, and as such is presented to their friends; but it is to be eaten hot, and will not keep cold. Sometimes they mix with it beans, different sorts of fruit, oil, and, what they love most of any thing, fat. Bread of maize

The *tourn-sols*, or sun-flowers, serve only to produce an oil with which the *Indians* rub themselves. This oil is oftner extracted from the seed, than from the roots of this plant, which are somewhat different from our *Jerusalem artichokes*. Oil of Tourn-sol.

The constant use which all the *Indians of Canada* make of a sort of tobacco, that grows naturally all over the country, has given rise to a belief that these people swallowed the smoke of it, and lived upon it; a mistake owing to their long fastings. They prefer, however, the tobacco which the *French* and *English* cultivate to their own, and *Canada*, by a proper choice of soil, is capable, as I am informed, of producing it in great perfection. Tobacco of Canada.

From what has been said of the food of the *Indians*, it is easy to guess they are far from being delicate in this particular. Fat, or grease, is their chief delicacy, and the principal ragout in all their feasts, when they can get it. And some pounds of candles, in a chaldron of *sagamité* are, in their opinion, a vast improvement of the charms of this dish. Indians love fat.

The utensils of the kitchen among the Southern nations were only of earthen ware; in the Northern parts they make use of wooden kettles, which they caused to boil by putting red-hot stones in the water. Both however now use iron pots, which is one of the best articles you can bring to trade with them. Culinary utensils.

Amongst the Western nations wild oats supply the place of maize, and are equally wholesome, and, if less nourishing, the buffalo hunting, which is plentiful in these parts, more than compensates that defect. Wild oats, food.

Amongst the wandering *Indians*, who cultivate no land, under a scarcity of fish and game, their whole resource is a sort of moss which grows on certain rocks, extremely insipid, and far from being nourishing, but just sufficient to keep them alive. Moss eaten.

What is more strange, we are assured by persons worthy of credit, that the *Indians* are peculiarly fond of maize laid to rot like hemp in standing water, where it becomes black and stinking; and that they will not so much as lose one drop of the water, or slime, which drops from it, though the very smell of it be sufficient to turn an ordinary stomach. Maiz macerated, a delicacy

The lesser employments of the *Indian* women, which commonly take up their attention within doors, are making a sort of thread of the inner membranes of the bark of a tree called white wood, which is dressed much like hemp with us. The women also dye their stuffs and other things, and make several other works of the bark of trees, as well as several pieces of embroidery with the hair of the porcupine, besides cups and other utensils in wood; they also paint and embroider their deer-skins, and work belts and garters of the wool of buffaloes. Domestic employment of women.

The men, on the contrary, seem to glory in their idleness, passing more than half their time without any employment whatsoever, from a persuasion that constant labour degrades a man, and is properly the province of the women. It is His business, say they, to fish, hunt, and go to war. It belongs to them also to prepare all the necessary utensils for those exercises; such as arms, nets, all the hunting equipage, together with their fishing-tackle, their canoes with their furniture, snow-shoes, Employments of men.

shoes, and the building and repairing of the cabins. They are often indeed assisted by the women, who in like manner, tho' in their country affairs they commonly help one another, yet in reaping time, have sometimes recourse to the men, who never scruple lending a hand.

Indian harvest and barns.

The harvest ends with a festival and a repast, which lasts a whole night, the corn and other fruits being laid up in their proper repositories, which are holes dug in the earth, and lined with large pieces of the bark of trees. Many of them make the same place a barn for the maize in the ear, which they make into bunches like onions with us, and sometimes spread them on long poles over the entry of cabins; others chuse to thresh out the grain, and lay it up in large baskets made of bark, bored on every side, to preserve it from heating. But when they are afraid of an irruption of the enemy, or determined to be long absent from home, they secrete it under ground, in large quantities, where it keeps perfectly well. The Christian *Indians* are indeed a little more industrious, but one may easily discover by the air of penitence, which appears in their faces, that they work against the grain, and from a force put upon nature.

Indian carpentry.

The *Indians* were formerly at a loss in the felling of their timber, which they did generally by setting fire to the roots of trees; and to cleave or cut it, they made use of hatchets made of flints, which were not easily broke, though it cost them a great deal of time to grind them down to an edge. To make a handle to them, they cleft the head of some sapling, as if to graft upon it, and inserted into the fissure the head of the hatchet: Hence when the tree came to grow about the head, it was so firmly fixed, as to be perfectly immoveable. Then they had no more to do but to cut the tree to the length required, and the instrument was quite finished, and ready to be used out of hand.

Indian architecture.

The *Indian* villages were formerly of a round figure; at present they are no more than a confused number of huts of bark, supported by posts, and varying much in their form, and, in short, built with much less art, neatness, and solidity, than the cabins of the beavers. The *Indian* cabins or houses are from fifteen to twenty feet broad, and sometimes an hundred long, in which case they have several fires, thirty feet being the space allotted for each fire. When the floor is incapable of containing all the inhabitants, the young folks lie upon a sort of bulk or stall, carried quite round the cabin, about five foot from the ground; and over this bulk are the moveables and provisions, laid upon boards placed across next the roof. Before the cabin is commonly a kind of porch, or lobby, where the young people sleep in the summer, and which serves also for a woodhouse in the winter. The doors are pieces of bark, hung like window curtains, and never shut close. These palaces have neither chimney, nor windows, but only an opening in the middle of the roof, by which part of the smoke gets vent. This hole however they are obliged to shut, when it either rains or snows, and then, too, they are forced to put out the fire, or be choaked with the smoke.

Fortification.

The *Indians* understand military better than civil architecture, their villages being enclosed with a good palisade and redoubts, where they always take care to lay up good store of water and stones. This palisade is sometimes double, and even triple, the last row of piles being commonly adorned with battlements. These piles are interwoven with branches of trees, which leave no void spaces. Before the use of fire-arms, these forts were capable of holding out a long time. In every village there is a place of arms, though generally in bad order. The *Iroquois* formerly excelled the other *Indians* in the architecture of their cabins, as well as in what they build themselves at present. There were figures of relievo, though of a rude manner, to be seen in some of their cabins. But as all their cantons have been for the most part reduced to ashes in several campaigns, they have never since thought of restoring them.

Iroquois best architects.

Hardships of the Indians in a hunting voyage.

If the *Indians* are little solicitous about the conveniences of life in the ordinary places of their abode, they are still more unconcerned with respect to their winter quarters. Their own country is rough and wild enough, but that where they go to hunt is much more uneven and dismal. The journey thither costs them a long time, during which they are obliged to carry all necessaries for five or six months, through ways so rugged, that one would wonder how the wild beasts could make their passage over them. The bark of trees, with which they are under an indispensable

Indispensable necessity to provide themselves, is all their shelter from the rain and snow. They shift better when they have reached their journey's end, that is, they are not for ever exposed to all the severity of the weather.

Every one is obliged to lend a hand to build the cabins, the missionaries themselves not being allowed a separate one, but forced to take up their quarters in the first where they are made welcome. These cabins, or huts, are mostly of a round form, and terminate in a cone; and poles fixed in the snow is all their support. These are tied together at the extremities, and thatched with bark of trees very ill joined, and as badly fastened, so that the keen wind penetrates on all sides. In little more than half an hour the edifice is finished, branches of pine-trees supplying the place of carpets and beds. They have this advantage, however, that you may change them every day. The whole is surrounded by a wall of snow, which helps to keep out the wind, and affords a shelter, under which they sleep as sound as on the softest of down.

Construction of an Indian cabin.

The smoke is a sad mortification to such as are not accustomed to this sort of life, where you cannot stand upright without having your head wrapt in a cloud of it, though the *Indians* are not in the least affected with it. Thus one side freezes, whilst the other is broiling, and there is no breathing, nor often seeing any thing above three feet from the ground; and if you have a mind to breathe a little fresh air, you must stand without, exposed to a continual snow, and to a dry and piercing wind, which peels the skin off the face, and causes the trees in the forests to crack. To all these persecutions, that of the dogs is no small addition. These are always in great numbers to supply such as are killed by the wild beasts, but lean and ill-fed, and thin of hair, which renders them very chilly, so that they are always about the fire, which is little enough for themselves. And when they cannot get near that, they will lye upon the first person that comes in their way, and it is not an unusual thing to awake almost choaked with three or four great dogs lying upon you, and in the day time it is still worse, for they are ready to snatch the morsel from your mouth, and ten or a dozen great curs are leaping over and trampling upon you continually.

Annoyances of smoke and dogs.

This is but a small part of the miseries which attend this way of life, for there is a worse too, and more insupportable than all the rest, which is hunger; it is no uncommon thing to be in want of provisions, at a time when no game is to be found. The *Indians* are accustomed to long fasting, and proportionably negligent in making proper provisions for these rude campaigns. The missionary who gives the account of it was reduced to the necessity of eating the skin of eels and elks, with which his vest was lined, and when they were spent, to feed on the shoots and the softest parts of the bark of trees, and what is surprising enough not only survived those hardships, but kept his health well all the time.

Hunger the worst of evils.

The *Indians* are very nasty in their cabins, and never change nor clean the furniture of their beds till worn to tatters. In the summer they bathe every day, but at the same time take care always to anoint themselves with oil or fat of a very bad flavour. In the winter they remain wrapped in their coat of grease, so that nothing can be more nauseous and abominable than the smell of their huts.

Indians sordid in attire.

They are so slovenly in eating, and the sight of their meals is so shocking, that one would wonder at the difference between their palates and ours. They have, however, improved in this article since the arrival of the *French*, especially those who live in the colony. The gnats are so troublesome and vexatious in the summer, that the inconveniences of the smoke are the lesser evil, and they are often obliged to raise it to get free from the stings of the gnats.

Course palates.

The care which mothers take of their children whilst yet in the cradle is beyond expression. They never leave them, but carry them every where with them, and when they are ready to sink under the weight of their burdens, the additional load of the child not only goes for nothing, but is considered as a kind of relief and comfort in their fatigues.

Tenderness of Mothers.

Nothing can be more neat than those cradles, which are both soft and commodious. The child is swathed only from the middle downwards, whence the head and body bend forwards; which, contrary to what one might naturally imagine, renders their bodies both active and well shaped.

Children after quitting their parents are under no sort of confinement, but left to crawl on hands and feet, through woods, waters, mire, and snow, thus rendering their bodies proof against all injuries of air and weather. The disorders incident to the breast and stomach are thought however to proceed from this over-hardy way of education. In the summer they are constantly swimming or paddling in the water. They are early taught the use of the bow and arrow, whence they become excellent marksmen. Wrestling is also a favourite exercise amongst them.

Indian education.

The first and almost sole object of an *Indian's* education is to instil into the mind a principle of honour, which lasts as long as life, and is cultivated by the parents with the greatest care. This is effected always in an indirect manner, such as relating the noble exploits of their countrymen or ancestors. The youths take fire at the recital, and sigh for some occasion to imitate them. To correct their faults they employ tears and entreaties, and never menaces, which have no effect on the minds of *Indians*, it being a maxim with them, that none has a right to use the least coercive means towards them, and chastisements are never practised, but by such as have become converts to Christianity. The tears and reproaches of a mother, by saying, for instance, to her daughter, *Thou art a disgrace to me*, are more prevalent than any punishment, the highest degree of which is throwing water in the face of the child, which is looked upon as an heinous offence. Slight as these chastisements seem to us, yet so great is their power over such minds, that a daughter has been known to strangle herself out of stomach, and resentment for a few drops of water cast in her face by her mother, taking her final leave with these threatening words, *You shall soon be rid of your daughter*. From such an education we should be apt to promise but little good; but experience, the best mistress, shews us its salutary effects. The *Indians* by this means become early composed and masters of themselves, reason being generally their guide, and they are by no means propense to any kind of lewdness or debauchery.

Indians of a robust habit of body.

The *Indians* of *Canada* are generally well made, and tall of stature, and a deformed person is rarely to be seen amongst them. They are also of a robust, vigorous, and healthy habit of body, and naturally very long livers, though their forced marches, and long fastings, ruin many naturally excellent constitutions; and the use of brandy, which they drink always with a view to intoxicate themselves, has contributed not a little to unpeople this country, the inhabitants of which are now reduced to less than one twentieth part of what they were one hundred and fifty years ago.

Early inured to hardships.

Their bodies are not swathed and straitened in the cradle like ours; and nothing is more proper to give them that wonderful agility in all their members than this liberty, and the exercises to which they are accustomed from their earliest infancy. Their mothers suckle them sometimes seven years, though they neglect not giving them other food from the first year. They are almost continually exposed to the open air, and made to undergo the greatest fatigues, but gradually, and in proportion to their strength. Their food is simple and natural, which, with the rest, contributes to render their body robust, and capable of enduring incredible hardships, though many of them die under this management before they arrive at their full growth.

Excel Europeans in acuteness of senses and faculties.

Amongst the advantages they have over us, the first and chief is the acuteness and perfection of all their senses and faculties of mind and body. Their sight, amidst the snow which dazzles them, and in spite of the smoke which blinds them for six months of the year, is sharp and strong. Their hearing is extremely quick, and their smell so delicate, that they perceive fire long before they are capable of seeing it. Hence they cannot endure the smell of musk, nor of any other perfume, and some among them pretend that every smell disgusts them except that of eatables.

Their innate quality of remembering places.

Their imagination is amazing, and if they have once seen a place, they retain the idea of it in perpetual remembrance. They traverse the vastest and most unfrequented forests without ever missing their way. And the inhabitants of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, have made voyages of above forty leagues in the open sea, without chart or compass, in canoes of bark, to find out the *Esquimaux* with whom they were at war. The most exact quadrant is not capable of shewing the sun's height with greater exactness than they will with their naked eye; and no stratagem could ever make them lose their way in any part of the continent. They are born with this quality, which is common even to the very children, who travel

travel with the same sureness as the most adult, so that this property may be justly said to be innate in them.

The beauty of their imagination is equal to its liveliness, which appears in all their discourses. They are quick at repartees, and all their harangues are full of shining passages, which would have been applauded at *Rome* or *Athens*. Their eloquence has a strength and neatness, and a virtue of moving the passions, which flows from nature, and not from rules of art, and which the *Greeks* so much admired in the *Barbarians*.

Their lively imagination and eloquence

Their memory is no less wonderful; their way of relating things is neat, concise, and, amidst the number of allegories, and other figures which they use, extremely animated, and embellished with all the beauties of which their languages are susceptible.

Their judgment is just and solid, tending always towards the chief point under deliberation, without deviating from the proper object, and free from hesitation or fickleness in determining. As they hold all manner of labour in contempt, except what is absolutely necessary to their subsistence, and simple way of life, it is no wonder they are backward in learning the arts. And even as to spiritual knowledge, which has little or no connection in their opinion with their present state, they give themselves not the least trouble. As to what absolutely concerns them, there is no nation more sharp sighted; at such a juncture they neither neglect nor precipitate any measure, and if they are slow in resolving, they discover no less quickness in the execution; a quality, which is remarkable amongst the *Hurons* and *Iroquois* beyond others.

Their judgment and dispatch in matters of interest

They have generally a greatness of soul, and an elevation of sentiment, together with a constancy of mind, which we, with all our religion and philosophy, hardly ever attain, and, in the most sudden shocks, they are always so much masters of themselves, that you cannot discover the least change in their countenance.

Magnanimity

Their constancy in torments is beyond all expression. A young woman shall be a whole day in the pains of child-birth without so much as a single shriek; and the least weakness would cause her to be thought unworthy of the name of mother, and capable only of bringing cowards and poltroons into the world. Nothing is more common than to see persons of all ages and sexes endure, not only for hours, but also for several days together, all the tortures which fire or their tormentors are capable of inflicting without a groan; and their only thought during their sufferings is, how they may exasperate their executioners, by the most galling reproaches.

Constancy under sufferings.

With so much firmness of soul, and sentiments so noble, it is no wonder to find them calm and unmoved in the greatest dangers, and endowed with a courage proof against every trial. In the wars, however, they expose themselves as little as possible, as they place their chief glory in never buying a victory too dear; and it is a maxim with them to weaken themselves as little as possible, since their nations are far from being numerous. But when there is any necessity to give battle, they fight like lions, and the sight of their blood serves only to increase their ardor in the combat. And, in short, all who have seen them engage make high encomiums of their behaviour.

Fortitude.

But, what is abundantly surprising, under an outside which promises none but the most barbarous manners, they treat one another with a civility and a respect unknown to the most civilised nations. Such a carriage proceeds from their want of property, where the words *meum* and *tuum* have not extinguished sentiments of charity, and benevolence, and humanity in their breasts. The easy and unaffected gravity which appears in every action, and in their whole behaviour, even in their diversions, the respect they shew to their equals, and reverence towards old age, are equally admirable. The maxim, that every man is independent of any other, makes them cautious not to injure any person. Friendship, compassion, gratitude, their care of orphans, widows, and sick persons, and that most admirable hospitality they exercise towards one another, are not so much, in them, the effects of instinct or sentiment, as of a persuasion that amongst men all things ought to be in common.

Civility, hospitality, maxim of independency.

In a people destitute of all manner of cultivation, it is no wonder if we find some blemishes, where we must acknowledge so many things truly worthy of commendation. Amongst their vices, drunkenness may be said to hold the first rank. They never drink but with design to get drunk, and then they are transported with fury, and carried to such excesses as are frightful to behold. The *Europeans*, however, are the cause of this evil, which has almost depopulated this continent.

Their vice. Drunkenness.

Lascivious-
ness.

In the Southern countries of *Canada*, men and women promiscuously are given to the most shameful lewdness, and the contagion has even spread itself amongst the *Indians* of the Northern parts. The *Iroquois*, in particular, once a sober people, and far from incontinence of that kind, have since caught the infection by their commerce with the *Illinois* and other nations bordering on *Louisiana*, amongst whom, it is said, their lasciviousness flows from a principle of religion. It is indeed no wonder that their country should be thinly peopled; for, besides this reason, though the women are healthy and robust, they are, however, far from being fruitful. If we consider also their custom of long suckling, of abstaining from the company of their husbands during that time, the hard labour to which they are subjected, let their condition be what it will, the custom of prostituting the young women before marriage, which prevails in several parts, and the extreme distress to which they are often reduced, which makes them far from desiring children; all these causes, in conjunction with the ravages made by the small pox, and other diseases imported amongst them by the *Europeans*, contribute to depopulate the country.

Pride, diffi-
mulation, re-
venge, disre-
spect to pa-
rents.

Pride and haughtiness is another vice natural to those people, and almost inseparable from them. Those nations which we look upon as so very contemptible, have yet a sovereign contempt of all others. The *Hurons*, before they were humbled by the *Iroquois*, who succeeded to their pride, as it were by right of conquest, were the haughtiest of mortals. And they still retain their pride, which was always their predominant vice, with a certain mixture of brutishness. They are also extremely suspicious and mistrustful of the *Europeans*; a fault which may admit of some alleviation, considering the treatment they often undergo from them. They are great masters of the art of dissimulation, and cherish a thirst of revenge, which, like an inheritance, they receive of their fathers, and transmit from generation to generation to their latest posterity, or at least till an occasion offer to satiate it. The disrespect too of children to their parents is what justly shocks all mankind.

Colour and
want of hair
of *Americans*,
how caused.

The colour of the Savages is a tawny red, or copper colour, especially that of the nations inhabiting the Southern parts of *North America*. But this complexion is not natural to them, but acquired by frequent rubbing with unsightly colours, and their continual abode in the smoke, or exposing themselves to the hottest rays of the sun. It is not so easy to assign the cause why they have no hair, except on their heads and eye-brows, which is always jet-black, a distinguishing mark of all the *Americans*. Some of them pluck out the hair of their eye-brows. What makes this singularity the more remarkable, is, that their children are born with long thin hair all over their bodies, which falls off at the end of eight days. There is also a down on the chins of the old men, such as that of some women with us after arriving at a certain age. Some ascribe this property to the purity of their blood, others will have it produced by their constant custom of smoking tobacco. Whatever be the cause, the want of hair is esteemed by all these nations a principal beauty, so that as soon as any appears they pluck it out by the roots, and they could not help looking on the first *Europeans* they saw as monsters, and with a kind of horror, because of their beards, which it was then the fashion to wear long. The white complexion of the *Europeans* is equally disagreeable in their eyes, and it is reported that the flesh of the *French* and *English* had a disagreeable relish, because, it seems, it had a saltish taste.

Indians why
happiest of
mortals.

If the lives which the *Indians* lead appear at first sight to be somewhat dissonant to our manners and conceptions, we should consider that all happiness is relative, and depends more on opinion than on any thing without us. Besides custom, which is a second nature, the liberty which they enjoy is more than sufficient to compensate for all the inconveniences they seem to us to suffer. The condition of strolling beggars, as well as that of most indolent people, who prefer this darling of mankind to all the conveniences of life in exchange, proves, beyond all question, that men may be happy in the very arms of indigence. The *Indians* are the happiest of all mortals, and that for these two reasons: First, because they believe themselves to be so; and, secondly, because they are in full and peaceable possession of the most valuable thing in nature, which is liberty. To these we may add a third, which is, that they neither know, nor desire to know, those false enjoyments which we purchase with so much pains, and with the loss of that which is solid and real. And their most admirable quality is that truly philosophical way of thinking, which makes them condemn all the

the parade of our wealth and magnificence, so that some of the *Iroquois*, after they had been shewn all the splendor of the royal palaces in *France*, preferred their forests and cottages to all they had seen; admiring nothing in *Paris* so much as the plenty of all sorts of victuals they saw in the shops of the cooks in the street *de la buchette*. Hence not ignorance, or want of experience, as trial and observation induced them to treat our manners and way of living with the utmost contempt.

There is, perhaps, no subject more curious, or what has more employed the researches of the learned, than the origin of the nations inhabiting the different parts of the New World. And here, as in all subjects of this nature, the great difficulty is to reconcile the various conjectures on this point with the account of things in the sacred writings. Without entering into that controversy, concerning which many books have been written, some deriving the *Indians* of *America* from the ancient *Celts*, others from the *Chinese*, and some from the *Israelites*, and, lastly, some from *Scandinavia*, an abridgement of which would fill a moderate volume, I will content myself with giving what, in my humble opinion, is the most probable conjecture concerning the origin of the *Indians* in that part of *America* I have been just now describing, which is, that of our countryman *Brerewood*, who derives their pedigree from *Tartary*, and especially, if it be true, that the continent of *America* is separated from that of the *Asiatic Tartary* only by narrow inlets of the sea. The proofs with which this learned gentleman supports his hypothesis, are such as flow from a fund of sagacity, and solid good sense. The first is, that this continent has always been better peopled on the side towards *Asia*, than on that towards *Europe*. In the second place, the genius and manners of the *Americans*, in these parts, have a great and striking resemblance with those of the *Tartars*, and all of them have the same contempt for mechanic arts. Thirdly, their colour and complexion are almost the same, and what little difference there may be, proceeds from that of the climates, and from the custom of the *Americans* in rubbing themselves with different ointments. In the fourth and last place, the wild beasts found in *America* could only have come from *Tartary*, as it is impossible that these animals should traverse the ocean in their way to the new world, and *Tartary* is the only country from whence they could come without this traverse. The difference in that the *Tartars* circumscribe themselves is no material objection, those people having never known the use of this rite, till they had embraced the doctrine of *Mahomet*. Every one is free to think as he pleases, but, for my part, if we must derive them from somewhere, instead of what is perhaps the best conjecture of all, which is, that they are *Aborigines*, I cannot see what can reasonably be opposed to circumstances so full of conviction.

Origin of *Americans*.

America peopled from *Tartary*.

History of the Discovery and Settlement of CANADA.

THOUGH the *English* claim a right to all *North America*, from the discovery of it by *Cabot* in 1497, to which he gave no name but that of the *Newfoundland*, yet the *French* pretended claim of this part of the world is founded as early as the year 1504, when, as they say, the fishermen of *Bayonne*, *Normandy*, and *Bretagne*, used to fish for cod on the great bank of *Newfoundland*; and, to confirm it, that in 1506, *Jean Denys* of *Honfleur* made a map of the gulph known at this day under the name of *St Laurence*.

French first discoveries.

In 1508, *Thomas Aubert*, a pilot of *Dieppe*, brought some of the *Indians* of *North America* to *France*. The kings of *France*, however, seem not to have turned their attention towards *America* till the year 1523, when *Francis I.* desirous to promote the trade and navigation of his kingdom, ordered *John Verazani*, who was then in his service, to sail on discovery of those countries, of which much talk began to be made at this time. *Verazani* set out, in 1523, for *North America*, with four ships, but with what success we are not told, except only that he brought back his four ships safe into port. Towards the end of the year following, he armed a ship in order to continue his discoveries. In the month of *March* he discovered the land of *Florida*, and, after coasting along shore 50 leagues to the Southwards, found himself in 34 deg. North latitude; then, turning Northwards, he coasted the continent

Discoveries of *Verazani*.

of *North America* as high as an island, which the *French* writers tell us had been discovered by the inhabitants of *Bretagne*, and is probably the same with *Newfoundland*. The success of his third voyage is not so well known, though the *Spanish* writers will have it that *Verazani* was taken near the *Canaries* by their countrymen, and hanged as a pirate.

Cartier's discoveries.

Ten years afterwards, *Philip Chabot*, admiral of *France*, engaged the king to resume the design of settling a colony of *French* in *America*, and presented Captain *Jacques Cartier* of *St Malo*, as a fit person to conduct that affair. The king yielded to this request, and, in *April 1534*, *Cartier* set out on his expedition. On the 10th of *May* he had sight of *Newfoundland*, where he could not land for the ice; wherefore, steering Southward ten degrees, he came to an anchor in a port which he called *St Catherine's*. Thence, ascending Northward, he made the *Isles des Oiseaux*, or *Bird Islands*. After coasting most part of *Newfoundland*, he steered his course Southwards, and after visiting great part of the coasts of the gulph, and taking possession in the name of his master, he returned into *France*, full of the advantages his country would probably reap from his discoveries. The most zealous person for the settlement of a colony in those parts, at the *French* court, was the *Sieur de la Mailleraye*. This gentleman obtained a commission for *Cartier*, who set out with three ships, accompanied by several young gentlemen as volunteers, and, on the tenth of *August*, entered the gulph, to which he gave the name of *St Lawrence*, from the Saint whose festival is celebrated on that day. This name has since been given to the river that discharges itself into it, which before that time had always been called *Canada* by the natives. He discovered the island of *Anticosti*, or *Natiscotek*, which he called the island of *Assumption*; and ascending the river 80 leagues as high as the *Saguenay*, and continuing his voyage 90 leagues higher, as far as *Hochelaga*, a large village of the *Indians*, gave it the name of *Montroyal*, now called *Montreal*, as well as the whole island in which it stands. But the names which *Cartier* gave to the islands, rivers, capes, and places, in the maps he has left us, are hardly intelligible, and even the terms he mentions are no longer to be found in the languages of *Canada*.

Roberval constituted viceroy of Canada. &c.

For some time after this *France* seemed to have no thoughts of *Canada*, till 1540, when *François de la Roche*, *Seigneur de Roberval*, at his own request, obtained a commission, and was afterwards, by letters patent, created lord of *Norimbegue*, and viceroy and king's lieutenant general in *Canada*, *Hochelaga*, *Saguenay*, *Newfoundland*, *Belle Isle*, *Carpon*, *Labrador*, the *Great Bay*, and *Bacalaos*. Next year *Roberval* set sail with five ships, on board of which was *Cartier*, in quality of first pilot, and built a fort, according to some, on the river of *St Lawrence*, or, as others say, on the island of *Cape Breton*, leaving *Cartier* as his lieutenant with a numerous garrison. *Roberval* made several other voyages, in the last of which he perished with all on board, and with them all the hopes of *France* of settling this part of the new world.

De la Roche fails to settle a colony.

After fifty years of civil wars, *France* seemed to resume her former intention of settling colonies in *America*, and, in 1598, the *Marquis de la Roche*, a gentleman of *Bretagne*, obtained of *Henry IV.* the same powers and commission which *M. de Roberval* had under *Francis I.* and *Henry III.* The first land he arrived at, was *Isle de Sable*, or *Sandy Isle*, a barren and inhospitable island, where, if we may believe the *French* accounts, the *Baron de Lery* had endeavoured to settle a colony as early as the year 1508. Afterwards *M. de la Roche* visited the coast of *Acadia* on the neighbouring continent; and, after making what observations he judged necessary for his design, he set sail for *France*. The great expence he was at to make it succeed proving fruitless, he is said to have died of grief.

Company formed, and discoveries prosecuted by Peter du Guast, &c.

The ill success of the *marquis* hindered not an eager solicitation for his commission. *M. de Chauvin*, and *M. de Chatte*, succeeding each other in this service about 1600, 1602, and 1603. About this time a gentleman of *Saintonge*, a grave and experienced captain, at the solicitation of *Governor de Chatte*, made a voyage to *Canada*. He sailed up the river *St Lawrence* as far as *Sault St. Louis*, where *Cartier* had been before; but the village of *Hochelaga* was now no more. On his return to *France* he found that *de Chatte* was dead, and a new governor appointed in his room. This was *Peter du Guast*, *Sieur de Monts* of *Saintonge*, gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and governor of *Pons*, who had obtained the exclusive privilege

of trading for furs from 44 to 54 degrees of North latitude, with power to grant lands as high as 45 degrees, and with letters patent creating him vice-admiral and lieutenant general over all this tract. *De Monts* was of the reformed religion, and the king had granted him the full exercise of it in *America*, on condition he should people the country, and settle the *Roman catholic* religion amongst the *Indians*. This gentleman, who was a man of honour, and zealous for the success of the settlement, had maintained the company formed by his predecessor, and also strengthened it by the accession of several merchants of the principal ports of *France*, especially those of *Rochelle*. The armament fitted out on this occasion surpassed all that had been before, but his exclusive privilege raised him abundance of enemies, who traversed all his designs, and ruined him at last. However he, together with *Samuel Champlain*, and *Jean de Biencour*, afterwards his lieutenant, finished their incroachments in *Acadia*, begun by the Marquis de la Roche, and next in that part of the continent of *America*, lying to the North-West of the *Baye Française*, which the *French* pretend to be a part of *Canada*. The same year, 1604, they made a settlement at the island of *St Croix*, and the winter following *Champlain* extended his incroachments as far as the River of *Penobscot*, where *Pentagoet* was built.

In 1605, the same gentlemen intruded as far as *Quinibegui*, now known by the name of *Kennebeck* River; thence to *Cape Malebar*, near the Cape called by the *French*, *Cape Blanc*, and by our writers *Cape Cod*, in the neighbourhood of *Boston*. The *French* writers also tell us, that *Champlain* planted a cross on *Cape Malebar*, and took possession of it in the name of his master. Three years afterwards, that is, in 1608, the same *Champlain* founded the city of *Quebec*, the capital of *New France*, on the third of *July*, on the Northern bank of the river *St Lawrence*. In 1611 *Champlain* penetrated into the province of *New York* to the country of the *Iroquois*, and, in his way, seized on *Corleur Lake*, and changed its name to that of *Champlain*. In the winter of 1613, he ran over the country of the *Hurons*. Quebec founded by Champlain.

The first hostilities between the *English* and *French* nations, in these parts, commenced about the year 1613, when Captain *Samuel Argal* setting sail from *Virginia* for the *Newfoundland* fishery, about the *Isle of the desert mountains*, hearing that some strangers had settled near *Pentagoet*, attacked and carried that settlement; and some time after the governor of *Virginia* sent out *Argal*, with a commission to drive the *French* out of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, in consequence of the grant of *James I*. He proceeded to *Pentagoet*, which he found abandoned; from thence he went to the *Isle of St Croix*, where he demolished the plantation of *de Monts*, and thence steering for *Port Royal* in *Nova Scotia*, set fire to it, and in two hours destroyed what had cost the *French* more than a hundred thousand crowns, besides the loss of three years labour. Commencement of hostilities between the French and English.

It was about this time, in 1613, on *Champlain's* return to *France*, that *Canada* obtained the name of *New France*. *Charles de Bourbon*, Count of *Soissons*, taking upon himself the protection of the colony, made *Champlain* his lieutenant, who, after the Count's death, was continued in his employ by his successor in the chief direction: This was the Prince of *Conde*, under whose auspices he returned to *Quebec*, where he found every thing in a very flourishing condition. Some time after, the court's neglecting the colony, and abandoning the proprietors and persons interested in the company to their own narrow views, and the troubles, which arose in *France*, created many obstructions to its growth, so that *Champlain* lost most of his time in voyages to *Europe* to solicit succours, which were seldom or never granted him in season, when opportunity or need required. The jealousy of the merchants was no small addition to those evils. The Prince of *Conde*, in 1620, yielded his viceroyalty of *New France* to the Marshal de *Montmorency*, and *Champlain* still continued in the government of the colony as his lieutenant. Canada how called New France.

The year following the *Iroquois* attacked the *French* settlements in three bodies, one of which carried fire and sword to the gates of *Quebec*; this consideration, with a rumour that the *Hurons* were on the point of breaking their alliance with the *French*, and joining the *Iroquois*, made *Champlain* solicitous for securing the capital, the inhabitants of which, at this time, though so much had been done to people the colony, I am assured, did not exceed fifty persons, including women and children. Colony attacked by the Iroquois.

children. And commerce was far from being open, though there was a very flourishing trade at *Tadoussac*, and a good mart at the *Three Rivers*, 25 leagues above *Quebec*. For these reasons *Champlain*, in 1623, caused the fortifications of that capital to be built with stone; this done, he returned into *France* with his family, where he found the Marshal de *Montmorency* engaged in a treaty with his nephew the Duke de *Ventadour* for surrendering to him the viceroyalty of *New France*, which was soon after concluded. This year, or the year before, on remonstrances made to the king that the company neglected the colony, their privileges were taken from them, and given to two private persons, *William* and *Emeric de Caen*.

Cardinal
Richelieu forms
a new compa-
ny.

Four years after this, Cardinal *Richelieu*, desirous of advancing the *French* commerce in *Canada*, since the *Sieurs de Caen* thought of nothing but enriching themselves, like their predecessors, formed a new company, on terms which the *French* writers extol as highly advantageous to that colony, and which would have rendered it the most powerful settlement in *America*, had they been carried into execution. The first year of their privileges, which was 1628, they were to carry over two or three hundred workmen of different trades, and, before fifteen years should expire, they obliged themselves to augment the number of inhabitants to sixteen thousand, to provide them lodging, and a sufficiency of all necessaries for three years, and, after that, to assign them as much land to clear as would be sufficient to subsist them, and to furnish them with seed to sow it. All the labourers were to be natives of *France*, and no foreigner, or heretic, was to be suffered to set foot in the colony. In each settlement were to be at least three priests, whose expences, as well as those of their function, were to be born by the company during fifteen years, after which they were to subsist on cleared lands to be assigned them.

Privileges
granted to it.

To indemnify or satisfy the company for this expence, the king granted to them and to their assigns for ever the fort and settlement of *Quebec*, all the country of *New France*, *Florida* included, the whole course of the great river, with the other rivers which flow into it, or which discharge themselves into the sea within this tract, together with all its islands, ports, rivers, fisheries, &c. conformable to the ordinance: The king only preserving to himself the duties of fealty and homage, with a crown of gold of the weight of eight marks, at every succession to the throne, and the salaries of the officers of justice, who should be named and presented by the company when they should think fit to appoint any such court. They had also power to cast cannon, build and fortify places, make all sorts of arms and weapons offensive and defensive, and in general to do every thing necessary for the defence and security of the colony and its commerce; also power to make grants of lands in such quantities as they should judge proper, and to qualify them with such titles, honours, rights, and privileges, as they should see fit, and according to the rank, condition, and merits of the persons to whom they should be granted, and with such incumbrances, reserves, and conditions, as to them should seem meet; except only that in case of erections of lands into dutchies, marquises, earldoms, or baronies, they should take out letters of confirmation on the presentation of Cardinal *Richelieu*, grand master, chief, and superintendent of the navigation and commerce of *France*. His majesty also revokes all former concessions, granting the entire trade for furs, hides, and other peltry, to the associates for fifteen years only, to commence from the 1st of *January* 1628, till the last day of *December* 1643, with all other commerce, whether by land or sea, within the said countries, in the most extensive manner that may be, reserving only the cod and whale fisheries, which the king leaves free to all his subjects; and provided, also, that all *French* settled in those parts, and not subsisted at the company's expence, shall be entitled to trade for furs with the *Indians*, on condition that they shall only sell such furs to the company's factors at the general rate of forty fous tournois each. The king further presents the company with two ships of war from two to three hundred tons burthen, which the company shall be obliged to maintain, and in case of loss to replace, except they shall happen to be taken by his majesty's enemies in open war. The company, in case of failure, by not carrying over fifteen hundred persons of both sexes in the first ten years, were obliged to refund the cost of the two ships of war; and, in case of failure, by not transporting the like number in the five remaining years, to forfeit their charter. The company had leave to transport on the said ships what officers

officers and troops they should see fit, provided only that all captains so transported, as well as commanders of places and forts, which now are, or shall hereafter be built, shall take his majesty's commissions or provisions.

In order to induce persons to settle in *New France*, and to erect all sorts of manufactures there, it is ordered; that all artisans who shall engage with the company, and who shall follow their professions there for six years, on returning into *France*, shall be free to follow their several trades and crafts in *Paris*, and other cities throughout the kingdom; that all merchandize, and especially such as shall be manufactured by the *French* in that province, shall be exempt from all imposts and duties within the kingdom for fifteen years to come, as well as all stores, provisions, and warlike ammunition, which shall be destined for the said province; that all persons, of whatever rank or condition, may enter into the said company, without derogation to the honours or privileges annexed to their orders, his majesty engaging to grant letters of nobles to twelve of the company, in case so many shall be found who shall not be of that rank, the which nobility or honour shall descend to all their lawful issue; that all the descendants of *French* residing in *New France*, as well as all *Indians* who shall be converted to the faith, shall be held and reputed legitimate *French*, with power to inhabit, acquire, devise, succeed, and accept donations and legacies, in the same manner as natural *French*, without necessity of taking out letters declaratory of naturalization.

Encouragements offered to settlers.

These articles were signed the 19th of *April* 1627, by Cardinal *Richelieu*, and by those who had presented the project, and approved, of by the king, by an edict in the month of *May*, of the same year, dated in the camp before *Rochelle*: This done, the Duke de *Vendadour* resigned his place of viceroy. The company took the title of the *Company of New France*, amounting to the number of 107 persons, whereof Card. *Richelieu* and Marshal *Desfai* were the chief, being joined by several other persons of quality, and the rest consisting of many of the richest merchants and citizens of *Paris* and other trading cities. Thus this colony was likely to become worthy of the public attention, being supported by so powerful a company.

Company entitled the company of New France.

The beginnings of this establishment were far from being fortunate. The first vessels sent by the company were taken by an *English* fleet under the command of Capt. *Kirk*, who after a first attempt without success, and making himself master of a *French* squadron, which carried several *French* families, and provisions for the garrison, paid it another visit in 1629, when he took *Quebec*, by which he made a conquest of all *Canada*; and it remained in the hands of the *English*, the *French* inhabitants continuing in their habitations, till 1632, when it was restored to *France*, together with *Acadia* and the island of *Cape Breton*, at the peace of *St Germain's en Laye*. From the death of *Champlain*, which happened about this time, I find nothing very interesting, excepting that the company of the hundred associates, following the footsteps of their predecessors, suffered the colony to languish; and that the missionaries were busied on all hands in converting the *Indians*; and that the irruptions of the *Iroquois* made it necessary for the new governor to think of securing the colony against any future attempts. This was the occasion of their intrusion in building *Richelieu* fort at the mouth of the *Iroquois* river, since called *Richelieu* river. That *Indian* nation still continued their ravages till 1645, when a peace was concluded with them, and ratified by all the cantons. In 1647, the Chevalier de *Montmagny*, *Champlain's* successor in the government of *New France*, was recalled, on account of a new regulation made by the court, that no governor of any *French* colony should continue above three years in office, the occasion of which was the refusal of a governor general of the *Isles* to admit a successor, and his maintaining himself in his government.

Canada conquered by the English, and restored.

Richelieu fort built.

Montmagny was succeeded by M. d'Ailleboust, who had commanded at the *Three Rivers*. He resembled his predecessor in his prudent administration, in taking proper measures to gain and preserve the affections and esteem of both *French* and *Indians*, and in a perfect knowledge of the province and its necessities.

Ailleboust governor.

Quebec, as well as the other *French* settlements in *Canada*, now enjoyed a calm, and all the *Indians*, who were accustomed to live among them, partook of the same tranquillity. The trade consisted chiefly in furs, and was carried on principally at the *Three Rivers* and *Tadoussac*, whither the *Indians* resorted for that purpose. The *Iroquois* continued their incursions upon the *Hurons*, allies of the *French*, with their wonted success. But one of the most extraordinary events was an embassy from *New England*, proposing a perpetual alliance between the two colonies, independent of any ruptures that might

Embassy from New England

happen betwixt the two crowns. The *French* governor was highly pleased with this proposal, and for that purpose, with advice of the council, sent Father *Dreuilletes* to *Boston*, in quality of plenipotentiary, to conclude and sign the treaty; but on condition the *English* should join their forces with them against the *Iroquois*. The success of this first negociation is uncertain; all that we know of it is, that, after languishing for some time, it was resumed with more warmth in 1651; and that it came to nothing, because the people of *New England* were unwilling to agree to commence hostilities against the *Iroquois*; whether it was, that they had nothing to fear from them, or that those *Indians* were then in alliance with them, I know not.

Whyfruitless.

Hurons broken by the *Iroquois*.

This year too the *Huron* nation was almost entirely destroyed by the *Iroquois*, particularly the cantons of *St Ignatius*, and of *St Lewis*, with most part of the warriors of *St Mary*. And, in about eight days time, most of the cantons in the neighbourhood of this last were abandoned, the inhabitants removing to the little island of *St Joseph*, where, neglecting to sow the land, and their hunting and fishing falling short, they suffered inconceivable hardships, being reduced to the necessity of eating dead bodies, which they dug up after they had been half consumed with rotteness.

Ravages, desolations, and cruelty of the same barbarians.

The history of the remaining part of *Ailleboust's* government contains nothing remarkable, except the destruction of the *Hurons* of *St John*, a populous canton, containing not less than six hundred families, with the death of their two missionaries also by the *Iroquois*; a conspiracy of the *Hurons* of the canton of *St Matthew*, especially those who were still idolaters, against the *French*, from a belief that they owed all their misfortunes to them, and to the new religion introduced by them, and disconcerted by the vigilance of their missionaries; and the desertion of the *Isle* of *St Joseph*, occasioned by the famine above mentioned, part of the inhabitants transporting themselves to *Quebec*, and the others retiring, some into the countries of other *Indian* nations, on whom they brought the arms of the *Iroquois*; some taking sanctuary amongst the *English* of *Pensylvania*; and others, again, particularly the cantons of *St John Baptist* and *St Michael*, taking shelter amongst the *Iroquois* themselves, who, contrary to expectation, gave them a good reception; those, in the last place, who continued to wander through woods and deserts, being all taken and butchered. From these events it was, that not only the *Hurons* trembled at the name of the *Iroquois*, but also, from a like terror, all the banks of the river of the *Outawais*, which but the year before were so full of inhabitants, were almost totally abandoned, none knowing what became of those *Indians*; and the *French* themselves were filled with no less dread of those merciless savages. We find, also, an expedition of the *Hurons*, who had taken sanctuary under the cannon of *Quebec*, against the *Iroquois*, which miscarried, most of the party in it being either killed, or taken and burnt. And, lastly, we find, recorded the progress of the missionaries in converting the natives in spite of all obstacles, death and the cruellest torments not excepted, the chief intention of *France* being evidently directed towards that end, from a notion that, in order to secure the affections of the *Indians*, they must begin by inspiring them with an ardent zeal for their religion.

Lauson governor.

About the end of 1650, famous in the annals of *Canada* for the destruction of almost all the *Huron* nation, *M. de Lauson*, one of the principal members of the company of *Canada*, was named to the government of *New France* in the room of *M. d'Alleboust*, whose three years were now expired; but did not arrive till the year after: This gentleman had always been uncommonly active in the affairs of the colony, and it was owing to him principally that *Quebec* was restored by the *English* to the *French*. He had heard of the decline of the colony, but, on his arrival, found its affairs in a worse posture still than had been represented to him. The *Iroquois* continued their ravages, and being grown fierce by their victories, no longer respected the *French* forts as checks to their incursions, but spread themselves over all the country, so that no person could think himself safe in his own house, and the *French* governor of the *Three Rivers* was killed by them at the head of his troops, and in his own post. The Northern country felt the same fury, and *Sillery*, no longer accounted safe within its retrenchment of palisades, was inclosed with a wall mounted with cannon.

Iroquois victorious.

The country in *New England* and *Nova Scotia*, occupied by the *Abenakis* nations, where Father *Dreuilletes* had sown the seeds of the *Roman catholic* religion,

gion, and gained them over to the *French* interest, were the only countries which the *Iroquois* never dared to invade. The people of *New England* felt in the sequel the ill effects of suffering the *French* to gain and secure the friendship of those *Indians* by the ties of religion. About this time I find a mission established amongst the *Attikamegues*, the missionary appointed to this work being killed by the *Iroquois*, who were bloody enemies to them and their cause, so that scarce a year passed but one or other died a martyr to his profession.

Bad policy of
New England

Montreal suffered no less from the incursions of the *Iroquois*, than the other quarters of *New France*. And *M. de Maisonneuve*, after going to *Paris* for succours, which he could not otherwise obtain, returned in 1653, with a reinforcement of a hundred men, and, what was reckoned a greater acquisition, with *Margaret Burges*, a native of *Lan-gres*, foundress of the institution of the *Daughters of the Congregation*, and famous throughout all the colony for her eminent virtues. This year also a peace was concluded with the *Iroquois*, though not long kept, being broken and cemented again afresh the year following, and missionaries settled amongst several of the *Iroquois* cantons.

Missionaries
settled among
the *Iroquois*.

Much about this time the *Iroquois* completed the destruction of the *Eries*, or *Cat Indians*. After driving the *Hurons* from their country, the *Iroquois* next marched against their allies, and particularly the *Outawais*, who finding themselves not in a condition to resist those who had conquered the bravest and most powerful nations of all this continent, thought proper not to wait at home till their throats should be cut, and their villages reduced to ashes. Some of them had therefore already retired into to the bay of *Saguinan*, others into the *Anse de Tonnerve*, both of them in lake *Huron*; and numbers into the islands of *Montouadin* and *Michillimakinac*. But the bulk of the nation had remained on the banks of the great river, which bears their name, till the total destruction of the *Huron* cantons. On this they joined themselves to the *Hurons* called *Tionnontatez*, with whom they penetrated far into the Southern countries. At first they made an alliance with the *Sioux*, with whom they afterwards quarrelled, and, thus, trained up to war, at their own cost, that nation, hitherto regarded as very unwarlike, and scarce ever heard of on this side the *Mississipi*. Then, separating themselves into several bands, by the misery to which they were reduced, they carried every where the terror of the name of the *Iroquois*; and at length after many wanderings, and separations into small bodies, several of which have never since been heard of, they have diminished to such a degree, that there scarce at present subsists the twentieth part of what they formerly were.

Fate of the
Outawais.

The good understanding between the *French* and the *Upper Iroquois* was of no long continuance. For, in 1657, they had come to a resolution to extirpate the *French*, by a general massacre of all that were in their country; but being discovered, the whole nation took off the mask, and the war began with greater animosity than ever.

War renewed
with the *Iro-*
quois.

In *July*, of the year following, the Viscount *d'Argenson*, the new governor general, landed at *Quebec*; who, by his vigorous measures in repressing the insults of the *Iroquois*, settled the repose of the colony for some time. In 1659, we are to place the arrival of *François de Laval*, titular bishop of *Petrea*, with the Pope's brief as apostolical vicar, and with him several other ecclesiastics, who were settled in the several curacies, which had been till now served by the *Jesuits*, in order as they arrived. These curacies were at first served by commission, and were removable at the will of the bishop, or superiors of the seminary of *Quebec*, but now named by the directors of the foreign missions. Since that there has been an order of the court to have all the curacies fixed like those in *France*, though this has not been entirely complied with, and especially in the island of *Montreal*, where the curacies are under the direction of the seminary of *Quebec*. The seminary of *St Sulpicius* had, two years before this, acquired all the rights of the first proprietors of this island; and, in 1662, *M. de Petrea* obtained letters patent of the king for the erection of a seminary at *Quebec*, which was to furnish pastors to the whole colony, and to the directors of which the tithes were to be paid, and the whole to be taxed at a thirtieth for the revenue of the church. But the settlers complaining of this burden, the supreme council of *New France* issued an arret in 1667, ordaining the tenths to be taxed at the twenty sixth part, to be paid in grain, and that new-cleared lands should pay nothing; which arret was accordingly put in execution. The colony afterwards

Ecclesiastic
regulations.

terwards increasing, new curacies were established, and the tithes claimed as their right, which was settled by a royal edict in May 1679. Five years after, *Quebec* was erected into a bishop's see, confirming the provisional arret of the supreme council with respect to either, and provided that, if the tenths should be found insufficient for the maintenance of the curacies, the deficiency should be made good by the lords and inhabitants, which has, however, never been allowed, the king granting out of his own domain the sum of 7600 livres yearly towards the subsistence of curates. The sum for the maintenance of a curate was afterwards regulated by the king at 400 livres yearly; and, in 1707, his majesty, besides the above sum of 7600 livres, grants the additional sum of 2000 livres yearly, for the support of such as, by the reason of their great age, or other infirmities, were unable to serve their cures; which sum was to be divided into six portions, of 300 livres each, and one of 200. There are moreover two sums of 1350 livres each, one for the benefit of the said curates, and for building parochial churches, the patronage of which was to reside in the bishop, and not, as hitherto, in the lords, which churches were also to be built of stone, and all those sums to be in the disposal of the bishop. The chapter of the cathedral is composed of a dean, a head chanter, or precentor, a chief archdeacon, a divine, and twelve canons. The king nominates those of the first rank, and the bishop the rest.

Hospital,
foundation
for girls.

To return to *Montreal*, the directors of the seminary of *St Sulpicius* first of all set about building an hospital, to which several pious persons largely contributed, to be served by the daughters of the *Hotel dieu* of the same city, an institution since erected into an order. At the same time was founded the instruction of the daughters of the congregation for the education of young persons of the tender sex of all conditions, which equals any thing of the kind in *Europe* in every respect. The first design was to make nuns of the pupils, but this was laid aside on the edict in 1709, which forbids their entering a cloister, or taking any vow. They remonstrated, desiring to be permitted to take upon them simple and not solemn vows; but this was also rejected by the council as a thing of pernicious consequence to the colony. The Urselins of *Quebec* had the same object in their institution, though with little effect without the walls, all their precepts vanishing out of mind and memory, as soon as the pupils get amongst their *Indian* relations, where they take to their old way of living.

Discoveries,
wars, &c.

We are to place here also the discovery of some *Indian* nations about the North and West of *Lake Huron*, as well as some new missions amongst the *Abenaguiss*, and *Eschimaux*, and the first visits of the *French* to the *Sioux*, a wandering, but very populous nation on the banks of the *Mississipi* to the west of *Canada*, from whose mild disposition, and natural good sense, they promised themselves many advantages. About this time I find the *French* colony reduced to great extremities from the hostilities of the *Iroquois*, and the want of succours from *France*, so that none durst stir from the forts without an escort. These evils were still augmented by the accession of an epidemical distemper, which particularly carried off a great number of young children. I pass over many particulars relating to the hostilities of the *Iroquois*, and the negotiations for a peace, with the various turns and hopes occasioned by those transactions, the success and fate of the missionaries, busied on all hands in converting the *Indians*, at the hazard and often with the loss of their lives.

Account of
a dreadful
earthquake.

I cannot, however, help taking notice of one of the most extraordinary earthquakes that has happened almost in any country in the memory of man, whether you consider the vast extent of land which felt its shocks, or the singularity of its astonishing effects. F. *Charlevoix's* account of it, is what I am about to give, and that chiefly for the sake of those who are fond of the marvellous. He introduces his relation with remarks on the pernicious influence of the trade of selling spirituous liquors to the *Indians*, the effects of which were a total dissolution of manners, and a disregard to the remonstrances of the bishop, preachers, and confessors, as well as to the thunders of the church, and the menaces of the divine wrath. The bishop of *Quebec*, by an application to court, put a stop to this infamous traffic, which produced such horrible disorders; but, says that learned missionary, heaven had already prevented his cares, and, by one of those events which strike terror into the most obdurate and licentious, the greatest part of the colony were brought back to the right way from which they had wandered. The matter of fact, says he, has been attested by the constant and unanimous testimony of a whole colony; and the effects, which still sub-

fist, put it beyond the cavils of the most sceptical. He does not, however, pretend to vouch it in all its circumstances. After this he proceeds as follows :

During the autumn in 1663, a number of bodies of fire, of different figures, but all of them extraordinary, were seen in the air. Over *Quebec* and *Montreal* appeared in the night a globe of fire, extremely shining, only at *Montreal* it seemed as if it proceeded from the moon, and was accompanied with a noise, like the discharge of a cannon, and after gliding through the air for about three leagues, it vanished behind the mountain whence the island takes its name.

On *January* 7, the following year, there arose an almost imperceptible vapour from the great river, which, after it was struck with the sun's rays, became transparent, but with body sufficient to support two parheliions, which appeared by the side of this meteor. Thus appeared at the same time, three suns, in a line parallel to the horizon, some fathoms distant from each other, each of them with a rainbow, the colours of which varied every instant, now appearing like an ordinary rainbow, then of a bright whiteness, as if there had been a great fire behind it. This sight lasted two full hours, and was repeated on the 14th, though less perceptible.

In the beginning of *February*, a rumour went, that an earthquake would very soon happen, such as had never happened in the memory of man, taking its rise from the admonitions of certain persons eminent for piety, warning every soul to make their peace with God, and try to appease the divine wrath, justly kindled against *New France*. Earthquake predicted.

On the night of the 13th of the same month, an *Algonkin* woman, a very fervent christian, being awake, and sitting on her bed, heard a voice, saying, that within two days wonderful things should happen. Next day, as she was in the forest with her sister, making her provision of wood, she heard the same voice, predicting that on the morrow, between four and five in the evening, the earth would quake in a terrible manner. Voice fore-warning.

A young maiden of the same nation, whose piety had obtained the miraculous cure of a disease, dreamt on the night between the 4th and 5th instant, that the *Virgin Mary* appeared to her, and told her the hour, and all the circumstances of this earthquake. On the evening of the 5th, immediately before the earthquake began, she appeared as if she were besides herself, crying out, with all her force, *Now it is just coming*, to the great astonishment of all who heard her. Dream and extasy.

Lastly, on the same day, mother *Mary* of the Incarnation, the illustrious foundress of the Ursuline nuns of *New France*, who was far from being a weak person, after several warnings from heaven of the impending event, which she communicated to F. *Lalle-mant* her director, about half an hour after five in the evening, as she was in prayer thought she saw our Lord wroth with *Canada*, and that she was moved by some supernatural power to demand justice of him for all the crimes committed in this province ; and that all she could do to obtain some mitigation of this punishment, was, to put up fervent prayers that the souls might not perish with the bodies. Immediately afterwards, she felt an inward assurance that the divine wrath was on the point of breaking out, and that the contempt of the ordinances of the church, was the chief cause why it was kindled. She perceived almost, in the same instant, four devils at the four corners of the city of *Quebec*, agitating the earth with great violence, and a person of a majestic presence, who from time to time let loose the reins to their fury, and then withheld them. Vision of Mother Mary.

At the same moment, the heavens being perfectly serene, a noise was heard all over the city, like that of a great fire, which frightened all the people out of their dwellings. Then all the houses were shaken and rocked to such a degree, that they almost touched the ground, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, the doors opening and shutting of themselves with a mighty noise, all the bells ringing without hands, and the timber of the palisades bounding to and fro ; the walls were split, the beams fell out and were bent, and the domestic animals made the most frightful howlings ; the surface of the earth had a motion like that of the sea, the trees were twisted together, and many of them torn up by the roots, and tossed to a great distance. With these sights were heard all sorts of noises ; sometimes of a raging sea breaking its dykes, sometimes of a great number of chariots and carriages rolling over the pavement, and sometimes of mountains of

rock or marble opening and splitting. A thick dust arose like smoke, so that an universal conflagration was apprehended; some imagined they heard the cries of *Indians*, and apprehended the *Iroquois* were falling upon all parts of the colony.

Various phenomena.

The fright was so great and general, that both men and animals appeared as if struck with thunder; nothing was to be heard but shrieking lamentations; people fled every where without knowing whither they went; and on which side soever they passed, met what they strove to shun. The fields presented every where precipices and gulphs, and people expected the earth to open under them every moment, whole mountains were plucked up by the roots, and thrown to a distance and placed in new situations; some were carried into the midst of rivers, and stopped their course, and others were sunk so deep that the tops of the trees on their summits were not to be seen. Trees were tossed upright into the air, as if a mine had sprung under them, and some re-planted with their branches in the ground and their roots aloft. There was no more safety on water than on land. Several springs and rivulets were dried up, the waters of others were impregnated with sulphur, and the beds where some had flowed could no longer be seen. Here the waters were turned red, there yellow, and those of the great river from *Quebec* to *Tadoussac*, that is, for the space of thirty leagues, were grown perfectly white. Nothing was to be heard but a continual din, and people imagined they saw goblins and phantoms of fire with lighted torches in their hands. Flames arose which took all sorts of shapes, as of pikes, lances, and burning brands, and fell upon the tops of houses without setting them on fire. Cries of wailing and lamentation augmented the horror from time to time. Porpoises and sea cows were heard to howl near the *Three Rivers*, where never any such fishes had been seen; and these howlings had no resemblance to the cries of any known animal. To conclude, for a tract of three hundred leagues from East to West, the earth, the rivers, and the sea-coasts were long, but at different intervals, in the vast motion mentioned by the prophet, speaking of the wonders which accompanied the coming up out of *Egypt*.

Effects, numbers, and duration of shocks.

The effects of the earthquake were various to an infinite degree, and never was there more reason to fear that nature was destroying her works, and that the end of the world was at hand. The first shock lasted half an hour almost without interruption, but began to abate after a quarter of an hour. Towards eight in the evening of the same day, there was another shock, equally violent with the first, and in half an hour two more. Some reckoned to the number of thirty two the night following, some of which were very violent. It is possible that the horror of the night and the general confusion might increase their number, and cause them to appear more considerable than they really were. Even in the intervals of the shocks people were in the same condition as in a vessel at anchor; which might also be the effect of a disordered imagination. What is certain, is, that many persons felt the same squeamishness and giddiness which are usual at sea with such as are not accustomed to this element. On the morning of the sixth, about three of the clock, was a very rude and long shock. At *Tadoussac* it rained ashes for three hours together; in another place the *Indians*, who had left their cabins at the beginning of these agitations; on their return, found a large pool of water in their places. Half way between *Quebec* and *Tadoussac*; two mountains were laid level with the ground, and the earth that fell from them formed a cape projecting half a quarter of a league into the great river. Two *Frenchmen* coming from *Gaspé* felt nothing of it till they came over against the *Saguenay*, when, though there was not a breath of wind, their shallop was tossed as if on a stormy sea. Not being able to conjecture whence this could proceed, they cast their eyes towards the shore, when they perceived a mountain skipping, in the language of the prophet like a ram, and which, after some time, whirling round like a whirlwind, sunk down, and at last entirely disappeared. A ship, which followed the shallop, was no less agitated, and the oldest sailors could not stand but by a hold, as it happens when a ship rolls greatly; and the captain ordering to cast anchor, the cable broke.

Surprising circumstances and effects.

Within a small distance of *Quebec*, a fire, a full league in length, appeared in broad day-light, which coming from the North, afterwards crossed the river, and disappeared over the Isle of *Orleans*. Opposite *Cape Tourmente* floods of subterraneous waters

waters rushed from the tops of the mountains, and carried all before them. Above *Quebec* a river left its channel, part of which became dry, its highest banks in some parts sinking to a level with the water, which continued mixed with mud and of the colour of sulphur above three months. *New England* and *New Holland* (now *New York*) suffered in the general confusion, and, as did all this vast extent of country, with this particularity, that in the time of the greatest shocks they perceived a kind of pulsation like that of an intermitting pulse, with unequal beatings, but beginning every where precisely at the same instant. Sometimes the shocks were a sort of elevating, at other times a sort of balancing motion, more or less violent; sometimes very brisk, and at others increasing by degrees, and none of them ending without some sensible effect. In places where the great river had rapid falls it became perfectly still water, and in others the reverse. Rocks arose in the midst of rivers, and a man walking in the fields, perceived all of a sudden the earth opening behind him, and as he fled, the yawnings seemed to run after him. The agitation was generally less on the tops of mountains, but an incessant rumbling was heard in those places.

What is perfectly astonishing, is, that amidst so dreadful a wreck, not a soul perished, God being willing, says my author, not to destroy, but to convert sinners. Thus nothing was to be seen but an universal repentance, every one making the examen of their conscience with tears and compunction of heart, the most scandalous sinners declared openly the abominations of their past lives, enemies were reconciled, all criminal familiarities were at an end, and the traffic of spirituous liquors, the first spring of all the evil, abandoned, fasting, alms, pilgrimages, with the frequentation of the sacraments, were all the study, and, in short, nothing was omitted to disarm the wrath of heaven, which at last relented.

Productions of repentance.

The fears of a general sterility and epidemical disorders, which many apprehended, were soon found to be groundless, and the earth by degrees recovered its former state, where the appearance of it had not been totally changed by so many violent concussions. The *Iroquois* stirred not all this while, and when the confusion ceased, they made new proposals of peace, which were interrupted by some evil reports, that had got footing among the cantons.

Things recover their pristine state.

The bishop of *Petrea*, and *M. de Mefy*, appointed to relieve the Baron *d'Avaugour* in the government of *New France*, had newly arrived at *Quebec* with troops. They were accompanied by the *Sieur Gaudais*, appointed commissary on the part of the king to take possession in his name of all *New France*, which the company of *Canada* had yielded up to him *February 4, 1663*; by a hundred families to people the country; and by several officers civil and military.

New government arrives at *Quebec*.

The commissary begun with taking the oaths of fidelity of all the inhabitants, and afterwards regulated the police, and made several ordinances with regard to the administration of justice. Before this time there had properly been no court of justice in *Canada*, the governors general judging causes in an absolute or sovereign manner. No body ever thought of appealing from their sentences, but these were seldom pronounced without a previous recourse to the method of arbitration, and their decisions were always dictated by that best and most supreme of all laws, good sense and the law of nature. Besides, the natives of *Canada* were far from being litigious, and chose rather to lose somewhat of their right than their time and money at law. At first indeed they seemed to have every thing in common, at least it was very long before any thing was known to be kept under lock for security. Thus the precautions which the prince took for the establishing of justice were the epoch of its ruin, by introducing the spirit of chicanery, and the love of law-suits.

His administration.

It is true that as early as the year 1640 there had been a Grand Seneschal of *New France*, and at the *Three Rivers* was a tribunal subordinate to that of the military magistrate, who, however, appears to have been wholly dependant on the governors general, who were always invested with the right of administering justice in their own persons, in cases of appeal, which were common enough. In matters of moment they assembled a kind of council, composed of the grand seneschal, the superior of the *Jesuits*, who, before the arrival of the bishop, was the only superior ecclesiastic in the country, and some of the principal inhabitants, to whom they gave the quality of counsellors.

Courts of justice.

Thus

Establishment
of the coun-
cil of Canada.

Thus, in 1651, when the *Sieur Godefroy* was sent, with *F. Dreucillettes* to *New England*, to treat about a perpetual peace between the two colonies. He had the title of councillor in the council of *New France* given him in his letters of credence, though that this council was not permanent, but established by the governor general, by virtue of the power given him by the king, and by him changed as often as he judged proper. It was then in the year 1663, and not before, that the king caused the council of *Canada* to be fixed by an edict in *March* of the same year, ordering that the council should consist of *M. de Mesy*, governor general, *M. de Laval*, bishop of *Petrea*, apostolical vicar of *New France*, *M. Robert*, the intendant, and of four counsellors to be appointed, continued, or removed, at the pleasure of these three ministers. *M. Robert*, counsellor of state, had been named this very year intendant of justice, police, finances, and marine for *New France*. But, as he never went to *Canada*, *M. Talon*, who arrived here in 1665, is the first who exercised this office. *M. Duchesneau*, who succeeded him in 1675, brought an order of the king, by virtue of which the intendant was to officiate as first president in the council, leaving, however, the first seat to the governor general, and the second to the bishop. Two more counsellors were added at the same time, and all the members of the council had commissions from the court.

Intendants office and dignity.

New coun-
sellor's sala-
ries.

This empowering the intendant to act as first president, was much resented by the governor general, whose remonstrances on this subject were not regarded. And, by an arret of the council of state in 1680, it was ordered that in all deeds and writings of the council, the governor and intendant should assume no other quality besides that of their office. In 1704, four new counsellors were created, one clerk, and three laymen: So that at present they are twelve in number, including the bishop. The person intitled the first counsellor, has double the salary of the others, he is named by the court, and his place is only considered as honorary, having no particular function. His annual salary is eight hundred livres, the five oldest counsellors have four hundred, and the rest nothing, and they take no fees. The procurator general, and head register, have also salaries, but very moderate.

Council regu-
lated, cases of
reculation.

The council is held regularly every *Monday* in the palace, which is the residence of the intendant, whose office it is also to fix the day and hour of their meeting, on extraordinary occasions, and to notify the same to the governor general by the chief usher. Justice is administered here according to the statutes of the kingdom, and customs of *Paris*. In *June* 1679, the king made some regulations in the council by an edict, which has since bore the name of *The Reduction of the Code*, in that country. Some new difficulties were afterwards started with respect to judging in cases of challenges, or exceptions at law, which were explained by another edict of *March* 1685, in which it was further declared, that the actions in which any officer of the council was interested, should be removed at the request of one of the parties, before the intendant, who should determine, in such cases, with judges summoned by him for that purpose: Lastly, by the same edict, the council was authorised to judge criminal cases, and five of the counsellors were to make a quorum.

Inferior
courts of jus-
tice.

There are moreover three inferior courts of justice in *Canada*, which sit at *Quebec*, the *Three Rivers*, and *Montreal*. These are composed of a lieutenant general, a sub-lieutenant, and the king's procurator. Their appointments were made by a declaration of *May* 12, 1578. The notaries, ushers, and sergeants, have also salaries, without which they could not subsist, their fees being next to nothing in so poor and thinly peopled a colony.

Succeeded to
the king.

Till the year 1692, the criminal jurisdiction of *Montreal* belonged to the superiors of *St Sulpicius*, in quality of the lords of the soil. But then they yielded it up to the king, on condition, that they should continue the same power within the precincts of their seminary, and their farm of *St Gabriel*, with the perpetual and unalienable property of the registership of the royal criminal tribunal, which should afterwards be established in the island, together with the nomination of the first judge. This had the royal assent signified by the edict, which established the new court, dated in *March* the year following, except the last article, which was *pro hoc tempore* for this time only. The supreme council of *Quebec*, served for a model to those of the islands of *Martinico* and *St Domingo*, and of the country of *Louisiana*.

We have seen in what a weak and languishing condition the colony was left by the company of the hundred associates incorporated, in 1628, for the settlement of *Canada*, though one of the most powerful that ever was formed, whether with regard to the number and rank of its members, or to the privileges granted them. They soon grew weary of the expence; and, from the year 1644, they abandoned the fur trade, which was almost the only advantage they reaped from it, to the inhabitants, reserving to themselves, for their right of lordship, an annual homage of a thousand beavers.

Company of
Canada fails.

At last, finding themselves reduced to the number of forty five associates, they made a total resignation of all their rights in 1662 to the king, who some time after included *New France* in the grant which he made of the *French colonies in America*, in favour of the *West India company*, with the right of naming governors and other officers. It is true that, as this new company were not acquainted with persons proper for filling the chief posts, they requested the king to provide them, till they should be in a condition to make use of the privilege he had granted them; in consequence of which request *M. de Mesy* was named governor general, and *M. Robert* intendant of *New France*. *De Mesy* was succeeded by *M. de Courcelles*, who had orders to transport inhabitants, and the regiment of *Carignan Salieres*, in order to reduce the *Iroquois* to reason. A great number of families, with a great multitude of mechanics, and hired servants, the first horses ever seen in *Canada*, with cattle, sheep, and, in short, a more considerable colony than that which they were going to supply was transported on this occasion.

Resign their
rights to the
king.

Colony re-
ceives sup-
plies.

The viceroy lost no time, but placing himself at the head of the troops, led them to the entry of *Richelieu*, in the province of *New York*, where he employed them in building three several forts at the same time. The first was placed on the spot where that of *Richelieu* had formerly stood, since called, as also the river, by the name of *Sorel*, from a captain of the regiment of *Carignan*, who had the charge of building it. The second was erected at the foot of the rift, or water-fall, formerly mentioned, as you fail up the river. This was called *Fort St Lewis*; but *M. de Chambly*, captain of the same regiment, having since bought the land on which it was situated, the whole canton, together with the stone fort since built on the ruins of the old fort, bear the name of *Chambly*. *M. de Salieres* took upon himself the conduct of the third, called *St Theresa*, from the festival upon which it was finished. It stands three leagues higher than the second, and this the colonel chose for his own post. These works were completed with great expedition, and the *Iroquois* were at first greatly terrified at their erection, but soon recovered from their consternation; and though their passage into the colony this way was intercluded, they presently opened themselves several others. That of *Chambly*, however, covers the colony of *Canada* sufficiently on the side of *New York*, and the lower *Iroquois*.

Three new.
Forts built.

I find about this time a remonstrance of *M. Talon*, the intendant, to the king, complaining of the mischiefs that the colony underwent by leaving it to the management of a company, and declaring the advantages that would result from the king's resumption of it into his own disposal; as also an order from court, by *M. Colbert*, for keeping the habitations as close together as possible, in order to strengthen the colony, which was weakened, as they imagined, by separating them at too great a distance, and reducing the dwellings as much as possible into the form of the parishes of *Old France*; and, lastly, the discovery of two iron mines in the neighbourhood of *Chambly* and *Cape Magdalen*, two parishes situated beyond the *Three Rivers*. They had great expectations also, from a tannery, the first trial of which was abundantly successful. But what most flattered their hopes, was, the freedom of commerce published in the year 1668. This year is also famous for a number of missions settled amongst the different *Indian* nations, particularly the *Iroquois*.

Remonstran-
ce, orders,
discoveries,
mission.

New France now enjoyed perfect repose for the first time since its settlement, its governors neglecting nothing that might contribute to its advancement. The best part of the regiment of *Carignan Salieres* had remained here, and almost all the soldiers were become planters, having had their discharge on that condition. Six companies of the same regiment, which had returned to *France* after the *Iroquois* war, were ordered back, not only to strengthen the most important posts, but to increase the number of inhabitants. Several of the officers had grants of lands, with the right of lordship. Almost all of them settled and married in the country, where their pos-

Colony at
peace and
prosperous.

terity still subsists. Most part of them were gentlemen, whence *New France* has a more numerous nobles than any other *French* colony, and perhaps more than all the rest taken together. Lastly, the lands, in every part where cleared, were found to be very rich. Thus the new inhabitants, vying with each other in virtue, industry, and the love of labour, were soon in a condition to subsist, and the colony received great accessions of strength, and numbers of inhabitants.

Quebec made
a bishopric.

In 1670, the church of *Quebec* was erected into a bishopric. The great disputes which arose about its immediate dependance on the holy see, on which the Pope was inflexible, occasioned that affair to remain so long undetermined. This, however, hinders not the bishopric of *Quebec* from being like that of *Puy*, which holds immediately of the Pope, in some sort united to the ecclesiastical establishment of *France*. The king, for the endowment of the new bishopric and chapter of the cathedral, united to them two months, or one sixth of the revenue of the abbey of *Maubec*; and *M. de St Vallier*, successor to *M. de Laval*, has since further obtained the re-union of the abbey of *Beneventum*, partly to the bishopric, and partly to the chapter.

Great mortality from the small pox.

The same year an epidemical distemper made sad devastation in *Canada*, and almost totally depopulated those vast countries. The *Attikamegues* particularly have never appeared since, and if any of them remain, they must have mixed with other nations with whom the *French* are altogether unacquainted. At the same time *Tadoussac*, where had never appeared fewer than twelve hundred *Indians* in trading time, began to be totally deserted, as well as the *Three Rivers*, whence the *Algonquins* removed to *Cape Magdalen*, where the *French* have still a post, but *Tadoussac* remains desolate, and entirely abandoned. The small pox was the chief cause of this mortality, and several years afterwards the town of *Sillery* was quite depopulated. Of fifteen hundred persons seized with that distemper, not one escaped. In this year also we are to date the foundation of the *Huron* village of *Loretto*.

Iroquois mission.

In the following year was settled the *Iroquois* mission of the *Fall of St Lewis*, a colony of that nation converted by the *French* missionaries, and desirous of settling amongst them for the sake of religion. On the other hand, many nations of the *Algonquin* language, who had formerly been protected by the *French* colony from the ravages of their enemies, expressing their gratitude and attachment to them in a more extraordinary manner at this time, that politic people, always awake to their own interest, laid hold of this opportunity to establish the rights of that crown over the most distant parts of *Canada*.

Perrot
French agent
with the *Indians*.

With this view one *Perrot*, a man of good family and sense, and some tincture of learning, and besides accustomed to travel, was selected to execute this important commission. His necessities had thrown him into the service of the *Jesuits*, which gave him frequent opportunities of dealing with the *Indians*, and learning their language. He had acquired their esteem, and by degrees so effectually insinuated himself into their affections, that at last he could persuade them into any thing as he pleased. After he had got the necessary instructions, he took his progress and visited all the Northern nations with whom the *French* had any commerce, whom he invited to come in the spring following to the *Fall of St Mary*, where the great *Onontio* of the *French* was to send them one of his captains, who should declare his pleasure. They all gave consent to send deputies, according to his desire. He then proceeded further Westward, and turning towards the South pursued his journey into the *British* territories as far as *Chicagou* at the bottom of lake *Michigan*, where the *Miamis Indians* then held their residence.

French take
possession of
countries.

The chief of this people, who was able to bring into the field an army of between four and five thousand men, gave him a good reception, and presented him with the pipe, employing the *Poutewatomis*, another *Indian* nation, to act as his deputies in the general assembly, at which most of the *Indians*, at least those in the *French* interest, appeared by their deputies. On this occasion the *Sieur de St Luffon*, as subdelegate of the intendant of *New France*, by virtue of a special commission, pretended to take possession of all these countries for the *French* king. Next year was built the fort at *Cataraqui*, otherwise *Fort Frontenac*.

Fort Frontenac built.

Two different bodies of men, the last of them considerable, had been transported from *Old France*, though not enough to secure the *Canadians* from the fears of the Five Nations. The *Fort des Sables*, and that at *Niagara*, were built on this occasion. The *Iroquois* however began their usual incursions next year into *Canada*, spreading

spreading every where such terror and desolation, that the *French* governor, in a letter to the Marquis de Seignelay, says that nothing but the extraordinary providence of the Almighty could possibly have saved *Canada* from destruction. I find that the whole force which *Canada* was capable of raising this year, was only eight hundred men, besides the regulars, of whom they made but small account, as they were utterly unacquainted with the *Indian* manner of fighting, which consisted in annoying the enemy, whilst they secured themselves from their shot, by skulking behind trees and thickets. Their missionaries, however, did what all the *French* in *North America* could never have effected, by disarming the fury of the Five Nations.

Iroquois is facilitated by missionaries.

The revolution happening in the mean time, war was declared against *France*, where a design was formed to begin hostilities in *America* with the conquest of *New York*. For this effect Count *Frontenac* was made governor general of *Canada*, the projects then in agitation, and the state of affairs in that country, requiring at their head a person of experience and resolution, acquainted with the places, and fit to transact matters with the *Indians*. His instructions related to the driving the *English* from *Hudson's Bay* and *Acadia*, but chiefly to the enterprise against *New York*. This plan, otherwise in all appearance too well digested to have failed, was however disconcerted by two things, which it is impossible to guard against, the inconstancy of the winds, and the unexpected obstacles occurring to those who were to execute the different parts of it, which prevented them from bringing things to bear in good time, so as to act with union.

French design against *New York* militaries.

Hostilities still continued between the *French* and *Iroquois*, though with most advantage on the side of the former, till 1690, when Count *Frontenac* was informed that an *Iroquois* and *English* army was employed at *Lake St Sacrament*, in making preparations to attack *Montreal*; on which advice nothing was omitted to put the place in a good posture of defence. Almost at the same time news was brought, that a fleet of thirty ships had set sail from *Boston*, in order to attack *Quebec* by the river of *St Laurence*, and had been out upwards of six weeks, which caused the more surprise, as the *French* had never so much as heard of the equipment of an armament at that place. The governor had scarce embarked, when he was acquainted that the *English* fleet, to the number of thirty four sail, were already at the *Isle au Coudres*, fifteen leagues from *Quebec*. And some *French* authors are of opinion that had the governor delayed but three days longer his arrival at that capital, he would have found it in the hands of the *English*; or, that, if their fleet had not been detained by contrary winds, or had been better provided with good pilots, that city had certainly been taken before they could have any information at *Montreal* that it was besieged. If this be true, as there is all the reason in the world to believe, we are not to wonder at the encomiums which the *French* writers bestow on Count *Frontenac*; and it is said, with great justice, that never did surprise do greater honour to a general, or cover with more shame those who ought to have made their advantage of it.

English expedition against *Quebec*.

The first thing the governor did, after the confirmation of this news, was to order the Chevalier de Caillieres to hasten to *Quebec* with all possible diligence, with all his troops, except some companies left for the defence of *Montreal*, and to cause all the inhabitants he could possibly get together on his way to follow him. The count then marched without halting to *Quebec*, where he arrived in the night of *October 14*, and learnt that the *English* fleet was at the lower end of the passage of the *Isle of Orleans*. He was entirely satisfied with the dispositions the fort major had made, and the condition in which he had put the place. This officer had got into it a considerable number of inhabitants in the neighbourhood, who testified much courage and resolution, and, though he had no more than five days to repair the fortifications, he had, however, left not one weak place in all the city, which he had not secured against any surprise. The general caused some additional intrenchments to be made where necessary, and repeated the orders which the major had so judiciously given, for a body of militia, which covered *Quebec* towards the road, not to quit their posts, till such time as they should see the enemy make a descent, and attack the body of the place, in which case they should hold themselves in readiness to march upon the first notice. *M. de Longueuil* had been sent, with a body of *Hurons* and *Abenakis Indians*, to observe the motions of the fleet. All the upper banks of the river of *St Laurence* were well lined with troops, the inhabitants shewing

Preparation for its defence.

every where a firm resolution to exert themselves with vigour. Thus the *English* could not send so much as a single boat to shore, without being exposed to the fire of their musquetry. And, lastly, bodies of militia were constantly arriving from *Montreal* and the *Three Rivers*, and all equally resolute with those in the neighbourhood of the capital.

French recon-
noitre the *Eng-
lish* fleet.

On the fifteenth, the Chevalier *de Vaudreuil*, commander of the troops, set out early in the morning to go on the discovery, and to charge the enemy if they should make an attempt to land, with express injunctions from count *Frontenac* not to lose sight of them, and to send him advice continually of all their motions; all which he executed perfectly well. As they expected some ships from *France*, and as it was very reasonably apprehended that they might inadvertently fall into the hands of the enemy, the governor general dispatched, the same day, two canoes well manned through the lesser channel of the *Isle of Orleans*, with orders to sail as far down the river as possible, to meet those ships, and to warn them of their danger in the present conjuncture.

Augment
their fortifica-
tions.

He caused men to work, at the same time, with all expedition on a battery of eight pieces of cannon on the eminence near the citadel, which was finished on the morrow. Hence the fortifications, begun at the palace, on the banks of the river *St Charles*, ascended towards the high town, which they inclosed, and ended at the mountain on the side of *Cape Diamond*. There was also raised a palisade, which reached from the beach to the cloyster of the seminary, where it was terminated by inaccessible rocks, called *the Sailor's leap*, near which was a battery of three guns. A second palisade was also erected above the former, and ended at the same place, in order to cover the musqueteers. In the lower town were two batteries, each of three eighteen pounders, disposed in the intervals of the batteries of the high town. The avenues of the place, not defended by gates, were barricaded with massy beams, and gabions, mounted with patereros. The road which winds from the low to the high town, was cut by three different intrenchments with gabions, and a kind of chevaux de frize. In the course of the siege a second battery was erected at *the Sailor's leap*, and a third at the gate which leads to the river *St Charles*. Lastly, several pieces of cannon were disposed at proper distances round the high town, and particularly on the mount of a windmill, which served for a cavalier.

English fleet
in sight of
Quebec.

On the morning of the sixteenth *Vaudreuil* returned to *Quebec*, and reported that he had left the *English* fleet three leagues from the city, at anchor, in a place called *the withered tree*, and indeed it was plainly seen from the heights after day light. It consisted of thirty four sail, of different force and dimensions, and, according to report, had on board three thousand land forces. In advancing up the stream, the smaller vessels stretched along the *Beaupré* shore, between the *isle of Orleans* and the *Lesser River*, the others keeping the middle of the channel; and about ten the whole fleet came to an anchor.

Admiral sum-
mons the
place.

Immediately a boat was dispatched from the fleet, carrying a white flag, and a trumpet, who was met half way, blind-folded, and in that manner conducted into the fort. He was then, after being uncovered, led into a magnificent apartment, in which were assembled the governor general, the bishop, and the intendant, surrounded by a crowd of officers, which threw the messenger into some confusion, occasioned, according to the *French* writers, not only by the sight of so brilliant a company, but also on seeing a place in so warlike a posture, which, from the report of some prisoners, had been represented, but a few days before, as without either general, troops, or fortifications; so that Brigadier *Phipps* made no doubt of sleeping in *Quebec* the night after casting anchor before it, as he expressed himself to his men with abundance of presumption. But it ought to be observed that the trumpet, before he arrived at the place where the governor was, had been carried quite round the place, where every one was thoroughly busy, and hard at work, to make him conceive the higher opinion of its strength. The summons, requiring the surrender of the place, was delivered in the name of their majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

Answer of the
officers and
governor.

The answer was in terms testifying the highest indignation; and some of the company were for treating the bearer of the summons as the messenger of a pirate, not only, said they, on account of *Phipps's* being in arms against his lawful sovereign, meaning *James II.* but also as that general had violated the capitulation of *Port Royal*,

Royal, which he had lately taken, by retaining prisoners some of the garrison, contrary to his faith given, and to the law of nations. The answer of Count Frontenac, though more moderate, was no less smart. And turning to the trumpet, who had given him an hour to make his answer, "I will not, said he, cause you to wait long for my answer, which is this: "I know not any king of the name of William; but I know the Prince of Orange to be an usurper, who has violated the most sacred rights, both of blood and of religion, by dethroning the king his father-in-law. I know no other lawful sovereign in England, but James II. Sir William Phipps ought not to be surprised at the hostilities committed by the French and their allies; as he ought to have known that the king my master, having received the king of England under his protection, would order me in consequence to make war on a nation who have rebelled against their lawful sovereign. Could he think, had he even offered me more tolerable terms (those were to surrender at discretion) that I could have been capable of accepting them? Could he believe that so many brave men would have consented to them, and advise me to trust the word of a man who has violated the capitulation made with the governor of Acadia; who is wanting in point of fidelity to his lawful prince; who has forgotten all his almost numberless favours, to follow the cause of a foreigner, who, whilst he would persuade the world that he has no other view than to become the deliverer of England, and the Defender of the Faith, has destroyed the laws and privileges of the kingdom, and overturned the Church of England; and which I make no doubt but the divine justice, which Phipps calls to witness, will one day punish with signal severity?" The trumpet desiring to have this answer in writing, Frontenac said, "I am going to send your master my answer from the mouths of my cannon; he shall know what it is to send a man of honour such a summons."

When he had done speaking, he made a signal for blind folding the trumpet, who was instantly dismissed, and the moment he had got on board began the firing from one of the batteries of the lower town; so that the English general saw himself obliged to besiege a place in form, which, he concluded, would not have had the boldness to make any defence. What might be looked upon as an ill omen, the first shot struck down the admiral's flag, which being born along by the tide, some Canadians threw themselves into the river, and seized it, in spite of a continual fire made upon them from the fleet, and carried it in triumph to the cathedral, where, if I am rightly informed, it still remains.

The trumpet dismissed.

An ill omen.

The chief object of the governor was to draw the English to cross the river St Charles, in hopes of attacking the place on the only side which offered any probability of success. The reason of his policy was, that as this river was only fordable at low water, when once the English troops had passed it, they might be engaged in order of battle without any great hazard; and, should they be obliged to give ground, they could never be able to rally, being under a necessity of marching half a league up to the knees in mud, before they could get to their boats. Should the French, on the other hand, cross the river to attack the enemy, they must, as the governor well saw, be exposed to the same disadvantage and hazard. The former reasoning might also be retorted, by supposing that, had the French been beaten under their walls, and on the side next the city, the conquerors might have entered it pell mell with the runaways. The general, however, was so confident of the bravery of his troops, that he never apprehended this inconvenience; besides, as he did not intend to leave the place intirely without troops, he would always be able to support his own people, and make good his retreat under any disadvantages. What happened soon after, justified his opinion.

Stratagem of the French general.

On the eighteenth, at noon, the boats with about fifteen hundred men rowed to the shore, and landed them without opposition; on which Count Frontenac sent a detachment of the militia, to the number of about three hundred, to harass them. As the ground that way is swampy and boggy, and intangled with shrubs and underwood, and rough with rocks, as the tide was out, and they must march through the mud to get at the enemy, they could only attack them by platoons, and by way of skirmishing: The same inconveniences lay in the way of the English. Both sides therefore were obliged to fight in the Indian manner, which, as I am told, not a little embarrassed the troops which had landed, the French shifting and skulking from rock to rock in places which were perfectly familiar to them, and mightily galling the English,

English land and skirmish.

who, as they were drawn up in battallions, could not stir from their place, whilst the other, who took aim, and scarce ever missed, could not be seen. As this kind of fighting had put the troops of the invaders in some disorder, it was judged proper to beat the retreat for that day. The *French*, however, were not without some loss of men, amongst whom were some persons of considerable note.

Fleet cannonades *Quebec*.

The same evening the four largest ships in the navy came to an anchor before the city. The rear-admiral, with the blue flag, was stationed on the left, opposite to the *Sailor's leap*, the admiral to the right of him, and the vice-admiral somewhat lower, while the fourth, with the flag of admiral in chief, advanced towards *Cape Diamond*. On this a great fire ensued on both sides, the fleet directing their cannon chiefly against the high town, but with little damage. About eight o'clock at night the fire ceased, and began again the next morning, though with less briskness on the part of the fleet. Some time after the ship of the rear-admiral had been so damaged by the batteries at the *Sailor's leap*, and the battery under it in the lower town towards the left, that she was obliged to withdraw. The admiral was not long behind her, having received several shot under water, and above twenty in her hull, her rigging cut to pieces, her main-mast almost carried away, and many of her people killed or wounded. The two other ships held out some time after, but at noon they gave over firing, and at five in the evening drew off to take shelter out of the reach of the guns of the fort in the bay of *Mothers*, behind *Cape Diamond*. They did not, however, remain long in that station, where they were exposed to the fire of the musquetry, which killed them a great many men, and obliged them to withdraw to a greater distance.

Actions of the land forces.

The *English* troops remained quiet in their camp till the twentieth, the *French* ceasing to molest them, when, after beating to arms, and remaining in order of battle till two in the afternoon, they made some motions as if they would march towards the city, with platoons on their wings, and *Indians* in their van. They coasted for some time the River *St Charles* in good order, when they were opposed by a body of volunteers, who cut them short, and skirmished as they had done on the first attack. The fire of these troops made them retire to a wood, whence they fired very briskly, and the *French* retired in good order, but with the loss of some of their best officers. During this action Count *Frontenac* advanced at the head of three battallions of his troops, and drew them up on the banks of the lesser river, determining to cross it, if the volunteers had been too much pressed. The *English* received five field pieces from on board the ships in the night following, and the next day they moved forwards with a design to batter the city in breach, but were met by several bodies of militia and volunteers, who, after feigned retreats in order to draw them into ambuscades, which they had laid for them, at last took post in a house which had been fortified with palisades, and was advantageously seated on an eminence, where they made so brisk a fire, that the army was obliged to halt. The *English* then set about battering the house with their artillery; but their cannon, it seems, were so ill served, that it did little or no damage. They continued, however, firing till night, both with artillery and small arms, during which time they were answered by the battery which commanded the lesser river. After this they retired, and, as we are told, with considerable loss, and at first in tolerable good order, till the great bell of the cathedral ringing as if it had been the signal for all the troops in the place to fall out upon them, they were seized with a panic, and made what haste they could to regain their camp. Whilst these things passed on the side of the little river, two men of war that were above *Quebec* fell down with the tide to their old station, and as they passed the city exchanged some shot with it.

Decamp.

On the night of the twenty first the *English* made use of the extreme darkness, and the rain which then fell to break up their camp, and get on board, leaving their cannon behind them.

Causes of a dis-appoint-ment defeat- ing the enter-prise.

What probably disconcerted the *English* general, was his seeing all the troops of the colony assembled at *Quebec*, whereas he had greatly depended on a strong diversion in his favour on the side of *Montreal*. He had some grounds for this expectation, since there was a body of three thousand men, consisting of *English*, *Iroquois*, and *Makingans*, appointed to fall upon the territory of *Montreal*, whilst *Quebec* was besieged by the *English* fleet. There was reason enough to conclude that *Canada*, weakened by its great losses the preceding years, would be forced to yield to two such powerful

powerful efforts, and we may safely say that nothing but providence prevented its falling into the hands of the *English*.

The cause of this disappointment was ascribed to the small pox, which got among the *Makingan Indians*, whilst they were marching to the place of rendezvous; whence the *Iroquois*, disgusted with the delay occasioned by it, and dreading the effects of that fatal distemper, which was almost new to them, left the camp. And their apprehensions were but too well founded, since they lost above three hundred of their people who had contracted the infection, and hence it came to pass that the whole army was dispersed. Another cause is said to be occasioned by the refusal of the *English* to embark on board the canoes of the *Iroquois*, which are made of light materials, as of the bark of trees, for fear of drowning. The *Iroquois* reproached them with cowardice, and refused to have any further dealings with such dastards. The true cause, however, seems rather to be the policy of those *Indians*, Policy of Indians, quasi. who would willingly hold the balance between the two great *European* powers, whom they equally dread, and prevent as much as possible the one from entirely exterminating the other, justly concluding that they themselves must become the next victims to the ambition of the conquerors.

These disappointments, with the failing of a diversion on the side of *Montreal*, Siege of Quebec raised. and the impracticableness of forcing a way to *Quebec* cross the river *St Charles*, made General *Phipps* think of raising the siege, which he did, and set sail, on the evening of the twenty third, having lost in the three actions, according to some accounts, near six hundred of his men, and exhausted all his ammunition of every sort, together with most part of his own fortune.

The year following the *English* of *New York* made preparations for attacking *Montreal*, Montreal fort, situation, and camp. which was now in a condition to defend itself, by the raising of the siege of *Quebec*. This fort stood thirty paces from the river, on a steep rock, situated between two meadows, one of which is cut by a small river within gun shot of the fort, and a little further by a hollow; and between them there is a stream, with a mill on it. On this side, to the left of the fort, the militia were encamped, with some *Indians*, who then happened to be at *Montreal*. The regular troops encamped on the right, and the officers had pitched their tents on a rising ground opposite to them.

About an hour before day break the enemy were discovered, by a centinel, falling in between the first river and the hollow; but after this they had gained the banks of the river, and finding the quarters of the militia unprovided, had driven away the few that remained in it, and taken possession of it. On the alarm made by the centinel, the commander marched at the head of the troops, one part of whom took the way of the beach, and the other that of the meadow, marching round the fort. The battalion commanded by the oldest officer arrived first in sight of the quarter of the militia, and as he suspected all was not well, he halted in order to make what discoveries he could, when he received a discharge of musquetry, in which he was mortally wounded. The same instant the other battalion came up, and fell upon the enemy, who, after a vigorous resistance against superior numbers, made their retreat in good order, with very inconsiderable loss on the part of the *English*, but more on that of the *French* who had the advantage. The former perceiving a small *French* detachment, which followed them pretty close, laid an ambuscade for them, in which every man perished. Grown more confident with this success, they took the same way by which they came, when their scouts discovered the advanced guard of a body of troops coming to the relief of the place; and, concluding they had no more than the handful they saw to deal with, they fell upon them without hesitation. Attacked by the English. There happened to be the trunks of two large trees lying on the ground, behind which the *French* officer, with much sagacity, drew up his men, ordering them to lie flat on their faces till the first fire of the enemy was spent. Then rising up, he formed them into three bodies, and charged the enemy so fiercely, that they were every where obliged to give way. After, however, rallying twice, and returning to the fight, which lasted an hour and half, they were forced to betake themselves to flight in great confusion, leaving six-score dead on the spot, and twice that number wounded, with the loss of colours and baggage. The *French* allow themselves to have had sixty killed, and as many wounded, in this short but sharp action. Repulsed by the French.

Thus was *Canada* rendered powerful and flourishing, in comparison of what it had been but two years ago, through the vigilance, activity and firmness of Count *Frontenac*.

Address of a
deputy from
the *Sioux*.

tenac. There seemed but little cause of apprehending any attempt from *England*, and the incursions of the *Iroquois* rather made the inhabitants uneasy, than did them any real detriment. In the year 1695 arrived a deputy from the *Sioux*, demanding the protection of the governor general, the ceremonial of which is worth relating. Approaching the Count with a very dismal air, and placing both his hands on his knees, he conjured him with tears in his eyes to have compassion on him; adding that whereas all the other nations had their father, yet he for his part had none, being in the condition of a child that had been abandoned and deserted by its parents. Then extending a robe of beaver-skin on the ground, he placed on it two and twenty arrows, and, taking them up one after another, named at each arrow the name of some village, for which he, at the same time, demanded the general's protection. The Count consented; though no care has since been taken to preserve that nation in the *French* interest, and though a great profit might be got from the hides and wool of the buffaloes, with which their vast plains have been already said to abound.

French
scheme of in-
vasion frustra-
ted.

In 1696 the *French* formed a project of invading the provinces of *New England* and *New York*. By the plan of operations, their army was to march from *Montreal*, and take *Albany*, and from thence proceed to *New York*, and, with the assistance of a *French* fleet, to reduce *Boston*, the chief difficulty of which they seemed to place rather in the extreme uncertainty of the junction of all the troops necessary for such an undertaking, the vast expence of time requisite for such a design, and, lastly, the difficulty of carrying provisions for an army on board of canoes, which was looked upon as almost unsurmountable. The fleet designed against *Boston* was to consist of ten ships of the line of battle, one frigate, and two fire ships, commanded by the Marquis de *Normand*, who, after joining with a squadron sitting out at *Rockfort*, under the command of M. de *Magnon*, was to proceed with all diligence to the Bay of *Placentia*, in hopes to be early enough to prevent the *English* from reconquering what they had lost the year before in *Newfoundland*. And if he found them besieging *Placentia*, his orders were to attack them, and, in case of success, to set sail for *Pentagoet* in *Acadia*, and thence to dispatch a vessel to *Quebec*, to hasten the departure of Count *Frontenac*, who was to repair to him with 1500 men. This junction made, and the troops embarked, they were to sail instantly for *Boston*, and, after taking it, to scour all the coast as far as *Pescadore*, ruining all the plantations as high up the country as possible. If this succeeded, they were to attempt *Mawbatts*, if the season permitted, and, after reducing that city, to leave behind the troops of *Canada*, who, in their return home, were to ravage the colony of *New York*. The failure of carrying this vast project into execution Father *Charlevoix* ascribes solely to want of diligence. But an *Englishman* will take occasion, from this bold and mischievous, and, as it is imagined, well laid scheme, to reflect with joy and trembling on the late danger of his colonies from the much more flourishing and formidable state of *Canada* in these later times. But what has he still to expect, if the *French* be suffered to possess and people *Louisiana*, a country larger than *Europe*, situated under the finest climates, and at the back of his plantations? He will see no way to remove his just apprehensions, from the thriving progress of the enemy in those parts, but by the conquest of *Canada*. To this we have now an open door, which the *French* will never be able to shut while we have *Louisbourg* in our hands, the restoration of which has since appeared only justifiable by the necessity of extricating our faithful allies from their difficulties, and procuring them good and honourable terms of peace.

Settlement
of limits.

A peace having been concluded in *Europe*, commissioners were appointed to settle the limits of the territories belonging to the two crowns in *America*, which had been the occasion of much wrangling and bloodshed. According to this settlement, the limits of *Canada*, in which *Acadia* seems to have been comprehended, were assigned at the river of *St George*, situated almost at an equal distance from *Kinibequi* and *Pentagoet*; whereas they had formerly been extended as far as the first of those two places. Nothing was determined with respect to the country of the *Iroquois*, those *Indians* pretending to an absolute independence on either nation. All *Hudson's Bay* was also left in the hands of the *French*, who were in the actual possession of it, as well as of the island of *Cape Breton*, being then of small consequence, and the settlement there being too inconsiderable to give any cause of uneasiness to the *English*; but the war, which broke out soon after between the two crowns, remitted the decision of boundaries to the fate of arms.

M. de

M. de Caillieres succeeding Count Frontenac in the government of Canada, was willing to take advantage of the favourable disposition of the *Iroquois* towards a peace; and, in spite of the opposition of the governor of *New York*, he succeeded so well, that, in 1701, the deputies of the *Guigouins*, *Tsonnontbonins*, *Onnontagues*, *Onneyoutls*, and *Agniers*, the five nations included under the general name of *Iroquois*, in the *British* colonies, and better known by the names of *Senecas*, *Cayuga's*, *Onondagoes*, *Onieda's*, and *Mohawks*, arrived at *Montreal*. They were soon followed by those of the *Indian* nations in the *French* interest, when the *Rat*, who was the orator and chief of the deputation of the *Hurons* of *Michilimakinac*, made the governor a very fine compliment in the name of all the rest.

General assembly of *Indians* in order for peace.

This treaty had been effected by the negociations of the *Sieur de Courtemanche*, and of Father *Angelran*, who had been sent with a commission for that purpose. In their progress, on their arrival at *Michilimakinac*, they found almost all the *Indians* absent at hunting; wherefore, after dispatching messengers to inform them of the cause of their arrival, the Count left his colleague to transact matters with the *Hurons* and *Outawais*, and repaired to the river of *St Joseph*, where he met the *Miamis*, and parties of the *Poutewatamis*, *Sokokis*, *Outagamis*, *Hurons*, and *Mabingan Indians*. Hence he proceeded to the *Illinois*, and, in his return to *Chicagou*, visited the *Oyyatanous*, a nation of the *Miamis*. In *May* following he took a progress to the country of the *Mascoutins*, and, continuing his journey towards *Hudson's Bay*, met several bodies of the *Sakis*, *Otcagras*, *Malbomines*, *Outagamis*, *Poutewatamis*, and *Kikapous*. Thence returning to *Michilimakinac*, he found the negotiation happily concluded by the zeal and address of Father *Angelran*. On the Count's arrival the father set out for *Montreal*, leaving the Count at *Michilimakinac*, where his presence was necessary for removing some scruples that arose with respect to the restitution of prisoners, which those nations had taken from the *Iroquois*, some being desirous of retaining them, in order to treat separately with the cantons of that people, whilst others wanted only to embroil matters. *Courtemanche* had many difficulties to encounter, most of those nations being in arms against the *Iroquois*, and many of them one against another; but he had the good fortune to surmount them all, and at last embarked for *Montreal*, with a fleet of 180 canoes.

Procured by French mediation.

Before the meeting of the general assembly of the *Indians* abovementioned, the governor held private conferences with the deputies apart, though there had been already a preliminary debate, in which the deputies chiefly insisted on lowering the price of commodities, and purchasing all their lesser peltry, beaver skins beginning to grow scarce. At last every thing being settled with the deputies in particular, it remained only to sign the articles, and proclaim the peace.

Difficulties removed.

For the performance of this solemnity a large plain was chosen without the city, surrounded with a double inclosure, at one end of which was erected a canopy for the ladies and principal persons of the place. The troops were drawn up round the lists, and the *Indians*, in number 1300, were drawn up within them in beautiful order. The governor, attended by M. de *Champigny*, the *Chevalier de Vaudreuil*, and the principal officers, placed himself so as to be seen and heard by all the people, and addressing himself to the *Indians* told them, in few words, that he had the year before established a peace between all the nations. But as none of the Northern and Western people, except the *Hurons* and *Outawais*, had been present at the treaty, he had acquainted the others with his desire, that they should send deputies, at whose general assembly he might solemnly take the hatchet out of their hands, and declare to all those who should acknowledge him for their father, that he took upon him to be, for the time to come, the arbiter of all their differences. He therefore advised them to forget all that was past, and trust all their concerns to his management, in which he would take care to see strict justice done. He added, that they had reason to be weary of the war, which had been equally unprofitable to all of them; and that therefore he doubted not to receive their thanks, as soon as they should have tasted the sweets of peace.

French governor's speech to *Indian* deputies.

This speech of the governor, being repeated to the several nations by their interpreters, was answered with general acclamations, and belts, and robes, were at the same time distributed among the chiefs, who rising up one after another, and marching with a grave and solemn pace, clothed in their robes of beaver skins, presented their prisoners to the governor, together with belts, the meaning of which was explained to him. All of them spoke with great politeness, and in a very sensible manner;

Solemn deportment of *Indians*.

but their principal aim was to enforce a belief that they were sacrificing their own interest to the love of peace, and to their great deference to the will of their father, at the same time insinuating how little they had to fear on the part of the *Iroquois*, tho' they had small reason to depend on their sincerity.

Dresses and
speeches.

This ceremony, serious as it was, afforded matter of much merriment to the *French* spectators, many of the *Indian* nations appearing in a very ridiculous dress, which, contrasted with the solemnity of their deportment, excited laughter beyond all suppression. The chief of the *Algonkins*, a tall handsome youth, was dressed like a *Canadian* traveller, with his hair done up with red feathers, which formed a sort of crown resembling a cock's comb. This hero, who had performed some admirable feats against the *Iroquois*, advancing towards the governor, with a noble and unaffected air, said "My father, if my reputation as a councillor is but small, let it be remembered that I have ever made it my maxim to obey thee in all things; and since thou hast settled peace, I bury all my resentment in oblivion". The chief of the *Pouteouatamis* was a sort of bonnet or casquet, made of the skin of a bull's head, the horns hanging over his ears. This personage passed for a man of solid judgment, joined to great sweetness of temper, and a strong affection to the *French*; his speech is said to have been well spoken, and in a very obliging manner. The *Outaganian* orator had his face painted red, and on his head an old scare crow wig, of which he seemed particularly vain, all covered with powder, but shockingly dressed, which gave him an air at once ridiculous and hideous. As he had neither hat nor cap, and was desirous to salute the governor after the *French* manner, he pulled off his peruke, on which the assembly broke out into a peal of laughter, at which he was not in the least disconcerted, but probably took it for applause. He told the general that the reason why he had brought no prisoners was because they had all made their escape, and that his principal hostilities had been committed against the *Sicux*, and not against the *Iroquois*. The *Saulteur* chief had on his head an ornament of feathers, formed into a kind of rays resembling the flowers of the auricula. He said that he had already given his prisoners their liberty, and that he conjured his father to grant him his friendship. The *Iroquois* inhabitants of the colony, and the *Algonkins* spoke last, expressing much zeal for the growth and prosperity of the *French* settlements. Then all the spectators, casting their eyes on the orator of the *Iroquois* cantons, or Five Nations, who had not as yet spoken, he said, in brief, that those he had the honour to represent, would soon convince all the other nations of the wrong they did them by their distrust, and that they would satisfy the most incredulous among them of their fidelity, sincerity, and respect for their common father.

Treaty signed

The treaty was then produced, and signed by 38 *Indian* deputies, after which the great pipe was brought forth. The governor first smoked in it, then the *French* officers of greatest distinction, with all the *Indian* chiefs and deputies in their turn, after which *Te Deum* was sung. Three whole oxen were boiled in their caldrons, and every one was served with his portion, all passing with much order and decency.

Subsequent
transactions.

These transactions were followed by giving audience to the *Upper Indians* and *Iroquois*; the accession of the *Agniers* otherwise *Mohawks* to the treaty; the sending missionaries to the Five Nations at their own request, not to convert but to watch over their proceedings, and to frustrate the negotiations of the *English*; the hostilities of the *English* in the breaking out of the war; their threats against *New France*; the project for settling a mission in *Acadia*; some proceedings of the *Indians* in the *French* colony prejudicial to their interest; the death of *Caillieres* succeeded by *Vaudreuil*; a deputation from the *Tsonnontbonans* or *Cayugas*; and, lastly, an expedition into *New England* by the *Sieur de Beaubassin* at the head of a body of *Abenakis*, with the slaughter of about 300 of that province, which was revenged by an inroad into *Acadia*, the country of those *Indians*; and lastly another surprise of *New Englanders* by the same *Indians*, in which many were killed, and 150 taken prisoners.

Manufactures
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In 1706, the governor of *Canada* proposed to the king's council a permission for the inhabitants to cultivate hemp and flax, and to manufacture them in that country, where not only linens, but even woollen stuffs, were risen to such an advanced price, that the poorer sort were obliged to go half naked. The answer of the minister was, that the king, his master, was extremely pleased to find that his subjects of *Canada* had at last acknowledged their fault in neglecting the cultivation of their lands for the fur trade. And particularly he approved of their design of growing hemp



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A NEW MAP
NOVA SCOTIA,
and
CAPE BRITAIN.

with the adjacent parts of
NEW ENGLAND and CANADA,

Compiled
from a great number of actual Surveys,
and other materials
REGULATED
in many new & improved Operations
with their own as a Guide
with an Explanation.

Scale of the Map

English Miles	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
French Miles	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
League	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Gun Shot	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
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PART OF
NEW FRANCE
OR
KIRKS LAND.

GULF OF
NOVA SCOTIA

called by the FRENCH
THE GULF OF
ST. LAWRENCE

TERRITORY

ACADIA

ARENSAM

ARCAL

ATLANTIC OCEAN



Scale

English Miles

French Miles

League

Gun Shot

Gun Shot

Gun Shot

Gun Shot

Gun Shot



hemp and flax, hoping that in time they might also come to build ships in *Canada*, and those much cheaper than in *Old France*, as well as settling fisheries so advantageous to the nation. Wherefore nothing should be omitted to encourage and assist them, but that it was not for the interest of *Old France* that manufactures should be set up in *America*, though he was not absolutely against suffering such as were of small consequence, for the relief of the poorer inhabitants of the colony. This permission has been since employed to establish manufactures of linen and druggets, which are very advantageous to the country.

Soon after, the *English*, with a body of two thousand men, set about erecting a new fort at the extremity of *Lake Sacrament*, (now *Lake George*) and fortifying a post on *Lake Champlain*, within two days march of the *French* fort at *Chambly*. But they were obliged to desist and decamp, after destroying their works, and losing a great part of their troops by the treachery of the *Iroquois*, who poisoned their water.

Vain attempt of the *English* to too far extend their frontier.

The next thing we find in the histories of *Canada* worthy of notice is the expedition against *Quebec*, in 1712, by an *English* fleet under Sir *Hovenden Walker*, whilst General *Nicholson*, with a considerable body of troops, was to make a diversion on the side of *Montreal*. The miscarriage of this enterprize seems to have been entirely owing to the ill conduct of the *English* admiral, who kept sailing on towards the *Seven Islands*, on the North shore of the River of *St Laurence*, and, through the ignorance of the pilots, was cast away on *Egg Island*, with seven others of his largest vessels, in a sudden squall of wind, in which, besides the loss of his ships, cannon, and other effects, three thousand of his men perished. The land army, after the hearing of this disaster, had nothing more to do but to make their retreat.

Expedition against *Quebec* miscarries.

In the year following, the *English* again menacing *Quebec*, the merchants of that capital made a voluntary present of fifty thousand crowns, to be laid out on additional fortifications.

Quebec stronger.

The negociations for settling the peace of *Utrecht* were not yet concluded, when the governors of *New England* and *New France* received orders from their respective courts to cease hostilities; and *Lewis XIV.* yielded up *Acadia*, *Newfoundland*, and *Hudson's Bay*, together with all his pretensions to the country of the *Iroquois*, or Five Nations, to the crown of *Great Britain*. And as there now remained nothing to *France* in those seas but the island of *Cape Breton*, which they reserved as proper for establishing a fishery, a principal object with the *French* about this time, a description of this important spot of land, on account of its close relation to *Canada*, will not, it is presumed, be altogether unacceptable to the reader, and may very properly be introduced here before we conclude our description and history of the Northern part of *New France*.

Cessions of *France* to *Great Britain*.

C A P E B R E T O N, called by the *French* L'ISLE ROYALE.

Is situated between 45 and 47 degrees of North latitude, and forms the Western coast of the entry of the gulph of *St Laurence*, as the island of *Newfoundland* does that on the Eastern, the distance between them being sixteen leagues. The strait which separates it from *Acadia*, or *New Scotland*, is about five leagues long, and one broad, and is called the gut of *Canso*, or Pass of *Fronsac*. Its length from N. E. to S. W. is not quite fifty leagues, and its greatest breadth from E. to W. not more than thirty three. Its figure is very irregular, being so intersected with lakes and rivers that the two principal parts of it are only joined by an isthmus eight hundred paces broad, which separates the bottom of *Port Thoulouse* from several lakes, called by the general name of *Labrador*. These lakes fall into the sea by two channels of unequal breadth, formed by the island of *Verderonne*, or *de la Bourladerie*, seven leagues in length.

Geography of *Cape Breton*.

The climate of *Cape Breton* is much like that of *Quebec*, and though fogs are much more frequent in the former, there are, however, few complaints of its unwholesomeness. The land is generally unfertile, yet produces trees of all kinds; such as oaks of a prodigious size, pines for masts, with all sorts of timber fit for building. The most common are the oak, cedar, ash, maple, plane tree, and poplar. Fruits, especially apples, legumes, or pulse, wheat, with all other sorts of useful grain, hemp, flax, though in less quantity, are, however, equal in goodness to those produced in *Canada*. It has been remarked that the mountains are capable of culture, even to their tops; that the good lands lie open to the South, and are covered from the North, and North West winds by the mountains which lie towards the gulph of *St Laurence*.

All

Animals.

All sorts of domestic animals, horses, horned cattle, hogs, sheep, deer, and poultry find abundance of provender. Hunting and fishing are alone able to maintain the inhabitants for a considerable part of the year. There are also several rich mines of excellent coal, and those lying high on mountains, and therefore may be wrought at a small expence; there is also found plaster like that dug up near *Paris*. It is affirmed that no part in the world affords greater plenty of cod fish, and, with more conveniences of all sorts for curing them. This island was formerly well stocked with wild game, but it has lately become very scarce, especially the elk. The partridge is of the size of a pheasant, resembling it also very much in the colour of its feathers. Lastly, no place can be better situated for the fishery of the sea wolf, porpoise, and whale, which are found in great plenty in those seas.

Ports.

All its ports are open towards the east, somewhat inclining to the South, within the space of fifty five leagues, beginning with *Porte Dauphine* as far as *Porte Thoulouse*, situated almost at the entrance of the straits, or gut, of *Fronsac*. Every where else you hardly find any anchoring ground, except only for small vessels in the creeks and between the islets. The whole Northern coast is very high, and almost inaccessible; and it is equally difficult to find any landing place on the West, till you come to the straits of *Fronsac*, in your course from which you immediately meet with *Port Thoulouse*, formerly known by the name of *Porte St Peter*, and situated between a sort of gulph, called *Little St Peter*, and the islands of *St Peter*, opposite to the isles *Madame*, otherwise *Maurepas*. From thence returning towards the South East, you discover the Bay of *Gaborous*, the entry whereof, which is about twenty leagues distant from the islands of *St Peter*, is a league in breadth, lying between islands and rocks. All these islands may be approached, and some of them run out with capes a league and half into the sea. The bay is two leagues deep, and the anchorage very good.

Port of *Louisbourg*, and others of *Cape Breton* described.

The harbour of *Louisbourg*, formerly *English Harbour*, is no more than a league distant, and one of the principal ports in all *America*. It is near four leagues in circuit, and has every where from six to seven fathoms water. The anchorage is excellent, and ships may be run ashore on the mud without danger. The entry is no more than two hundred fathoms wide, between two small islands, and is easily known at sea by *Cape Lorembec*, situated near it, towards the North East. Two leagues higher is *Porte de la Baleine*, or *Whales Port*, the entry of which is very difficult on account of some rocks, which lie hid under water when the sea runs high. This harbour is capable of no larger vessels than that of three hundred tun, for want of deeper water, though it be very secure when once entered. Two leagues hence is the Bay of *Panadou* or *Menadou*, the entry of which is about a league in breadth and the bay itself two leagues in depth. Almost opposite is the island of *Scatari*, formerly *Little Cape Breton*, above two leagues in length. The Bay of *Miré* is separated from it only by a very narrow isthmus. Its entry is near two leagues broad, and the bay itself eight in depth. It contracts as you advance within it, and several streams or rivulets discharge themselves into it. Large vessels may sail safely till they are got six leagues within it, where is good anchorage, and shelter from winds. Besides the islands of *Scatari*, there are several lesser, as also rocks, which are never covered, but discernible at a great distance; the largest is called the *Forillon*. The bay of *Morienne* is higher, and separated from *Miré* by *Cap Brulé*, and higher still, is *l'Isle Plate*, or *Flat Island*, otherwise *Isle à Pierre*, that is *à fu sal*, or *Flint-stone Island*, exactly in forty six degrees eight minutes North latitude. There is good shelter amongst all these islands and rocks, and they may also be approached without danger. Thence ascending three leagues further towards the North West, you come to an excellent harbour for small vessels, called *l'Indiane*.

From *l'Indiane* to the Bay of *des Espagnols*, or *Spanish Bay*, are two leagues; this bay has also a very fine harbour. The entry of it does not exceed one thousand paces in breadth, growing broader by degrees. A league from its entrance it divides forming two arms of a competent depth three leagues higher. Both arms make excellent harbours, and might be much improved at a trifling expence. From this bay to the lesser entry of *Labrador* you have two leagues, and to the island which divides the lesser from the larger entry two leagues more. *Labrador* is a gulph of above twenty leagues in length, and from three to four leagues in breadth where broadest. They reckon but a league and half from the great entry of *Labrador* to *Port Dauphin*, or *St Anne*. The anchorage is an open road between

mouth of the harbour, leaving only room for one ship to pass at a time. The port is two leagues in circumference, in which vessels hardly feel the wind, because of the height of the lands and mountains with which it is surrounded, tho' they may ride as close as they please to the shore. All these harbours and ports lie so contiguous to one another, that it would be very easy to cut roads between them, which would be of infinite service to the inhabitants, in facilitating their mutual correspondence, and save them the trouble of fetching a compass by sea in the winter season.

Whilst the *French* remained in possession of *Acadia*, or *New Scotland*, and the Southern coast of *Newfoundland*, they made little account of the island of *Cape Breton*. The *Sieurs Renaudot* were the first who took upon them to recommend it to the attention of the *French* ministry in 1706, on account of its utility to *New France*. For this purpose they transmitted a memorial to court, in which they intimate that since the chief and almost sole view in establishing the colony of *Canada*, at least of those concerned in it as members and proprietors of a company, had been the traffic of furs, principally beaver skins, those interested ought to have reflected and foreseen, that one day this commodity must be in a great measure exhausted, or else too common, and, consequently, far from sufficient for the support of a colony of so much consequence; that the last of these evils, the low price of beaver skins, had actually come to pass, and that those who had got enough to live at ease in *Old France* were, for that very reason, less concerned what became of *New France*. Then they observe that this trade can never employ any considerable number of people, and never can suffice alone to maintain or enrich a whole colony; and that, even supposing the consumption of those commodities certain, the evil last mentioned could only be avoided by running into the first; for want of making these reflexions, the inhabitants of *New France* had almost entirely addicted themselves to this commerce, never considering the impossibility of finding a general sale for beaver, as they might undoubtedly for cod and other fish; that they had been so accustomed to long and fatiguing journeys, and to a life of wandering and strolling through forests and woods, and crossing of lakes, that tho' the value of beaver was sunk so low as not to be worth their pains, they could not yet, without great difficulty, be brought to subject themselves to any more profitable but more confined way of life.

Memorial of the *Sieurs Renaudot*.

Insufficiency of the fur trade.

The *English*, on the contrary, say they, have observed quite another method, and, instead of amusing themselves with long and uncertain peregrinations, have made it their business to cultivate their lands, have established manufactures, erected glass-works, discovered iron mines, followed ship-building, and have never regarded the furriery but as an accessory and not a principal article of commerce.

Industry of the *Engl.*

Indeed necessity has at last opened the eyes of the *Canadians*, and they have been obliged to turn their hands to cultivate hemp and flax, to making of sails, and of some ordinary druggets of the wool of their old cloaths mixed with thread; but the long habit of doing of nothing had not as yet suffered them to overcome their lazy indolence. That if all of them had corn and cattle sufficient for their subsistence, yet still multitudes want cloaths, and are under a necessity of passing very long and sharp winters with no other than such as are made of doeskins.

Canadians forced upon agriculture and manufactures.

The king is at a yearly expence of a hundred thousand crowns towards the support of this colony; the skins, or furs, amount to about two hundred and fourscore thousand livres; oils and other inferior articles return about twenty thousand livres; the pensions which lie upon the royal treasury, what the king allows private persons, and the revenues of the bishop and seminaries, paid by *Old France*, amount to fifty thousand livres more; making in all six hundred and fifty thousand livres, [reckoning three lives to the crown] which is the whole of the value or stock in trade, of the whole country. A very inconsiderable matter indeed, with respect to the subsistence of five and twenty thousand souls, and providing them also with all necessaries from the mother country.

Stock in trade of *Canada*.

Formerly the king bestowed a much greater sum on the colony, the returns then amounted to near a million in beaver skins, and at a time when that province was not near so populous; but as she was never able to make returns equal to her receipts from *Europe*, her credit diminished, and at last sunk entirely, so that no goods were to be had in *France*, till the merchants had paid for them with ready money, or by a considerable consignment. Thus, as well as by the fall of the price of beaver skins, all the money of *Canada* was drained into *France*; whence it has been affirmed that at

Colony drained of money.

certain times there were not a thousand crowns in specie to be found in the whole colony.

Thus far they proceed in representing the state of affairs in *Canada*. They next take the liberty to offer proposals to render the colony more flourishing, and to prevent or remedy all future complaints.

Canada improved by Cape Breton.

Canada has, say they, sufficient commodities to drive on a very lucrative commerce, such as salt flesh, masts, deal boards, side-planks, small and great timber for shipping, pitch, tar, whale oil, and oil of porpoises and sea-wolves, codfish, hemp, flax, copper and iron. All that is necessary to be done, is to find a market for the consumption of these commodities, and to lower the price of labour, and of the commodities of *Old France*. *Cape Breton* was therefore judged the properest place for a mart, or staple, between *France* and *Canada*, for carrying on the mutual commerce of both countries, as well as for a nursery of seamen, it being the most advantageously situated, and even absolutely necessary for the cod and whale fishery, as well in the gulf of *St Laurence*, as else where in the neighbouring seas.

Island convenient for smuggling.

Such was the substance of the memorial and of the proposals it offers. But there was another advantage which the *French* promised themselves from settling *Cape Breton*, resulting from its most commodious situation for smuggling brandies, wines, linen, silks, and other *French* commodities into the *English* colonies, not only of *North America*, but also of their islands, which must be a considerable diminution of the cash, and detriment to the manufactures, of *Great Britain*. The island is also considerable with respect to the value of its native produce, as coals, plaster, codfish, oils, timber and lumber, as well for serving *France* as their islands in the *West Indies*; and as a convenient shelter for ships in distress, and a refuge under pursuit of an enemy.

Choice of Louisbourg harbour, and site of the city

On settling this island, which the *French* had reserved to themselves by the peace of *Utrecht*, after they had renounced all claims to *Acadia* and *Newfoundland*, the first thing under deliberation was to make choice of a harbour on which to build a city. The opinions were a long time divided betwixt *English Harbour* and *Port St Anne*. For the former were urged the vast quantities of cod which frequented it, and might be conveniently caught from *April* to the end of *December*. But this argument in its favour seemed counterbalanced by the want of a beach, or convenient shore, for any great number of fishing-vessels, the barrenness of the country round it, and the immense sums it must cost to fortify it. They who were for the harbour of *St Anne*, besides the shelter it affords to ships from the height of its banks and the neighbouring mountains, and the easy access of all sorts of vessels near the beach, added, that it might be fortified at a trifling expence, since as much work might be done here for two thousand livres, as at *English Harbour* for two hundred thousand, because it afforded all sorts of materials proper for building and fortifying a great city. Besides the beach was as large as that of *Placentia*, and no less the quantity of fish. To those advantages might be added the vast variety of timber, such as maple, beech, cherry-trees, and, above all, oaks for ship-building, and masts, marble in great quantity, the lands excellent, especially those of the greater and lesser *Labrador*, which are also capable of maintaining a great number of inhabitants; and that it is no more than four leagues from *Spanish Bay*, an excellent harbour, the adjacent lands of a rich soil, and producing much timber fit for ship-building. There was, however, one main and overbalancing inconvenience attending *St Anne's Harbour*, and that is, the difficulty of getting into it, which, after much wavering between the two, gave at last the preference to *English Harbour*, since named *Louisbourg*, on account of its easy access.

We think ourselves obliged, before we conclude our account of this important spot of earth, to give an historical relation of the several revolutions it has of late years undergone, which the reader will find in the following order.

Cape Breton ceded to France.

Cape Breton, and the other islands in the bay of *St Laurence*, which, together with *Nova Scotia*, had been reduced by the *English* in 1710, were, by the peace of *Utrecht*, given to the *French* in exchange for *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, and all other right and title to that island, with a reserve, however, of liberty, for the *French* and *Spaniards* to catch and cure fish in its Northern harbours. By the same treaty, *Nova Scotia*, called by the *French* *Acadia*, whose undetermined bounds, together with other claims, unsettled by that and other succeeding negotiations, have given occasion

to the present war, were left in possession of the *English*. While this peace was under debate at the *English* board of trade and plantations, and the importance of *Cape Breton* was strongly urged, *A. M—re*, one of the commissioners, took up the matter short with a decisive question in favour of his good friends, saying, “And what shall the *French* then have nothing?”

In 1717 the *French* of *Canada*, alarmed at the advancement of the *English* settlements towards the North of *New England*, solicited the *Abenakis* Indians, by Father *Ralle*, their Jesuit missionary at *Kenebec*, to claim some lands occupied by the new settlers. Influenced by his persuasions, and assuring them that these lands were given by God, unalienably, to the *Indians* and their seed for ever, they began to murmur, and, after some time, gave the *English* formal warning to leave the lands within a set time. When that term was expired, they began their depredations by destroying cattle and other stock. However the small pox, which the *Indians*, with good reason, dread, prevailing in *New England*, and the governor of *Canada*’s expectations of particular instructions concerning the affair from *France*, prevented a declared rupture. In 1721 *M. Croizes* from *Canada*, *M. St Casien* from *Penobscot*, *Rolle* and *de la Chasse*, *French* missionaries, with about three hundred *Indians*, made a general appearance at *Arrowick*, an island of *Sagadahock*, threatening, that if the *English* did not remove from the claimed *Indian* lands in three weeks, they would kill the people, burn their houses, and destroy their cattle. Accordingly, at *Merrymeeting* bay on *Kenebec* river, *June* 13, 1722, the *Indians* made a beginning, and took several captives. *July* 5, 1722, the governor of *Massachusetts Bay* proclaimed the *Indians* enemies and rebels, and ordered 100*l.* per scalp to volunteers fitted out at their own charge, and afterwards 4*s.* per day besides. The most considerable action against them was at *Noridgwoag* by *Kenebec* river, *August* 12, 1724. Their fighting men being just returned from scouting, *Capt. Harman*, with 200 men in 17 whale boats went up the river and surprised them, bringing off 26 *Indian* scalps, and that of Father *Ralle*; the killed and wounded amounted to eighty. On the other hand, *Captain Lovel*, a volunteer, who had done great service, was intercepted in his way from *Ossipi* pond to *Pigocket*, by a party of about 70 *Indians*, and killed with 14 of his men volunteers out of 44, besides many wounded. *November* 17, 1723, arrived in *Boston* a captain and lieutenant of marines, with a message from the governor of *Canada*. And in *January*, 1725, two colonels and a gentleman were sent from *New England* with a message to expostulate with the government of *Canada*, concerning their inviting and assisting the rebellious *Indians*. After much skirmishing and blood shed, the *Indians* begged and obtained a cessation of arms, *December* 15, 1725, and in *May* following, a peace was concluded, by which the *Indians* of *Noridgwoag*, *Penobscot*, *St John’s*, and *Cape Sables*, who signed the treaty, were secured in the possession of all their lands not hitherto conveyed, with the privilege of hunting, fowling, and fishing, as formerly.

In 1744, the war declared several years before between *England* and *Spain*, after long misunderstanding, and some previous acts of hostility, drew on another of *England* with *France*, which appeared to have taken *Spain* under her protection. *France* proclaimed war *March* 26, N. S. and *England* *April* 2; but at *Boston*, in *New England*, war was not proclaimed till *June* 13. On *May* 24, *Du Vivier*, a *French* officer, who had early intelligence, with a few armed small vessels, and about 900 regular troops and militia from *Louisbourg* takes *Canso* in *Nova Scotia* without resistance, and carries the garrison and inhabitants to that fortress. After this he blockaded *Annapolis* for several weeks, but on the arrival of succours from *New England* retired to *Minas*, a town in the heart of that country, peopled by the *French* in subjection to the *English*, but disposed, on all occasions, to favour the attempts of their countrymen.

On *February* 5, 1745, N. S. at an assembly of the representatives of *Massachusetts Bay*, the most powerful and leading of the four provinces of *New England*,* it was concluded, by the majority of one vote, that, considering the imminent danger and annoyance to his majesty’s Northern colonies, in time of war, from the neighbouring strong and most commodiously situated *French* harbour and garrison of *Louisbourg*, an attempt should be made to reduce that fortress. The governor of *New England* at that time was *Mr Shirley*, a man of the law, of great abilities and merit, and intimately acquainted with *Colonel Pepperell*, chief officer of the militia, one of the lar-

Wars between
the *English*
and *Indians*.

War declared
between
France and
England.

Siege and
conquest of
Louisbourg
in 1745.

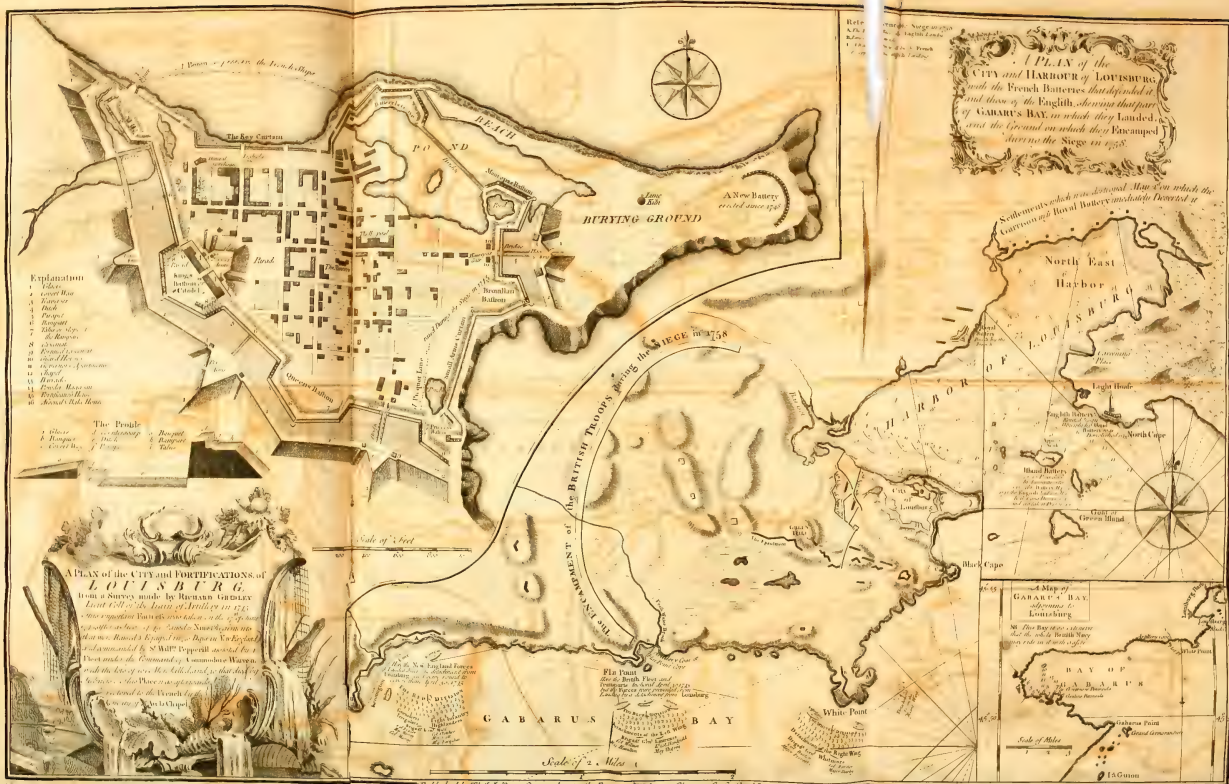
* The other provinces are *Connecticut*, *New Hampshire*, and *Rhode Island*.

gest traders in *Boston*, and universally beloved for his integrity and affability. In confidence of his friendship and extensive interest, the governor proposes to him the command of the expedition. The colonel, after much hesitation, and long declining the offer, as requiring a person of great military knowledge, at last yields to the instances of the governor, and intreaties of his friends, and accepted the charge. Wherefore, on *February* 13, enlistments began for volunteers, and such was the influence of the popular affection and respect to the general, that the levies soon amounted to 3600 effective men. At the end of *March* the fleet sailed with these forces to *Conso*, where it remained three weeks, because the shore of *Cape Breton* was all that time inaccessible through ice. *May* 10, the fleet proceeded from *Conso*, and next day anchored at *Chapeau Rouge* or *Gaborouse Bay*, a little S. of *Louisbourg*, where the troops repulsed the *French*, who opposed their landing, with the loss of eight killed and 20 prisoners, without losing a man. A detachment burnt *St Peter's*, a small *French* settlement. A day or two after a battery of some few small cannon, and three mortars of 13, 11, and 9 inches, was erected on the green hill, at 1550 yards distance from the king's bastion, called the citadel. *May* 13, 4000 men marched, under covert of the hills, to North East harbour, and burnt the store-houses and fish-stages, on which the troops on the grand battery retired into the town to strengthen the garrison, after nailing their cannon, in number about 30, of 36 and 42 pound balls, which were soon drilled, and served against the place. The besiegers dragged their heavy cannon upon sledges over morasses, impracticable by horses or oxen. No regular approaches were made by trenches carried on by parallels and zigzags, but the town was bombarded and battered at random, by which the houses were much damaged, and the West side of the citadel, with its adjoining flank and curtain, was greatly defaced, but no practicable breach made. *May* 18, a battery was erected at 900 yards distance, and the town was summoned. Next day the besieged made an insignificant sally. A body of *French Indians* did execution on a party of stragglers. On the 27th, 100 men in boats landed in the night, near the Light House point, to surprise those erecting a battery to play upon that in the island, but were timely discovered, and pursued to the woods, where they were joined by some *Indians*, and had several skirmishes with the outguards of the besiegers. On the 28th, a battery was advanced to 250 yards distance from the West gate. On the 30th the *Vigilante*, a *French* ship of 64 guns for *Louisbourg*, with men and stores, was taken by Commodore *Warren*, who, with the *Superbe* of 60 guns, and the *Lanceston* and *Mermaid* of 40, covered the siege by sea, and was afterwards reinforced by two ships of 60 guns, one of fifty, and three of forty. On the 31st, was erected, on the further side of a creek, a battery of five 42 pounders, called *Tidcomb's* battery, to play upon the circular battery and magazine. *June* 5, about 500 men in whale boats made an attempt on the island battery where was bad landing, 30 cannon 28 pounders, and 180 men in garrison, and were repulsed with the loss of 60 men killed and wounded, and 116 taken prisoners. *June* 23, the *Canterbury* and *Sunderland* of 60 guns each arriving, it was resolved with these and the rest there before, consisting of one 64, two 60, one 50, and three 40 gun ships, to storm the town the 29th by sea, while the forces from the camp made an attack by way of diversion on the land, though the ditch was 80 feet wide, the rampart eighty feet high, and the scaling ladders 10 feet too short. But the garrison, composed of 600 regulars, with about, 300 militia, perceiving the preparations, thought it best to capitulate on the 28th, and were allowed the honours of war, not to serve for twelve months, and to be transported to *France* at the charge of *England*. The *French* had expended two millions of livres in fortifying the place, and it had when taken, cannon mounted on the town walls 64, and on the grand and island batteries as before mentioned, and no want of ammunition and stores. The loss of the besiegers did not exceed 150 men.

This expedition resulted greatly, and almost solely, to the honour of the people of *New England*. "When I reflect, says a writer of that time, on the sagacity and bravery of Mr *Pepperell* and of the *New English* engineer who left his shop-board, and the intrepidity of the rest of the *New Englishmen* in this undertaking; when I consider the coolness and bravery with which they marched to action, and their return from victory to their several occupations, I form in my mind the image of the ancient *Romans* leaving the plough for the field of battle, and retiring after their conquests to the plow again." And a *French* officer observed that in all history he had never met with such a bold instance as of 4300 raw undisciplined men laying siege

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to so strong and well fortified a city, with such a garrison, batteries, &c. as he thought might have held out against an army of 30,000 men; that he never heard of such intrepidity in men, who regarded neither fire nor bombs: was quite surprised to see batteries raised in a night's time, particularly the saline battery, within twenty five rods of the city wall, to which guns of forty two pounders were dragged by the besiegers two miles through a very rough road.

The news of this success was received with great rejoicings in England, and the conquest was thought so important, that at a court of aldermen of London it was moved by aldermen R--n that it should be an instruction to the committee for drawing up an address of congratulation to desire his majesty that he would most graciously be pleased not to suffer it to be given up by a general peace. But to this it was objected by Sir J--n B--d that it was quite improper to the ministry, and more unjust still to tie them down in making a peace. At last it was agreed in their address, after grateful returns to heaven for the conquest of *Cape Breton*, as securing to his majesty's subjects a free and uninterrupted trade to *America*, and protecting them from the insults of a dangerous and ravenous enemy, to express their minds in the following most respectful and unexceptionable clause, *And we entirely rely on your royal patronage and protection to secure to your kingdoms the perpetual enjoyment of this valuable acquisition.*

Debate and clause in a congratulatory address.

The place however was, with infinite regret, especially of the *English* Northern colonies, restored to the *French* by the Vth article of the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* in 1748, by which it was provided that all conquests made during the war, should be reciprocally restored; and by the IXth, two *English* noblemen of the first distinction was sent to *France* as hostages with certain advice of their evacuations. In vain had the troops of the colonies which had been levied by order of the secretary of state, kept the field all the next summer of 1746, in expectation of a fleet and army for the reduction of *Canada*, which they were made to hope. Very probably the *English* ministry might, upon deliberation, consider such an expedition, besides the hazard, of no benefit to the common cause, since, if it succeeded, they would be under a necessity of restoring such conquests for the same reason as they did *Louisbourg*, in exchange for the *Austrian Netherlands* and *Madras*. Wherefore orders were received in October 1747 for disbanding the troops of the colonies, and the *English* navy and land forces made an unsuccessful attempt upon Port *L'orient*. We pass over slightly some intermediate events of less consequence, as some fruitless attempts of the *French* upon *Annapolis*; the surprise of a party of *New English* by a body of *French* and *Indians* in *Minas*, through the treachery, as it was said, of the *French* inhabitants, with the loss of Colonel *Noble* and many other private men; the expedition of the *French* admiral *d'Arville*, with a strong squadron against *Nova Scotia*, which, through sickness and other disappointments, proved abortive; and the miscarriage of another *French* squadron destined for *Nova Scotia* and *Canada*, which was intercepted by the admirals *Anson* and *Warren*, May 3, 1747; just to mention the six other men of war taken by Admiral *Hawke* out of a squadron of eight, on October 14, of the same year.

In 1755, the hostilities committed the year before by the *French* near the *Ohio*, made the preparation of war on each side quite necessary, though as yet without a declaration, wherefore in consequence of advice that a *French* fleet was sailed with men and stores for *Canada*, Admiral *Boscawen* was sent with a squadron to intercept them. He came up with them the 10th of June, and after some resistance took the *Alcide* of sixty four guns and four hundred and eighty men, and the *Lys* pierced for sixty five guns, but mounted only twenty two, and carrying eight companies of land forces, both separated from the fleet by a fog, under favour of which the rest escaped.

On September 6, orders were issued by the *British* court to all the fleets, squadrons, and single ships then out, to make reprisals of *French* ships. On May 17, 1756, *England* declared war against *France*, alledging for motives the encroachment of the *French*, particularly in *Nova Scotia*, the depositing the *English* of a fort on the *Ohio*, in April 1754, the reparation of *Dunkirk*, and the invasion of *Minorca*. This was soon followed by the *French* king's declaration, in which he labours hard to prove *England* the aggressor.

In 1757 it was resolved to give a decisive blow, and the reduction of *Cape Breton* was proposed as the first step, and most likely to produce either an honourable peace, or the total reduction of *Canada*. The Earl of *Loudoun* was appointed Captain General

of the *American* forces, who, after having made proper conveniences at *Halifax*, for the recovery of the sick and wounded men, in case the attack of *Louisbourg* should take place, on *July 9*, Admiral *Holbourn* arrived with the forces from *England*, and now there was a glorious appearance at *Halifax*; for the whole armament was computed at eleven thousand, effective land forces, seventeen ships of the line, fourteen frigates and sloops, two bomb vessels, and one fire ship, besides about one hundred and eighty transports, with three general officer and two admirals.

The land forces were divided into three brigades under Majors General *Abercrombie*, *Hopson*, and Lord *Charles Hay*, and since it would be unjustifiable to carry the forces against *Louisbourg* without proper intelligence of the enemy's strength, and whether a descent was practicable or not, the Captain General, in order to enure the men, exercised them in sham fights and mock sieges. But it seems these measures were condemned by some "as keeping the courage of the soldiers at bay, and expending the nation's wealth in making sham fights, and planting cabbages when they ought to have been attacking or fighting the enemy of their king and country in reality." A council being called *July 31*, and the tendency of such public reflections on the conduct of affairs well considered, it was thought fit to order Lord *Charles Hay* to whom they were ascribed under arrest. However on *August* the first and second the troops embarked, and orders were given to rendezvous at *Gabarus* bay, two leagues West of *Louisbourg*. But on the fourth was brought in a *French* prize schooner, on board of which were letters directed to *Old France*, with an account of the arrival of a large fleet, and that there were then in the harbour seventeen ships of the line and twelve frigates, with four thousand regulars, besides three thousand men belonging to the garrison. A council of war being called, the former orders were immediately countermanded, all the sloop ships were sent to *St George's* island to unload; *Blakeney's*, *Murray's*, and *Kennedy's* regiments were ordered to the bay of *Fundy* under the command of governor *Lawrence*; all the rest had orders to return to *New York*, except the first and second battalion of *Royal Scots*, which, with *Bragg's* regiment, were left at *Halifax*. The Earl of *Loudoun* failed with the rest of the troops from *Halifax* on *August 16*, and receiving on his passage the unwelcome news of the loss of fort *William Henry*, arrived on the thirtieth at *New York*, where the men were immediately put on board small vessels, and sent up to *Albany*. Admiral *Holbourn* failed to block up the harbour of *Louisbourg*, in hopes that as the season was approaching when the *French* fleet would be obliged to return home, he should be able to give a good account of them. He remained off *Louisbourg* till *September 24*, when his fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, with the loss of the *Tilbury* of sixty guns, and most of her men.

Thus ended this unfortunate campaign to the *English* in *North America*, not without the repentment of some great persons against the commanders for not attempting a descent on *Cape Breton*. But it ought to be considered, that, besides the strong garrison at *Louisbourg*, the naval force was not only at best but little superior to the *French*, as indisputably appeared afterwards by the arrival of seventeen ships of the line, though indeed with very sickly crews, on *November 25*, from *Louisbourg* at *Brest*, but was also dispatched too late in the year; whereas all hopes of success in an attempt upon *Louisbourg* must depend on attacking it early in the spring before it can receive supplies from *Europe* or *Quebec*. This assertion seems sufficiently justified by the successful sieges of that fortress in 1745 before described, and of 1758 about to be related, both undertaken as early as the season would admit, and with the advantages of numbers by sea and land. To this we might add that the first was unexpected, and the place, in a manner unprovided for defence; in this last the naval force in the harbour, though not one third of what is now considered, was yet sufficient greatly to annoy the men in the trenches, and obstruct the progress. What then could be expected from so formidable an armament but repulse with shame and detriment, and consequences not to be imagined without horror?

In 1758, after extraordinary preparations, which from past experience appeared to be necessary, during the winter, Admiral *Boscawen*, appointed to command in a new expedition against *Cape Breton*, failed too early as *February 19*, with five large ships of war, three frigates, and two fire ships for *North America*. *March 12*, a general embargo was laid on all shipping at *New York*; the Earl of *Loudoun* was superseded in his command by Major General *Abercrombie*, and, on *June* the first arrived at *Portsmouth*. About the latter end of *April* a *French* man of war, two frigates, and two

Conduct of
the com-
manders jus-
tifiable.

Siege and
conquest of
Louisbourg in
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two pinks, with a battalion of foreign volunteers, ammunition, provisions, and stores, arrived at *Louisbourg*. On May 28, Admiral *Boscawen* sailed from *Halifax* with the fleet and troops, and was met by Major General *Amberst*, appointed to the command of the land forces. The whole fleet consisted of one hundred and forty seven sail, and on June 2, came in sight of *Louisbourg*, and anchored in *Gabaron* bay. The French had a chain of posts from point *Noire* to the *Flat Point*, and posted irregulars from thence to the bottom of the bay, and thrown up works at all places where it appeared practicable to land, and some batteries. From the second to the sixth the high wind and surf, or a great swell and fog would not suffer the troops to attempt landing, during which time the French reinforced their posts, added to their works, and cannonaded and threw shells at the ships. On the eighth the troops assembled in the road before day-break in three divisions, and Commodore *Durell* giving his opinion that the troops might land without danger from the surf, the left division began to fire, and was followed by the centre and right. When the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats on the left rowed to the shore under the command of Brigadier General *Wolfe*, whose detachment consisted of the four oldest companies of grenadiers, followed by the light infantry (a company of five hundred and fifty men, chosen as marksmen from the different regiments) commanded by major *Scott*, and the companies of rangers supported by the Highland regiment, and that by the eight remaining companies of grenadiers. The division on the right commanded by Brigadier General *Whitmore*, and composed of the royal regiment and those of *Lascelles*, *Moonckton*, *Forbes*, *Anstruther*, and *Webb*, rowed to the right by the *White Point*, as if intending to land there. The center division, commanded by Brigadier General *Lawrence*, and formed of *Amberst's*, *Hopson's*, *Ottaway's*, *Lawrence's*, and *Warburton's* regiments, made a show at the same time of landing at the *White Cove*. This drew the enemies attention in every part, and prevented their troops, posted along the coast, from joining them on their right. They very wisely saved their ammunition till the boats were near in shore, and then directed the whole fire of their cannon and musquetry upon them. But in spite of this, and the violence of the surf, Brigadier *Wolfe* pursued his point, and landed just at the left of the cove, took post, attacked the enemy, and forced them to retreat. Many boats overset, several broke to pieces, and all the men jumped into the water to get on shore; about one hundred and ten boats were lost in landing the troops and provisions. As soon as the left division was landed, the center and right division rowed also to the left as fast as the boats could fetch them from the ships, and got on shore, which took up a great deal of time. The loss of the English was a captain, four lieutenants, an ensign, four serjeants, a corporal, and forty six men killed, among them twenty four grenadiers of *Amberst's* regiment, eight of whom were shot, and the rest drowned in trying to get ashore. The wounded were five lieutenants, four serjeants, a corporal, and fifty two private men. The French had an officer with an Indian chief, and several others killed; and two captains of grenadiers, two lieutenants, and about seventy men taken, with three twenty four pounders, seven nine pounders, seven six pounders, two mortars, and fourteen swivels, with ammunition, tools, and stores of all kinds. The prisoners gave information that the garrison consisted of five regiments, besides seven hundred Canadians. The ninth and tenth the weather proving bad, and the surf great, only some tents could be got on shore. On the 11th the light six pounders with some artillery stores were landed. On the 12th, on intelligence that the French had destroyed the grand battery, and called in their outposts, Brigadier *Wolfe* was detached with twelve hundred men, four companies of grenadiers, three companies of rangers, and some light infantry round the North East harbour, to the lighthouse point, with an intention to silence the island battery, and attempt to destroy the ships in the harbour; but the enemy had abandoned the lighthouse point, and all the posts on that side the harbour, leaving several cannon rendered useless, with implements, and a great quantity of fish at *Lorembec*. On the 13th the besiegers began a communication from the right to the left, and to erect three redoubts on the most advantageous ground in the front of their camp. The besieged made a sally but were soon repulsed with the loss of five men killed and forty wounded. The 14th, the fleet under Sir *Charles Hardy*, which had appeared the day before, was in the night blown off to sea. The 15th, four more mortars were sent to the lighthouse; and the 16th, being the first fine weather, twelve days provision, and many other things, but no artillery were nor could be yet landed. The 17th the general

neral, with Colonel *Williamson*, Major *Mackellar*, and Col. *Bastide*, chief engineer, reconnoitred the ground, and *Bastide* was determined in his opinion of making approaches by the *Greenbill*, and confining the demolition of the ships in the harbour to the light house batteries; on which eight one inch mortars, and three royals were added to them. The 18th fine weather, the *Indians* took three of the transports men, who had landed at the bottom of *Gabaron* bay contrary to orders; the road for the artillery was pushed on, and three twenty four pounders were got on shore. On the 19th, the *Echo*, a *French* frigate of thirty two guns bound to *Quebec*, was brought in; she had got out on the 13th at night, and informed us that the *Bizarre* frigate had got out the day the troops landed, and the *Comette* frigate since our arrival off the harbour. On the 20th, the island battery, and ships, began to fire at the batteries on the shore, which had begun their fire the night before; the besieged burnt an old ship at the bottom of the harbour. On the 21st, the *French* cannonaded the besiegers, making the road for the artillery, and threw some shot into the left of the camp; an advanced redoubt towards *Greenbill* was thrown up at night. The 22d was employed on the roads, and getting up a block house on the left, by the *Miray* road, to secure the communication with the North East harbour, and lighthouse point, and to hinder any parties from getting into the town. On the 23d the besiegers had on shore twelve twenty four pounders, and six twelve pounders. Colonel *Messervey* and most of his carpenters were taken ill of the small pox, to the very great detriment of the army. Gabions and fascines were landed to make an epaulment on *Greenbill*. On the 24th the besieged played on the lighthouse batteries from the town and shipping; and, from the town, on the advanced redoubt which was finished. On the 25th, the cannonading continued night and day. In the evening the lighthouse batteries silenced the island battery, its own fire helping to break down part of the works; fascines and gabions were forwarded to *Greenbill*; the besieged fired much at the advanced redoubt. On the 26th the garrison sallied, and got up to the block-house not quite finished, with a barrel of pitch to set it on fire, and two of the men got into it; but a detachment was sent out so quick to support the guards that they were forced to a precipitate retreat into the town; three hundred pioneers were ordered to *Greenbill*; Admiral *Boscawen* landed two hundred marines, who took post at *Kemington* cove, which was a great ease to the army; four thirty two pounders, and two twenty four pounders were desired of the admiral (and landed the night of the 27th) for the lighthouse, to keep the island battery in ruins, that Brigadier *Wolfe*, having a proper number of men there intrenched, might with his detachment be able to come round the harbour, bringing his artillery with him, and try to destroy the shipping and advance towards the West gate. On the 27th a brass twenty four pounder was lost in twelve fathom water, by slipping off the catamaran (a kind of raft much used at sea). On the 28th the post at *Greenbill* being covered, a road was begun over the bog by throwing up an epaulment. Colonel *Messervey* and his son both died, and of his company of one hundred and eight carpenters, all lay ill of the small pox except sixteen, who attended the sick.

On the 29th the frigate fired constantly at the epaulment; the working on the road, which cost much labour was pursued. At night the besieged sunk four ships in the harbour; the *Apollo* a two decked one, *la Fidelle* thirty six guns, and *la Chere* and *la Biche* of sixteen guns each, and cut off most of their masts. On the 30th the frigate fired all night at the epaulment, as the men worked in the night-time. On July 1, the besieged sallied out in the morning to get some old pallisades and wood, were pushed in by Brigadier *Wolfe* and Major *Scott's* light infantry with a very brisk fire. The brigadier took post on the hills, from whence it was intended to try to demolish the shipping. The trenches were advanced to the right, and the besieged forced back to *Cape Noire* with a smart fire. On the 2d the epaulment and road went on heavily from the extreme badness of the ground. The besieged continued their cannonading, and threw some shells, skirmishing all day with parties out of the town. On the 3d a great cannonading from the town and shipping on the batteries. Brigadier *Wolfe* was making an advanced work to the right, at six hundred and fifty yards from the covered way, for erecting a battery to destroy the defences of the place. On the 4th a great fog; when there was any gloom of light the cannonading was renewed; five hundred men kept continually making fascines. The 5th very bad weather; the epaulment swallowed up an immense number of fascines, and cost some men, as the frigate cannonaded it incessantly. On the 6th a sloop sailed out of the harbour with
a flag

flag of truce to sir *Charles Hardy*, to carry some things to their wounded officers and prisoners. 7. Very foggy weather, cannonading all day. 8. An attack, intended on some advanced post at *Cape Noir*, did not take place. Col. *Bastide* got a contusion by a musket ball on his boot, which laid him up in the gout. 9. At night the besieged made a sally from *Cape Noir* with 5 picquets, supported by 600 men, upon brig. *Lawrence's* quarters, and surpris'd a company of *Forbes's* grenadiers, commanded by Col. *Dundonald*, who was killed, with one corporal and 3 men. Lieutenant *Tew* was wounded and taken prisoner. Capt. *Bontein* of the engineers was also taken prisoner, 17 others were wounded, and a serjeant and 11 others missing. Major *Murray*, who commanded 3 companies of grenadiers, immediately detached one, which easily repulsed the enemy, who had one captain, chevalier *de Chanvelin*, and 17 men killed, a lieutenant and 4 other, wounded and taken prisoners, besides what they carried away, of whom a captain died immediately. The besieged sent out a flag of truce to bury their dead, which done, the cannonading was renewed. The frigate was to hurt that she hauled close to the shore; the ships fired very much against brigadier *Wolfe's* batteries. 10. The attack at the epaulment went on a little better. 11. A waggoner was carried off by some *Indians* between the blockhouse, and the left of the N. E. harbour. 12. It rained very hard all night, an advanced work to *Greenhill* was made; the waggoner made his escape; the citadel bastion fired very smartly. 13. The besieged threw a number of shells, and worked at *Cape Noir* to keep possession of that post, which was of no consequence; the besiegers perfected their works with all possible speed, had rainy weather. Deserters informed us that a party from *Miray* had got in 3 days ago. 14. Batteries had been traced out the night before for placing twenty 24 pounders, in four divisions, to destroy the defences, and a battery of 7 mortars with some 12 pounders, to ricochet * the works and the town. 15. The besieged tried to throw some shells into the camp, intended against the powder magazine. At 10 at night the lighthouse battery fired some rockets as a signal of ships sailing out of the harbour. Sir *Charles* answered it; but a frigate got out, and *Hardy's* fleet got under sail and went to sea. Before daybreak Capt. *Sutherland*, posted at the end of N. E. harbour, was attacked by 100 men from *Miray*, where they left *M. de Boisbert*, who had on the other side of the water 300 men with boats ready to pass. The grenadiers of *Wolfe's* corps, and all the light infantry were sent to sustain him, but the action was over before they could come up, the general encamped a corps forward. 16. Towards night brigadier *Wolfe* took possession of the hill, in the front of the *Barasoy*, and made a lodgment there; the enemy fired very briskly from the town and shipping. 17. It was resolved to extend the parallel from right to left. 18. All last night the enemy fired musketry from the covered way, and tried to throw shells into the camp. 19. The trenches were relieved by 14 battalions forming 3 brigades; a smart fire from the covert way; the batteries on the left played upon the bastion *Daphine* with great success. 21. One of the ships in the harbour had some powder blown up in her, which made a great explosion, and set her on fire. The flames soon caught the sails of two ships more, and they burnt very fast, while the besiegers kept firing at them to hinder assistance from the town. The 3 burnt ships were the *Entreprenant* of 74 guns, and the *Capricieux* and *Celebre* of 64 guns each. 22. The batteries on the right opened with thirteen 24 pounders, and another of 7 mortars, and fired with great success; the enemy fired very well from the town for some time, and threw shells into the works of the camp; the shells of the besiegers put the citadel in flames. The general ordered col. *Williamson* to confine his fire as much as possible to the defences, sparing the houses. A lieutenant of the *Royal Americans* going his rounds, on an advanced post, lost his way, and was taken prisoner near *Cape Noir*; a battery was begun on the left for four 24 pounders. 23. The cohorts and *French* mortars sent to throw stones into the trenches were used at night. The besiegers fired all sorts of old iron, and stuff they could pick up. Col. *Bastide* was out for the first time since he received the contusion; at night the shells set fire to the barracks of the garrison, and they burned with great violence. 24. The fire of the besiegers was very brisk, and that of the garrison decreased. The admiral sent 400 men to help work at the batteries, and 100 miners to be added to a corps of 100 already established, in order to

* From the French word *Ricochet*, "a skipping or bounding," is to throw a ball where intended, after first grazing and bounding, as a flat stone hurled assant skips on the surface of water, occasioned by a deficient charge of powder, designed for striking an object in that manner.

make quick work. The four gun batteries opened, and another of five was on erection. The *Bienfaisant* fired on the trenches at high water, and the citadel and the bastion Dauphine fired against the five gun battery; but the men firing small arms into the embrasures, beat the besieged off their guns. 25. The miners and workmen went on very well with their approaches to the covered way, tho' they had a continued and very smart fire from it, with grape shot, and all sorts of old iron from the guns of the ramparts. The besiegers kept an incessant fire and ricochet. In the night between the 20th and 21st, the admiral detached the boats of his squadron in two divisions, under Captains *Leforey* and *Balfour* against the *Prudence* of 74 guns, and the *Bienfaisant* of 64 guns, the only remaining *French* ships in the harbour. They succeeded so well as to burn the *Prudence*, it being aground, and to tow off the *Bienfaisant* into the N. E. harbour, with the loss only of 7 men killed, and 9 wounded, though exposed to the fire of the cannon and musketry of the island battery, being favoured by a dark night, and an incessant fire from all the batteries into the works, to keep the enemy's attention to the land. 26. The admiral came on shore, and intimated his intention to send six ships into the harbour the next day. At this instant the general received a letter from the Chevalier *Druccour*, governor of the town, offering to capitulate. And they agreed to surrender to Admiral *Boscawen* and Maj. Gen. *Amberst*, the town of *Louisbourg*, and the islands of *Cape Breton* and *St. John's*, and their appurtenances, with all the artillery, ammunition, arms, and provisions; the garrison of *Louisbourg* to be prisoners of war, and transported to *England* in *British* ships; the governor to give his word that the troops in the island of *St. John's*, and its appurtenances, shall go aboard such ships as the admiral shall send to receive them; the gate called *Porte Dauphine* to be given up at 8 o'clock the next morning, and the garrison, including all that carried arms, to be drawn up there on the esplanade, or great square, where they shall lay down their arms, colours, implements, and ornaments of war, and go on board in order to be carried to *England*, at a convenient time; the same care to be taken of the sick and wounded in the hospitals, as of those belonging to his *Britannic* majesty; the merchants and their clerks, who have not carried arms, to be sent to *France* in such manner as the admiral shall think proper.

Loss of the
garrison and
besiegers.

The number of the garrison, including 214 officers, and 443 sick and wounded, amounted to 3031; and of seamen and marines, inclusive of 135 officers, and 1347 sick and wounded, was 2606; total 5637. Of the besiegers were killed, 21 commission and non-commissioned officers, 146 private men, 1 gunner, and 3 matrosses; wounded, 30 commission and non-commission officers, 2 drummers, and 315 private men; of the artillery, 1 corporal, 1 gunner, and 3 matrosses.

Inventory of
warlike stores
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In the fortrefs were found iron ordnance, completely mounted, from 36 to 4 pounders, 218; brass mortars, in beds, 12 and half inches, 3; 3 inches 1; 6 and a half 3; iron mortars, on beds, 12 and a half inches 6, 11 — 4; 9 and a half — 1; musquets with accoutrements, 7500; powder, whole barrels, 600; cartridges, 80,000; balls, 13 ton; shells, 1053; of which 850, 13 inches; round shot, from 36 to 6 pounders, 9602; grape shot, ditto 733; case shot, 24 pounders, 53; double headed 24 pounders, 245; 12 pounders, 153; lead in pig and sheet, 22 ton; iron of all sorts, 6 ton; wheelbarrows, 600; shovels wooden, 600, and iron 400; pickaxes, 822; with plenty of other warlike implements, besides 11 colours, whole and torn.

This siege, considering its obstacles, appears to have been conducted with the greatest skill, and vigour; and the news of the capture of this important place, the *Dunkirk of America*, diffused an universal joy throughout the *British* dominions. The colours, after some time of exposure to publick view, were carried in triumphal procession, to the cathedral of *St. Paul's*, and there suspended, adding to its splendor, the honour and ornament of a trophy. And addresses of congratulation came pouring in upon the throne, from every quarter; in some of which, particularly from *London* and

* *St. John's* island, after great reluctance, and some weak resistance of the governor of a fort that defended it, who pretended he was not bound by the capitulation of *Louisbourg*, submitted to Lieut. Col. *Rollo*, sent to receive it; and the inhabitants, in number, at *Point le Prince* 700, N. E. river 2000, *St. Peters* 700, North Point 500, W. and N. river 200, brought in their arms, and were after some time transported to *France*, as many as escaped shipwreck in their passage. This island had supplied *Quebec* with corn and beef ever since the war, having on it above 10,000 horned cattle, and many of the inhabitants growing each 1200 bushels of corn annually. It has also been an asylum for the *French* inhabitants of *Nova Scotia*; and from this island the *Indians* had carried on the inhuman practice of killing the *English* inhabitants of *Nova Scotia*, for the sake of bringing their scalps to the *French*, who paid them for the same; and several scalps were found in the governor's quarters when Lieut. Col. *Rollo* took possession.

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To the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT Esq^r
One of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council
 AND PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE &c
This Plan is most Humbly Inscribed
By his most Obedient and
affectionate Son
The Jefferys

DEFENCES OF QUEBEC.

DEFENCES N^o of Gen^l. MONT^g.

- A. The Citadel
- B. The Alcege on Barillette
- C. Saline, large
- D. The Bay fort
- E. Alcege Battery over the city, pointed three Bâtiments
- F. Gun Battery no 4 mounted
- G. Gun Battery of the upper part of the Bâtiment
- H. Gun Battery at the lower part of the Bâtiment
- I. Royal Battery
- K. Douglas Battery
- L. Gun Battery
- M. Gun Battery

General's Office

Point de la Poudre

Point de la Poudre

Point de la Poudre

Point de la Poudre

Point de la Poudre

Point de la Poudre

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AN AUTHENTIC PLAN of the RIVER ST. LAURENCE from

Sillery, to the Fall of Montmorenci,
 with the Operations of the
 SIEGE OF QUEBEC
 under the Command of
 Vice Adm^l Saunders & Major Gen^l Wolfe
 down to the 25th Sep^r 1759.

Drawn by a CAPTAIN in his Majesty's Navy

Part of the
 Upper River of
 ST. LAURENCE.

A VIEW of the
 ACTION gained by the ENGLISH
 Sep^r 25 1759 near
 QUEBEC
 Brought from thence
 By an OFFICER of Dillinchan



South Miles

1
A. Z
B. Z
C. G
D. Z
E. A
F. Q
G. N
H. P
I. R
K. D
L. C
M. C

Small
Sill



Small



Small



Small



Small



Exeter, the loyal votaries could not forbear, in the fulness of their hearts, to express in a dutiful manner, their honest wishes, to see this invaluable acquisition made an inseparable part of the *British* empire.

The grand object of the *American* war being now attained by the conquest of the island of *Cape Breton*, and the capture of the enemy's principal forts on the continent, we shall conclude this history of *Canada* with an account of the siege of *Quebec*, the capital of all their settlements in that part of the world, and the magazine from whence the rest of their fortresses derived their stores; so memorable an event cannot be past over without the most particular notice, as every step was taken to effect it, and every difficulty that threatened to retard its accomplishment cannot but be interesting, as well as to those who concerted the enterprize, and directed the execution, as to every subject of *Great Britain*.

The fifth of *May* 1759, Admiral *Durell's* Squadron, consisting of seven sail of the line, sailed from *Louisbourg* for the river *St. Laurence*; the passage of which was found not nigh so hazardous as was generally imagined, they arrived at the *Isle aux Coudres* the 27th, and there came to anchor.

The Admiral sent Capt. *Gordon* in the *Devonshire*, with two more sail of the line and a frigate, to go through the traverse and anchor between the *Isle of Orleans* and the *Main*, and stationed the *Princess of Orange* at the *Isle aux Coudres*.

On the 23d. of *June*, General *Wolfe* arrived with great part of the *Grand Fleet*, and went up immediately to *Orleans*.

For the remainder of the proceedings of the *British* fleet and army, we shall refer to the several letters written by the commanders in chief on that expedition, beginning with the celebrated letter from Maj. Gen. *Wolfe*, brought by Lieutenant *Percival* of the *Redney* cutter to Mr. Secretary *Pitt*, perhaps the best written performance of the kind that has appeared this war. The clearness with which it is written, the difficulties that are foreseen and represented, the manly fortitude that is notwithstanding expressed, in order to surmount these difficulties, and the resignation with which the general persists in risking the greatest dangers for the honour of his country, will leave a monument to his memory, more durable than marble, and more splendid than titles. His death, in leading on his valiant troops, in the last action that determined the fate of war in that country, is a circumstance greatly to be deplored.

Head Quarters at Montmorenci, in the River St. Laurence, September 2, 1759.

SIR,

Wish I could, upon this occasion, have the honour of transmitting to you a more favourable account of the progress of his majesty's arms; but the obstacles we have met with, in the operations of the campaign, are much greater than we had reason to expect, or could foresee; not so much from the number of the enemy, (though superior to us) as from the natural strength of the country, which the *Marquis de Montcalm* seems wisely to depend upon.

When I learned that succours of all kinds had been thrown into *Quebec*; that five battalions of regular troops, compleated from the best inhabitants of the country, some of the troops of the colony and every *Canadian* that was able to bear arms, besides several nations of savages, had taken the field in a very advantageous situation; I could not flatter myself that I should be able to reduce the place. I fought however on occasion to attack their army, knowing well, that with these troops I was able to fight, and hoping that a victory might disperse them.

We found them incamped along the shore of *Beaufort*, from the river *St. Charles* to the falls of *Montmorenci*, and intrenched in every accessible part. The 27th of *June* we landed upon the *Isle of Orleans*; but receiving a message from the admiral, that there was reason to think that the enemy had artillery, and a force upon the point of *Levi*, detached brig. *Monckton* with four battalions to drive them from thence. He passed the river the 29th at night, and marched the next day to the point; he obliged the enemy's irregulars to retire, and possessed himself of that post: the advanced parties upon this occasion had two or three skirmishes with the *Canadians* and *Indians*, with little loss on either side.

Col. *Carleton* marched with a detachment to the westernmost point of the *Isle of Orleans*, from whence our operations were likely to begin.

It was absolutely necessary to possess these two points, and fortify them, because, from either the one or the other, the enemy might make it impossible for any ship to lie in the basin of *Quebec*, or even within two miles of it.

Batteries of cannon and mortars were erected with great dispatch near the point of *Levi*, to bombard the town and magazines, and to injure the works and batteries: the enemy perceiving these works in some forwardness, passed the river with 1600 men to attack and destroy them. Unluckily they fell into confusion, fired upon one another, and went back again; by which we lost an opportunity of defeating this large detachment. The effect of this artillery had been so great, (though across the river) that the upper town is considerably damaged, and the lower town entirely destroyed.

The works, for the security of our hospitals and stores on the isle of *Orleans*, being finished, on the 9th of *July*, at night, we passed the N. channel, and incamped near the enemy's left, the river *Montmorenci* between us. The next morning, Capt. *Dank's* company of rangers, posted in a wood to cover some workmen, were attacked and defeated by a body of *Indians*, and had so many killed and wounded, as to be almost disabled for the rest of the campaign: the enemy also suffered in this affair, and were in their turn driven off by the nearest troops.

The ground, to the eastward of the falls, seemed to be (as it really is) higher than that on the enemy's side, and to command it in a manner which might be made useful to us. There is besides a ford below the falls, which may be passed for some hours in the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the flood tide; and I had hopes, that possibly means might be found of passing the river above, so as to fight M. *Montcalm*, upon terms of less disadvantage than directly attacking his intrenchments. In reconnoitring the river *Montmorenci*, we found it fordable at a place about three miles up; but the opposite bank was intrenched; and so steep and woody, that it was to no purpose to attempt a passage there. The effort was twice attacked by the *Indians*, who were as often repulsed; but in these rencounters we had 40 (officers and men) killed and wounded.

The 18th of *July*, two men of war, two armed sloops, and two transports with some troops on board, passed by the town without any loss, and got into the upper river. This enabled me to reconnoitre the country above, where I found the same attention on the enemy's side, and great difficulties on our's, arising from the nature of the ground, and the obstacles to our communication with the fleet. But what I feared most, was, that if we should land between the town and the river *Cape Rouge*, the body first landed could not be reinforced before they were attacked by the enemy's whole army.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, I thought once of attempting it at *St. Michael's*, about 3 miles above the town; but perceiving that the enemy were jealous of the design, were preparing against it, and had actually brought artillery and a mortar (which, being so near to *Quebec*, they could increase as they pleased) to play upon the shipping: and as it must have been many hours before we could attack them, (even supposing a favourable night for the boats to pass by the town unhurt) it seemed so hazardous that I thought it best to desist.

However, to divide the enemy's force, and to draw their attention as high up the river as possible, and to procure some intelligence, I sent a detachment under the command of Col. *Carleton*, to land at the *Point de Trempe*, to attack whatever he might find there, bring off some prisoners, and all the useful papers he could get. I had been informed that a number of the inhabitants of *Quebec*, had retired to that place, and that probably we should find a magazine of provisions there.

The colonel was fired upon by a body of *Indians* the moment he landed, but they were soon dispersed and driven into the woods, he searched for magazines, but to no purpose, brought off some prisoners, and returned with little loss.

After this business, I came back to *Montmorenci*, where I found that brig. *Townshend* had, by a superior fire, prevented the *French* from erecting a battery on the bank of the river, from whence they intended to cannonade our camp. I now resolved to take the first opportunity which presented itself, of attacking the enemy, though posted to great advantage, and every where prepared to receive us.

As the men of war cannot (for want of a sufficient depth of water) come near enough to the enemy's intrenchments, to annoy them in the least, the admiral had prepared two transports (drawing but little water) which upon occasions could be run

a-ground, to favour a descent. With the help of these vessels, which I understood would be carried by the tide close in shore, I proposed to make myself master of a detached redoubt near to the water's edge, and whose situation appeared to be out of musket shot of the intrenchment upon the hill: If the enemy supported this detached piece, it would necessarily bring on an engagement, what we most wished for; and if not, I should have it in my power to examine their situation, so as to be able to determine where we could best attack them.

Preparations were accordingly made for an engagement. The 31st July in the forenoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of Brig. *Monckton's* brigade from the point of *Levi*: The two brigades under the brigadiers *Townshend* and *Murray*, were ordered to be in readiness to pass the ford, when it should be thought necessary. To facilitate the passage of this corps, the admiral had placed the *Centurion* in the channel, so that she might check the fire of the lower battery which commanded the ford: This ship was of great use, as her fire was very judiciously directed. A great quantity of artillery was placed upon the eminence, so as to batter and inflame the left of their intrenchments.

From the vessel which run a-ground nearest in, I observed that the redoubt was too much commanded to be kept without very great loss; and the more, as the two arm'd ships could not be brought near enough to cover both with their artillery and musquetry, which I at first conceived they might. But as the enemy seemed in some confusion, and we were prepared for an action, I thought it a proper time to make an attempt upon their intrenchment. Orders were sent to the brigadiers general to be ready with the corps under their command. Brig. *Monckton* to land, and the Brigs. *Townshend* and *Murray* to pass the Ford.

At a proper time of the tide, the signal was made, but in rowing towards the shore many of the boats grounded upon a ledge, that runs off a considerable distance. This accident put us into some disorder, lost a great deal of time, and obliged me to send an officer to stop Brig. *Townshend's* march, whom I then observed to be in motion. While the seamen were getting the boats off, the enemy fired a number of shells and shot, but did no considerable damage. As soon as this disorder could be set a little to rights, and the boats were ranged in a proper manner, some of the officers of the navy went in with me to find a better place to land: We took one flat-bottomed boat with us to make the experiment, and as soon as we had found a fit part of the shore, the troops were ordered to disembark, thinking it not yet too late for the attempt.

The 13 companies of grenadiers, and 200 of the second royal *American* battalion, got first on shore. The grenadiers were ordered to form themselves into four distinct bodies, and to begin the attack, supported by Brig. *Monckton's* corps, as soon as the troops had passed the ford, and were at hand to assist. But whether from the noise and hurry at landing, or from some other cause, the grenadiers, instead of forming themselves as they were directed, ran on impetuously towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmost disorder and confusion, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them, and join in the attack. Brig. *Monckton* was not landed, and Brig. *Townshend* was still at a considerable distance, tho' upon his march to join us, in very great order. The grenadiers were checked by the enemy's first fire, and obliged to shelter themselves in our about the redoubt, which the *French* abandoned upon their approach. In this situation they continued for some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, and having many gallant officers wounded, who (careless of their persons) had been solely intent upon their duty. I saw the absolute necessity of calling them off, that they might form themselves behind Brig. *Monckton's* corps, which was now landed, and drawn up on the beach, in extrem good order.

By this new accident, and this second delay, it was near night, a sudden storm came on, and the tide began to make; so that I thought it most advisable, not to persevere in so difficult an attack, least (in case of a repulse) the retreat of Brig. *Townshend's* corps might be hazardous and uncertain.

Our artillery had a great effect upon the enemy's left, where Brigs. *Townshend* and *Murray* were to have attacked; and it is probable, that if those accidents I have spoken of, had not happened, we should have penetrated there, whilst our left and center (more remote from our artillery) must have bore all the violence of their musquetry.

The *French* did not attempt to interrupt our march. Some of their Savages came down to murder such wounded as could not be brought off, and to scalp the dead as their custom is.

The place, where the attack was intended, has these advantages over all others hereabout. Our artillery could be brought into use. The greatest part, or even the whole of the troops, might act at once; and the retreat (in case of a repulse) was secure, at least for a certain time of the tide. Neither one or other of these advantages can any where else be found. The enemy were indeed posted upon a commanding eminence. The beach upon which the troops were drawn up, was of deep mud, with holes, and cut by several gullies. The hill to be ascended, very steep, and not every where practicable. The enemy numerous in their intrenchments, and their fire hot. If the attack had succeeded, our loss must certainly have been great, and theirs inconsiderable, from the shelter which the neighbouring woods afforded them. The river of *St Charles* still remained to be passed, before the town was invested. All these circumstances I considered; but the desire to act in conformity to the king's intentions, induced me to make this trial, persuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties.

Immediately after this check, I sent Brig. *Murray* above the town with 1200 men, directing him to assist rear admiral *Holmes* in the destruction of the *French* ships, (if they could be got at) in order to open a communication with General *Amberst*. The Brig. was to seek every favourable opportunity of fighting some of the enemy's detachments, provided he could do it upon tolerable terms, and to use all the means in his power to provoke them to attack him. He made too different attempts to land upon the north shore without success; but in a third was more fortunate. He landed unexpectedly at *de Chambaud*, and burnt a magazine there, in which were some provisions, some ammunition, and all the spare stores, clothing, arms, and baggage, of their army.

The prisoners he took informed him of the surrender of the fort of *Niagara*; and we discovered, by intercepted letters that the enemy had abandoned *Carillon* and *Crown Point*, were retired to the isle *Aux Noix*; and that General *Amberst* was making preparations to pass the lake *Champlain*, to fall upon M. *Bourlemarque's* corps, which consists of 3 battalions of foot, and as many *Canadians* as make the whole amount to 3000.

The admiral's dispatches and mine would have gone eight or ten days sooner, if I had not been prevented from writing by a fever. I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the general officers to consult together for the public utility. They are all of opinion that, (as more ships and provisions have now got above the town) they should try, by conveying up a corps of 4 or 5000 men, (which is nearly the whole strength of the army, after the points of *Levi* and *Orleans* are left in a proper state of defence) to draw the enemy from their present situation, and bring them to an action. I have acquiesced in their proposal, and we are preparing to put it in execution.

The admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general assault; but, after consulting with the chief engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and, after viewing it with the utmost attention, we found, that though the batteries of the lower town might be easily silenced by the men of war, yet the business of an assault would be little advanced by that, since the few passages that lead from the lower to the upper town, are carefully intrenched; and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships, which must receive considerable damage from them and from the mortars. The admiral would readily join in this, or in any other measure for the public service; but I could not propose to him an undertaking of so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success.

To the uncommon strength of the country, the enemy have added (for the defence of the river) a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these and the *Indians* round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute anything by surprise. We have had almost daily skirmishes with these savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side.

By the list of disabled officers (many of whom are of rank) you may perceive, Sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole

whole force of *Canada* to oppose. In this situation, there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of *Great Britain*, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only, where there is some hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, Sir, that the small part of the campaign which remains, shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of his majesty and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well seconded by the Admiral and by the Generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his majesty's arms in any other parts of *America*. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

JAMES WOLFE.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missin.
Officers — — — — —	11	46	0
Serjeants — — — — —	9	26	0
Drummers — — — — —	0	7	0
Rank and file — — — — —	162	572	17
Total	182	651	17

Stirling Castle, off Point Levi, Sept. 3

SIR,

IN my letter of the 6th of *June*, I acquainted you I was then off *Scatari*, standing for the river *St Laurence*. On the 26th, I had got up, with the first division of the fleet and transports, as far as the middle of the isle of *Orleans*, where I immediately prepared to land the troops, which I did next morning. The same day the second and third divisions came up, and the troops from them were landed likewise.

I got thus far without any loss or accident whatever; but, directly after landing the troops, a very hard gale of wind came on, by which many anchors and small boats were lost, and much damage receiv'd among the transports by driving on board each other. The ships that lost most anchors I supplied from the men of war, as far as I was able, and, in all other respects, gave them the best assistance in my power.

On the 28th at midnight, the enemy sent down from *Quebec* 7 fireships, and tho' our ships and transports were so numerous, and necessarily spread so great a part of the channel, we tow'd them all clear and a-ground, without receiving the least damage from them. The next night Gen. *Monckton* crossed the river, and landed with his brigade on the S. shore, and took post at *Point Levi*, and Gen. *Wolfe* took his on the westernmost point of the isle of *Orleans*.

On the first of *July* I moved up between the points of *Orleans* and *Levi*; and, it being resolved to land on the N. shore, below the falls of *Montmorenci*, I placed, on the 8th instant, the *Porcupine* sloop, and the *Boscawen* armed vessel, in the channel between *Orleans* and the North shore, to cover the landing, which took place that night.

On the 17th. I ordered Capt. *Rous* of the *Sutherland*, to proceed, with the first fair wind and night-tide, above *Quebec*, and to take the *Diana* and *Squirrel*, with two armed sloops, and two catts armed and loaded with provisions. On the 18th at night they all got up, except the *Diana*, and gave Gen. *Wolfe* an opportunity of reconnoitring above the town; those ships having carried some troops with them for that purpose. The *Diana* ran ashore upon the rocks of *Point Levi*, and received so much damage that I have sent her to *Boston*, with 27 sail of *American* transports, (those which received most damage in the gale of the 27th of *June*) where they are to be discharged; and the *Diana*, having repaired her damage, is to proceed to *England*, taking with her the mast-ships, and what trade may be ready to accompany her.

On the 28th, at midnight, the enemy sent down a raft of fire stages, of near a hundred radeaux, which succeeded no better than the fire-ships.

On the 31st, Gen. *Wolfe* determined to land a number of troops above the falls of *Montmorenci*, in order to attack the enemy's lines; to cover which, I placed the *Centurion* in the channel, between the isle of *Orleans* and the Falls, and ran on shore, at high water, two catts which I had armed for that purpose, against two small batteries and two redoubts, where our troops were to land. About six in the evening they landed, but the general not thinking it proper to persevere in the attack, part of them soon after, re-embarked, and the rest crossed the Falls with Gen. *Wolfe*; upon which, to prevent the two catts from falling into the enemy's hands (they being then dry on shore) I gave orders to take the men out and set them on fire, which was accordingly done.

On the 5th of *August*, in the night, I sent 20 flat-bottomed boats up the river, to the *Sutherland*, to embark 1260 of the troops with Brig. Gen. *Murray*, from a post we had taken on the South shore. I sent Admiral *Holmes* up to the *Sutherland*, to act in concert with him, and give him all the assistance the ships and boats could afford. At the same time I directed Adm. *Holmes* to use his best endeavours to get at, and destroy the enemy's ships above the town; and to that purpose I ordered the *Lowe's* sloop, and Hunter sloop, with two armed sloops and two catts, with provisions, to pass *Quebec* and join the *Sutherland*; but the wind holding westerly, it was the 27th of *August* before they got up, which was the fourth attempt they had made to gain their passage.

On the 25th, at night, Adm. *Holmes* and Gen. *Murray*, with part of the troops, returned; they had met with, and destroyed a magazine of the enemy's cloathing, some gunpowder, and other things; and Adm. *Holmes* had been ten or twelve leagues above the town, but found it impracticable at that time to get further up.

Gen. *Wolfe* being resolved to quit the camp at *Montmorenci*, and go above the town, in hopes of getting between the enemy and their provisions, (supposed to be in the ships there) and by that means force them to an action, I sent up, on the 29th at night, the *Seaborse* and two armed sloops, with two catts laden with provisions, to join the rest above *Quebec*; and having taken off all the artillery from the camp of *Montmorenci*, on the 3d instant in the forenoon the troops embarked from thence and landed at Point *Levi*. The 4th at night I sent all the flat-bottomed boats up, and this night a part of the troops will march up the South shore, above the town, to be embarked in the ships and vessels there, and to-morrow night the rest will follow. Adm. *Holmes* is also gone up again to assist in their future operations, and to try, if, with the assistance of the troops, it is practicable to get at the enemy's ships.

As Gen. *Wolfe* writes by this opportunity, he will give you an account of his part of the operations, and his thoughts what further may be done for his majesty's service. The enemy appear numerous, and seem to be strongly posted; but let the event be what it will, we shall remain here as long as the season of the year will permit, in order to prevent their detaching troops from hence against Gen. *Amberst*; and I shall leave cruizers at the mouth of the river to cut off any supplies that may be sent them, with strict orders to keep that station as long as possible. The town of *Quebec* is not habitable, being almost entirely burnt and destroyed.

Twenty of the victuallers that sail'd from *England*, with the *Echo*, are arrived here, one unloaded at *Louisburgh*, having receiv'd damage in her passage out, and another I have heard nothing of. No ships of the enemy have come this way, that I have had any intelligence of, since my arrival in the river, except one, laden with flour and brandy, which Capt *Drake* of the *Lizard* took.

Before Adm. *Durell* got into the river, 3 frigates, and 17 sail, with provisions, stores, and a few recruits, got up, and are those we are so anxious, if possible, to destroy.

Yesterday I received a letter from Gen. *Amberst* (to whom I have had no opportunity of writing since I have been in the river) dated, camp at *Crown Point*, Aug. 7. wherein he only desires I would send transports and a convoy to *New York* to carry to *England* 607 prisoners taken at *Niagara*.

I shall very soon send home the great ships, and have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

S I R,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

CHARLES SAUNDERS.

Two

Two days after this excellent letter was received at court, and which put an end to all our hopes of completing for this year the conquest of *Canada*; to the astonishment of the world and the inexpressible joy of the nation, another express arrived with an account of a signal victory gained by us over the French in that quarter of the world, which was attended with the reduction of *Quebec*, and consequently with the absolute ruin of the French upon the American continent; the satisfaction with which the news inspired us was damped by our being told General *Wolfe* fell in the action, having received 3 shots in different places, and left behind him a character both as a man, and an officer, that raises him to a level with the most renowned commanders. General *Monckton* was also shot through the lungs, but his wound was not mortal. We were happy in having the command devolve upon General *George Townshend*, whose letter will here speak better, than any language we should attempt to use.

Letter from the Honourable General Monckton to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Pitt, dated Camp at Point Levi, Sept. 15, 1759.

S I R,

I Have the pleasure to acquaint you, that, on the 13th instant, his majesty's troops gained a very signal victory over the *French*, a little above the town of *Quebec*. Gen. *Wolfe*, exerting himself on the right of our line, received a wound pretty early, of which he died soon after, and I had myself the great misfortune of receiving one in my right breast by a ball, that went through part of my lungs (and which has been cut out under the blade bone of my shoulder) just as the *French* were giving way, which obliged me to quit the field. I have therefore, Sir, desired Gen. *Townshend*, who now commands the troops before the town (and of which I am in hopes he will be soon in possession) to acquaint you with the particulars of that day, and of the operations carrying on,

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROB. MONCKTON.

P. S. His majesty's troops behaved with the greatest steadiness and bravery.

As the surgeons tell me there is no danger in my wound, I am in hopes that I shall be soon able to join the army before the town.

Letter from the Honourable Brigadier General Townshend to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Pitt, dated, Camp before Quebec, Sept. 20, 1759.

S I R,

I Have the honour to acquaint you with the success of his majesty's arms, on the 13th instant, in an action with the *French*, on the Heights to the westward of this town.

It being determined to carry the operations above the town, the posts at *Point Levi*, and *l'Isle d'Orleans* being secured, the general marched, with the remainder of the force, from *Point Levi* the 5th and 6th, and embarked them in transports, which had passed the town for that purpose. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, a movement of the ships was made up, by Adm. *Holmes*, in order to amuse the enemy now posted along the north shore; but the transports being extremely crowded, and the weather very bad, the general thought proper to cantoon half his troops on the South shore; where they were refreshed, and reembarked upon the 12th at one in the morning. The light infantry, commanded by Col. *Howe*, the regiments of *Bragg*, *Kennedy*, *Lascelles*, and *Anstruther*, with a detachment of Highlanders, and American grenadiers, the whole being under the command of Brigadiers *Monckton* and *Murray*, were put into the flat-bottomed boats, and after some movement of the ships made by Adm. *Holmes*, to draw the attention of the enemy above, the boats fell down with the tide, and landed on the North shore, within a league of *Cape Diamond*, an hour before day-break: The rapidity of the tide of ebb carried them a little below the intended place of attack, which obliged the light infantry to scramble up a woody precipice, in order

to secure the landing the troops, by dislodging a captain's post, which defended the small intrenched path the troops were to ascend. After a little firing, the light infantry gained the top of the precipice, and dispersed the captain's post; by which means, the troops, with a very little loss from a few *Canadians* and *Indians* in the wood, got up, and were immediately formed. The boats, as they emptied, were sent back for the second embarkation, which I immediately made. Brig. *Murray*, who had been detached with *Anstruther's* battalion to attack the four gun battery upon the left, was recalled by the general, who now saw the *French* army crossing the river *St Charles*. Gen. *Wolfe* thereupon began to form his line, having his right covered by the *Louisbourg* grenadiers; on the right of these again he afterwards brought *Orway's*, to the left of the grenadiers were *Bragg's*, *Kennedy's*, *Lascelles's*, *Higblanders*, and *Anstruther's*; the right of this body was commanded by Brig. *Monckton*, and the left by Brig. *Murray*; his rear and left were protected by Col. *Howe's* light infantry, who was returned from the four gun battery before mentioned, which was soon abandoned to him. Gen. *Montcalm* having collected the whole of his force from the *Beauport* side, and advancing, shewed his intention to flank our left, where I was immediately ordered with Gen. *Amberst's* battalion, which I formed *en Potence*. My numbers were soon after increased by the arrival of the two battalions of *Royal Americans*; and *Webb's* was drawn up by the General, as a reserve, in eight subdivisions with large intervals. The enemy lined the bushes in their front, with 1500 *Indians* and *Canadians*, and I dare say had placed most of their best marksmen there, who kept up a very galling, though irregular, fire upon our whole line, who bore it with the greatest patience, and good order; reserving their fire for the main body, now advancing. This fire of the enemy was however checked by our posts in our front, which protected the forming our own line. The right of the enemy was composed of half the troops of the colony, the battalions of *La Saare*, *Languedoc*, and the remainder of their *Canadians* and *Indians*. Their centre was a column, and formed by the battalions of *Bearn* and *Guienne*. Their left was composed of the remaining troops of the colony, and the battalion of *Royal Roussillon*. This was, as near as I can guess, their line of battle. They brought up two pieces of small artillery against us, and we had been able to bring up but one gun; which being admirably well served, galled their column exceedingly. My attention to the left will not permit me to be very exact with regard to every circumstance which passed in the center, much less to the right; but it is most certain that the enemy formed in good order, and that their attack was very brisk and animated on that side. Our troops reserved their fire, till within forty yards, which was so well continued, that the enemy every where gave way. It was then our General fell at the head of *Bragg's*, and the *Louisbourg* grenadiers, advancing with their bayonets: About the same time, Brig. Gen. *Monckton* received his wound at the head of *Lascelles's*. In the front of the opposite battalions fell also M. *Montcalm*; and his second in command is since dead of his wounds on board our fleet. Part of the enemy made a second faint attack. Part took to some thick copse wood, and seemed to make a stand. It was at this moment that each corps seemed in a manner to exert itself, with a view to its own peculiar character. The grenadiers, *Bragg's*, and *Lascelles's*, pressed on with their bayonets. Brig. *Murray* advancing with the troops under his command briskly, completed the route on this side; when the *Highlanders*, supported by *Anstruther's*, took to their broad swords, and drove part into the town, and part to the works at their bridge on the river *St Charles*.

The action, on our left and rear, was not so severe. The houses, into which the light infantry were thrown, were well defended, being supported by Col. *Howe*, who taking post with two companies behind a small copse, and frequently falling upon the flanks of the enemy during their attack, drove them often into heaps, against the front of which body I advanced platoons of *Amberst's* regiment, which totally prevented the right wing from executing their first intention. Before this, one of the *Royal American* battalions had been detached to preserve our communication with our boats, and the other being sent to occupy the ground which Brig. *Murray's* movement had left open, I remained with *Amberst's* to support this disposition, and to keep the enemy's right, and a body of their *Savages*, which waited still more towards our rear, opposite the posts of our light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon our rear.

This,

This, Sir, was the situation of things, when I was told, in the action, that I commanded: I immediately repaired to the centre, and finding the pursuit had put part of the troops in disorder, I formed them as soon as possible. Scarce was this effected, when M. de Bougainville, with his corps from *Cape Rouge*, of 2000 men, appeared in our rear. I advanced two pieces of artillery, and two battalions towards him; upon which he retired. You will not, I flatter myself, blame me for not quitting such advantageous ground, and risking the fate of so decisive a day, by seeking a fresh enemy, posted perhaps in the very kind of ground he could wish for, viz. woods and swamps. We took a great number of *French* officers upon the field of battle, and one piece of cannon. Their loss is computed to be about 1500 men, which fell chiefly upon their regulars. I have been employed, from the day of action, to that of the capitulation, in redoubting our camp beyond insult, in making a road up the precipice for our cannon, in getting up the artillery, preparing the batteries, and cutting off their communication with their country. The 17th, at noon, before we had any battery erected, or could have any for two or three days, a flag of truce came out with proposals of capitulation, which I sent back again to the town, allowing them four hours to capitulate, or no farther treaty. The admiral had, at this time, brought up his large ships as intending to attack the town. The *French* officer returned at night with terms of capitulation; which, with the Admiral, were considered, agreed to, and signed at eight in the morning, the 18th instant. The terms we granted, will, I flatter myself, be approved of by his majesty, considering the enemy assembling in our rear, and, what is far more formidable, the very wet and cold season, which threatened our troops with sickness, and the fleet with some accident; it had made our road so bad, we could not bring up a gun for some time; add to this, the advantage of entering the town, with the walls in a defensible state, and the being able to put a garrison there strong enough to prevent all surprise. These, I hope, will be deemed sufficient considerations for granting them the terms I have the honour to transmit to you. The inhabitants of the country come into us fast, bringing in their arms, and taking the oaths of fidelity, until a general peace determines their situation.

I have the honour to inclose herewith, a list of the killed and wounded; a list of the prisoners, as perfect as I have yet been able to get it; and a list of the artillery and stores in the town, as well as of those fallen into our hands at *Beauport* in consequence of the victory. By deserters we learn, that the enemy are re-assembling what troops they can, behind the *Cape Rouge*; that M. de Levy is come down from the *Montreal* side to command them; some say he has brought two battalions with him; if so, this blow has already assisted Gen. *Amberst*. By other deserters, we learn, that M. de *Bougainville*, with 800 men, and provisions, was on his march to fling himself into the town the 18th, the very morning it capitulated, on which day we had not completed the investiture of the place, as they had broke their bridge of boats, and had detachments in very strong works on the other side the river *St Charles*.

I should not do justice to the Admirals, and the naval service, if I neglected this occasion of acknowledging how much we are indebted for our success to the constant assistance and support received from them, and the perfect harmony and correspondence, which has prevailed throughout all our operations, in the uncommon difficulties, which the nature of this country, in particular, presents to military operations of a great extent, and which no army can itself solely supply; the immense labour in artillery, stores, and provisions; the long watchings and attendance in boats; the drawing up our artillery by the seamen, even in the heat of the action; it is my duty, short as my command has been, to acknowledge, for that, how great a share the navy has had in this successful campaign.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEO. TOWNSHEND.

Articles of Capitulation agreed on, between General Townshend and M. de Ramzey, Commander of Quebec.

Art. I. M. de Ramzey demands the honours of war for his garrison, and that it shall be conducted back to the army in safety by the shortest road, with their arms, baggage, six pieces of brass cannon, two mortars or howitzers,, and 12 rounds.

The garrison of the town, composed of land forces, marines, and sailors, shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, lighted matches, with two pieces of cannon, and twelve rounds, and shall be embarked as conveniently as possible, in order to be landed at the first port in France.

II. That the inhabitants shall be maintained in the possession of their houses, goods, effects, and privileges.

Granted, provided they lay down their arms.

III. That the said inhabitants shall not be molested on account of their having borne arms for the defence of the town, as they were forced to it, and as it is customary for the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns to serve as militia. Granted.

IV. That the effects belonging to the absent officers, or inhabitants, shall not be touched. Granted,

V. That the said inhabitants shall not be removed nor obliged to quit their houses until their condition shall be settled by a definitive treaty between their most Christian and Britannick majesties. Granted.

VI. That the exercise of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion shall be preserved, and that safe-guards shall be granted to the houses of the clergy, and to the monasteries, particularly to the Bishop of Quebec, who animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his diocese, desires to reside constantly in it, to exercise freely and with that decency which his character and the sacred mysteries of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion require, his episcopal authority in the town of Quebec, wherever he shall think it proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided by a treaty between their most Christian and Britannic majesties.

The free exercise of the Roman religion, Safe-guards granted to all religious persons, as well as to the bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise freely and with decency the functions of his office whenever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided between their Britannic and most Christian majesties.

VII. That the artillery and warlike stores shall be delivered up bona fide, and an inventory taken thereof. Granted.

VIII. That the sick, wounded, commissaries, chaplains, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and other persons employed in the hospitals, shall be treated agreeable to the cartel settled between their most Christian and Britannic majesties on Feb. 6, 1759. Granted.

IX. That before delivering up the gate, and the entrance of the town, to the English forces, their general will be pleased to send some soldiers to be placed as safe-guards at the churches, convents, and chief habitations. Granted.

X. That the commander of the city of Quebec shall be permitted to send advice to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor general, of the reduction of the town; as also that this general shall be allowed to write to the French ministry to inform them thereof. Granted.

XI. That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenor, without being liable to non-execution under pretence of reprisals, or the non-execution of any preceding capitulation. Granted.

The present treaty has been made and settled between us, and duplicates sign'd at the Camp before Quebec, Sept. 18, 1759.

C. Saunders, G. Townshend, De Ramsay.

Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in the Battle of the 13th.

	Killed, Wounded, Missing.		
Officers	9	53	0
Serjeants	3	25	0
Drummers	0	4	0
Rank and file	45	506	3
Total	57	588	3

Artillery.

	Killed, Wounded, Missing.		
Engineers	0	1	0
Gunners	1	1	0
Bombardiers	0	1	0
Matrosses	0	5	0
Total	1	8	0

An Account of the Guns, &c. found in Quebec on its Surrender to his Majesty's Troops.

Brass guns	6 pound.	1	Brass mortars	13 In.	1
	4	3	Do howitzers	8	3
	2	2	Iron mortars	13	9
Iron guns	36	10		10	1
	24	45		8	3
	18	18		7	2
	12	13	Shells	13 Inches	770
	8	43		10	150
	6	66		8 and 7	90
	4	30		6	
	3	7	Brass petards		2
	2	3			

with a considerable quantity of powder, ball, small arms and intrenching tools, &c. the number of which cannot be ascertained.

There have been also 37 guns and one mortar found on several batteries between St Charles river and Beauport.

Letter from Vice-Admiral Saunders, to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Pitt, Sept. 20, 1759.

S I R,

I Have the greatest pleasure in acquainting you, that the town and citadel of *Quebec* surrendered on the 18th instant, and I inclose you a copy of the articles of capitulation. The army took possession of the gates on the land side, the same evening, and sent safe guards into the town to preserve order, and to prevent any thing being destroyed; and Capt. *Palliser*, with a body of seamen, landed in the lower town, and did the same. The next day, our army marched in, and near a thousand *French* officers, soldiers, and seamen, were embarked on board some *English* catts, who shall soon proceed for *France*, agreeable to the capitulation.

I had the honour to write to you the 5th instant, by the *Rodney* cutter: The troops mentioned in that letter, embarked on board the ships and vessels above the town, in the night of the 6th instant, and at four in the morning of the 13th began to land on the north shore, about a mile and a half above the town. Gen. *Montcalm*, with his whole army, left their camps at *Beauport*, and marched to meet him. A little before ten both armies were formed, and the enemy began the attack. Our troops received their fire, and reserved their own, advancing till they were so near as to run

in upon them, and push them with their bayonets ; by which, in a very little time, the *French* gave way, and fled to the town in the utmost disorder, and with great loss ; for our troops pursued them quite to the walls, and killed many of them upon the glacis, and in the ditch ; and if the town had been further off, the whole *French* army must have been destroyed. About 250 *French* prisoners were taken that day, among whom are ten captains, and six subaltern officers, all of whom will go in the great ships to *England*.

I am sorry to acquaint you, that General *Wolfe* was killed in the action ; and Gen. *Monckton* shot through the body ; but he is now supposed to be out of danger. Gen. *Montcalm*, and the three next *French* officers in command, were killed ; but I must refer you to Gen. *Townshend* (who writes by this opportunity) for the particulars of this action, the state of the garrison, and the measures he is taking for keeping possession of it. I am now beginning to send on shore the stores they will want, and provisions for 5000 men ; of which I can furnish them with a sufficient quantity.

The night of their landing, Admiral *Holmes*, with the ships and troops, was about three leagues above the intended landing-place : General *Wolfe*, with about half his troops, set off in boats, and dropped down with the tide, and were, by that means, less liable to be discovered by the *French* centinels, posted all along the coast. The ships followed them about three quarters of an hour afterwards, and got to the landing-place just in the time that had been concerted, to cover their landing ; and considering the darkness of the night, and the rapidity of the current, this was a very critical operation, and very properly and successfully conducted. When Gen. *Wolfe*, and the troops with him, had landed, the difficulty of gaining the top of the hill is scarce credible : It was very steep in its ascent, and high, and had no path where two could go a-breast : but they were obliged to pull themselves up by the stumps and boughs of trees, that covered the declivity.

Immediately after our victory over their troops, I sent up all the boats in the fleet with artillery, and ammunition ; and on the 17th went up with the men of war, in a disposition to attack the lower town, as soon as Gen. *Townshend* should be ready to attack the upper ; but in the evening they sent out to the camp, and offered terms of capitulation.

I have the farther pleasure of acquainting you, that, during this tedious campaign, there has continued a perfect good understanding between the army and navy. I have received great assistance from Admirals *Durell* and *Holmes*, and from all the captains ; indeed every body has exerted themselves in the execution of their duty ; even the transports have willingly assisted me with boats and people on the landing the troops, and many other services.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES SAUNDERS

It appears all through this expedition, that great part of its success was owing to the patriot unanimity that subsisted between the land and sea officers. None of those bickerings and disputes reigned among them that had been the ruin of many well concerted schemes in a former WAR, and if there was any contention it was in who should be foremost to shew his love for his country's glory, by being foremost in his duty. Admiral *Saunders* who commanded at sea, was always ready to assist the operations by land, and he was nobly seconded, by the Admirals *Holmes* and *Durell*. The death of the brave General *Wolfe*, abated nothing of this confidence, and indeed such was the tenor of all the officers conduct through the whole, that the wisdom and valour of the british councils and arms, by their intrepidity and courage have been established in the capital of *New France*.

A DESCRIPTION of the further progress of the *British* arms shall now be entered upon. After *Quebec*, the capital of *Canada*, had thus fallen under the *English* monarchy, in the glorious era, 1759. An event sufficiently surprizing, in whatever circumstance we regard it; the great superiority of the *French* over our troops, as to numbers, the many difficulties the latter had to encounter even to come to blows with the enemy, occasioned by the inequality and commanding strength of the country about the town, which was occupied by forces much more numerous, highly enhance the merit of this achievement: but what still more claims our wonder and applause is, that so small a body should persist, without relaxation or confusion, after the fall of its gallant leader *Wolfe*; who had braved every danger at their head, and when general *Monkton*, that succeeded to the command, had in appearance shared the same fate, not only to oppose this formidable foe, but to repel, rout, and pursue the scattered remains, even up to their city; which, struck with despair at the sight, surrendered to them in four days after. History can boast but of few actions parallel to this; and indeed, providence seems to have more especially employed its agency to inspire the *English*, and confound the *French*, in the above mentioned exploit.

Being thus master of the town, the next thing the conquerors had to consider was, how they should best secure this important acquisition against any sudden attack, or surprize; this loudly demanded the most serious exertion of their care and management, as the enemy had still a much larger force in the field, than theirs amounted to within the walls, far less fatigued, and in better health: added to these advantages over them, they had also a thorough knowledge of the country, and a constant supply of fresh provisions in abundance, from the lands to the southward, which were hitherto under their dominion. *Quebec*, that was to be the winter quarters of our people, lay mostly in ruins, and those houses which remained standing, were so shattered by the batteries as to be scarcely habitable; the fortifications in a ruinous condition, and in short nothing before them but a prospect of the extremity of hardships and toil. These difficulties were however in some measure surmounted by the unwearied resolution and perseverance of the soldiery, and the place put into a posture of defence, the most promising affairs would admit of. By seizing two posts one at *St. Foix*, and the other at *Lorette*, the garrison made shift to furnish itself with wood for fuel, of which there was great want; and afterwards a detachment marched to *St. Augustin*, made the enemies advanced guards prisoners, and disarmed the inhabitants. These successes were strokes of great moment to the *English* army, as they afforded them opportunity of watching the motions of the *French*, covering at the same time their own, and likewise obliged the peasants to furnish them with fresh subsistence during the winter. Things now shewing a more agreeable aspect, and terror being banished a little farther from home, a party was sent out to the southward of the river *St. Laurence*, that stript the inhabitants of their weapons, and obliged them to take oaths of allegiance; which step was likewise the means of procuring them great quantities of fresh provisions. The *French* generals who had cantoned their army in winter quarters about the neighbourhood of *Montreal*, having received intelligence, that our army daily diminished through sickness and inevitable distresses, came to a resolution of attacking the town in the depth of winter, hoping to carry it by a sudden effort of their whole force. For this end they made a great preparation of snow shoes, and scaling ladders for storming the place, which they had agreed, should be put in execution about the middle of *February* following; till that time all possible precaution was to be used in order to conceal their design, which nevertheless did not prevent our army's being apprized of it.

The more readily to compass their intentions, the enemy dispatched a body of forces to post themselves at point *Lewy*, to augment their army by collecting together the southern inhabitants; and to form there a magazine of provisions for the troops who were to follow. This point they had now been in possession of for several days, which time they employed in amassing a large quantity of flour, and in killing cattle for the sustenance of their forces during the projected expedition: they were however disturbed in this work by our people, as soon as the river was sufficiently frozen to let them cross it, and driven off in so precipitate a manner, that hardly any thing, except their own persons escaped the hands of the *English*. The enemy afterwards attempted to regain the same situation with a greater body, but were still baffled, and obliged only to the nimbleness of their flight for safety. Despairing therefore of
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being able to carry their design into execution, of taking the place by a sudden onset, they resolved to make all the necessary dispositions for a regular siege, to be commenced as soon as ever the breaking of the frost had rendered the river *St. Laurence* navigable. The Chevalier *de Levis*, who commanded the whole, near 15000 men, of whom about 7000 were *Canadians* of *Montreal*, 1200 *Savages*, and the remainder regulars, had formed them into twelve battalions; the *English* garrison, which at first consisted of about 7000 men, was now greatly reduced by death and sickness, inasmuch that the whole number fit for action amounted to little more than 3000. Now as *Quebec* was very far from being in a condition to sustain a long siege, General *Murray*, to whom, upon the departure of General *Townsend*, the command devolved, resolved, with his little army, to seize the heights of *Abraham*, which overlook the town at the distance of 800 yards, and intrench himself strongly there: but before he could compass this scheme, the frost broke, the enemy's ships fell down the river, and landed their army at *Point au Tremble*, whence they marched directly to *Lorette* in order to surprize and cut off the advanced posts planted in those parts. But to their utter disappointment, these were all properly succoured and withdrawn with very little loss. Affairs being thus circumstanced, and the enemy at hand, there was no other choice left, but either for the *English* to shut themselves up within the walls, and resist the foe from thence, or with very inferior numbers to meet them in the field, and try the fate of valour opposed to multitude; General *Murray* resolved upon the latter, as considering his troops habituated to conquer; and that if he should not succeed in this, he could still have recourse to the former. He marched therefore with all that could be mustered, and drew up upon the heights in order of battle. During this interval, he took a view of the enemy who were upon the march, in a column, and thinking it now the proper juncture to attack with the greatest advantage, before they had formed; he pressed briskly upon them, and after some dispute, pushed them from the rising grounds they were in possession of. The van of the *French* being thus put to flight, their main body advanced a pace, and their wings began to form with that a semicircle upon the flanks of the *English*, which was now in danger of being surrounded by their whole force, and having their communication with the town cut off. To prevent therefore a calamity, that might have ruined not only the army, but all the advantages acquired in *Canada*, they were compelled to retreat, and retired back to the town in such good order, that the enemy ventured to pursue but slowly. The roughness of the ground, and wreaths of snow, rendered it impracticable to bring off their cannon, which fell mostly into the enemies hand. The loss of the *English* in this action amounted to about 1000, that of the *French* to 2500 men. The night following the battle, the besiegers opened their trenches against the town, and the garrison set as heartily about fortifying it within, to enable them to hold out as long as possible; they had with vast labour mounted 132 pieces of cannon on the ramparts, and made so vigorous a defence from them, that the fire of the enemy daily lessened. Notwithstanding these efforts, it is imagined the place must have yielded, had the *French* been powerfully seconded by a fleet; but instead of such an appearance, Lord *Colville* (who had received advice of what was doing) arrived in the river; and on the 15th of *May* 1760, having anchored before the town, dispatched immediately two frigates to attack the *French* squadron, all of which presently run ashore and were destroyed; this transaction threw the besiegers into the greatest panic; so that they instantly raised the siege with such precipitation, as to abandon all their cannon, mortars, baggage, stores, ammunition, and provision, and retreated to *Jaques Cartier*. Thus ended also, gloriously to the *English*, the second siege of *Quebec*.

The *French* having been now every where routed in *North America*, their strongest forts, and the capital of *Canada* taken, there remained to them no place of consequence in these regions as yet unconquered, excepting *Montreal*; the reduction of which would render the subjection of this country to the *British* crown complete. To hasten its fall, General *Amherst* was making large strides. During the interval between the surrendry of *Louisbourg* and the time we are now treating of, he had been employed in attacking their several strong holds upon the *Lakes*, which had all yielded to his arms successively, notwithstanding the opposition of the *French* to preserve them. It had been concerted between him and General *Murray*, that as soon as practicable for the former to act along the lakes, the latter should meet and join him on the river *St. Laurence* before *Montreal*. Our other forces under Col. *Haviland*, at *Crown Point*, Sir *William Johnson* at *Albany*,

batt, Lord Rollo at *Louisbourg*, were likewise to draw together towards him, from their several stations. On the 9th of *July* 1760, General *Amberst* arrived at *Oswego* from *Schenectady*; off the harbour of which place, two *French* ships presently after made their appearance: the General thought to have decoy'd them into the hands of Capt. *Loring* at *Niagara*, by engaging them in a chase after some boats sent out for that purpose, but without success. Soon after two *English* vessels appeared upon the lake, and went in quest of the said ships, but they had, notwithstanding, the good fortune to escape. Troops were now daily arriving from *Albany* and other places, particularly Sir *William Johnson* with his *Indians*; and the General began to make the requisite dispositions for embarking them in order to proceed to *Montreal*; and to facilitate that design, he detached a body of light infantry, grenadiers, and highlanders, to post themselves at the bottom of the Lake, and assist in finding a passage for the vessels down the river to *la Gallette*. *Schuyler's* and *Murray's* regiments being now arrived, and the rest of the forces that were to join the General at *Oswego*, he gave orders for the whole to embark. This being accomplished, they all proceeded down the river; and not long after passed the two snows which had been dispatched in quest of the *French* vessels abovementioned; they had some how missed the right channel, and could get no lower. Here they received intelligence by an *Indian*, that one of the said *French* vessels was ashore, and so much damaged, that she could not get off, and that the other lay off *Gallette*. Upon this, the General resolved to lose no time, but hasten down the river to attack a post of the enemy at *Isle Royale*: in his way he discovered one of the *French* vessels, which the row galleys pushed after and took. She mounted ten twelve pounders and four swivels. The same day the *English* army took possession of *Swetgatchie*, and General *Amberst* sent engineers with proper parties down towards *Isle Royale* to view the coast and situation of the islands near it. The report of the engineers causing no alteration of the dispositions already formed, the General leaving some provincials and the heavy artillery at *Swetgatchie*, taking with him three row galleys, a body of regulars, the light infantry, the greatest part of the *Indians*, and some light field pieces, rowed down by the north shore, passed the forts, and took possession of the islands and coast below it, while Colonel *Haldimand* did the same on the south shore, and took post opposite to the fort, but out of the reach of its guns. The *French* vessel which had been taken, sailed down the river between the galleys that carried the troops, to anchor at random shot from the fort, which was effected with the loss of one galley and a few men, by a smart cannonading as they passed. Thus the place was completely invested. Two of these small islands were found abandoned, and our *Indians* meeting with some scalps, which the enemy in their hurry had left, were so enraged, that they burnt all the houses, and a chapel, to the ground.

On the 19th day of *August*, a battery was fixed upon each of the islands that were nearest to the fort, and a third on a point of land upon the southern shore; ground was broken, fascines prepared, the heavy artillery and provincials left at *Swetgatchie* were sent for, and the siege begun. As soon as the firing from the besiegers commenced, the two snows beforementioned being now arrived, were ordered, with the prize, to fall down, close to the fort; and with a proper number of marksmen aboard, to keep the enemy from their batteries. Dispositions were also made for storming, but the vessels not proceeding as the General could have wished, that design was deferred for the present. The fort in the mean while fired a great deal, but did very little execution, and our batteries by degrees dismounted their guns. We continued to play upon them till the 25th of *August*, when the garrison beat a parley, and capitulated. Whilst General *Amberst* was thus opening his way down the river to *Montreal*, General *Murray* was advancing on the other hand up the river to the same place. The manifestoes he published as he went on, drew the chief part of the inhabitants on the southern shore to submit themselves and take the oath of neutrality. He heard nothing of General *Amberst*, and was followed by M. *de Levis* with the bulk of his army in the rear; therefore Lord *Rollo* received orders from him to disarm, and make the inhabitants of the northern shore swear, whenever it could be done without retarding his progress, which brought on likewise a submission of that side of the river. He much regretted the necessity he was under of burning the dwellings of a number of those unhappy people, who had deserted their parish called *Sorrel*, and were in arms; but the execution of his duty demanded this piece of severity. On the 24th of *August* he arrived within nine miles of *Montreal*, the very day before fort *Louis* surrendered,

rendered, of which as yet he had no intelligence. General *Amberst* since that time, had been employed in repairing the said fort, and refitting his boats and vessels, and in whatever else was requisite for conveying the army down the river. He passed through the rapids, and the long fall, to the isle *au Chat*; thence rowed down lake *St. Francis* and encamped at *Baudet*. The next day some loss was sustained both of men, artillery, and boats, owing to the violence of the rapids in passing to isle *Perrot* where he encamped that night with the regulars, while, as it was too late for them to proceed so far, the train and provincials did the same on the river side. The inhabitants of the island had all flown to the woods; but many were taken again, or came in. After giving them the oath of allegiance they were reinstated in the peaceable possession of their houses; which unexpected lenity of treatment gave them no less surprise than joy. On the 6th of *September* by break of day, all the troops were embarked on board the boats, and proceeded in four columns by the right, the General intending to land at *la Chine* on the island of *Montreal*. He met with no opposition at his landing, except a few shot from some flying parties, which immediately ran towards the town, having broken down a bridge in their way; but that was soon repaired; and after a march of two leagues, the army was formed on a plain before *Montreal*, where they lay that night on their arms. They brought with them twelve pieces of cannon, mostly of light artillery, and left the *New York* troops, and two *Connecticut* regiments, to guard the boats at *la Chine*.

The next day a letter was brought to the General by two officers from the governor, the marquis *de Vaudreuil*, which referred him to what one of them, the Colonel *Bougainville*, had to propose. The conversation ended in a cessation of arms till 12 o'clock; when articles of capitulation arrived from the Marquis; to these the General returned conditions of his own, and wrote to the Marquis. This was answered and replied to again. Letters also passed between M. *de Levis* and the General, relating to the same affair; which was concluded, and the terms of capitulation agreed to on the 8th of *September*; the day after General *Murray* with his troops from *Quebec* had landed below the town. The substance of the articles were, that the troops should lay down their arms, and be sent to old *France* at the expence of the *British* crown, within 15 days, not to serve again during the present war; and that the inhabitants, now the subjects of *Great Britain*, should continue to dwell in the peaceable possession of their houses and property, with the free exercise of their religion. The surrendry of this place fully completed the conquest of *Canada* from the *French*, which vast country was thus wholly subdued in less than three years after the reduction of *Louisbourg*.

A DESCRIPTION

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A DESCRIPTION



DESCRIPTION

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LOUISIANA.

THE province of *Louisiana*, or the Southern part of *New France*, extends, according to the *French* geographers, from the gulph of *Mexico*, in about 29 degrees, to near 45 degrees of North latitude, on the Western side, and to near 39 degrees on the Eastern; and from 86 to near 100 degrees W. longitude from *London*. It is bounded on the N. by *Canada*; on the E. by the *British* colonies of *New York*, *Pensilvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, *North* and *South Carolina*, *Georgia*, and by the peninsula of *Florida*; on the South, by the gulph of *Mexico*; and, lastly, on the West by *New Mexico*. It contains, properly, the *French* settlements on both sides the *Mississippi*, and is, by some, said to be the noblest and richest province of all *North America*.

In that part which lies between the sea coast and *Point Coupé*, a tract of about eighty two leagues, the air is not very wholesome, because of the inundations of the *Mississippi*, which overflows regularly every year from the end of *March* to the beginning of *July*, during which all the country near the river is entirely under water. It has been remarked that the winters have been more severe, for some years past, than they were commonly known to be at the time when the *French* first settled here, occasioned, as is thought, by clearing the lands of the woods, or perhaps by some other unknown cause. The winter begins in this country about the end of *November*, and lasts till the end of *February*. During this season there blows a strong and piercing North Wind, and, whenever it changes from this point, the cold is interrupted by some intervals of moderate weather, and the sharpness of the winter begins to diminish. They remark three sorts of climates in this country: Towards the capital, and as high as *Point Coupé*, it sometimes freezes very hard, but seldom or never snows: From *Point Coupé*, as far as the country of the *Akansas*, the air is milder and more temperate; but towards the country of the *Illinois*, at about five hundred leagues above *New Orleans*, the cold is extremely piercing; the river *Mississippi*, and others in its neighbourhood, are generally frozen to such a degree as to be passable by carriages. But, though the winter be severe, it is by far the most preferable season in this province, because of the great plenty of wild cattle, goats, and game of all sorts; whereas, in the summer, the inhabitants are forced to be contented with fish, which is however exceeding plentiful, as are also fruits and greens. This season lasts in *Louisiana* from *March* to *September*, with excessive heats, and those often followed by prodigious hurricanes. These storms are commonly accompanied with hail and thunder, and, in a country composed of woods, lakes, hills, and valleys, the continual echoes are very terrible. In the year 1737, at *New Orleans*, on a *Sunday*, fell a shower of hailstones, some of which were as large as hen's eggs. Another inconvenience attending the summer in this country is, that in this season the nights are as hot as the days, and the people are subject to such terrible sunburns as have been known to prove mortal, or else cause a peeling of the skin from the whole part affected. *Louisiana* has scarce any autumn, and the burning heats of summer are immediately succeeded by white frosts, which appear towards the middle of *September*, and yet, what is more singular, obstruct not in the least the growth of sallads and other garden stuff common in that season.

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The

Climate different from those of *Africa* and *Europe*

The climate of *Louisiana* varies in proportion as it extends towards the North. In general, its southern parts are not scorched like those under the same latitudes in *Africa*, though its northern regions are colder than those of *Europe* under the same parallels. *New Orleans*, situated in thirty degrees, which is the latitude of the northern coasts of *Barbary* and *Egypt*, enjoys the same temperature of climate with *Languedoc*. Two degrees higher, in the country of the *Natchez*, the climate is much more temperate than at *New Orleans*: And in the country of the *Illinois*, which lies in thirty five and thirty six degrees, the summer is no hotter than at *Rochele* in *France*, though the ice is stronger, and the falls of snow much greater, in the winter.

Difference of climate from causes.

This difference of climate from what is found in *Africa* and *Europe* is attributed to two causes: The first is, the great quantity of wood, and the number of rivers in this country; the former of which prevents the sun's heat from reaching the surface of the earth, and the other occasions the great humidity of the atmosphere. To these we may add the vast extent of country stretching towards the North, those winds which traverse large tracts of land being found by experience to be much colder than such as come from the sea, or meet with large portions of that element in their passage. Hence it is no wonder that a North wind should cause the inhabitants to put on more cloaths, even in the summer, or that a South wind in the winter should have a contrary effect. Several days often pass in *Louisiana* without seeing the sun. There is no rain, however, but violent showers, such as accompany thunder; but this bad weather never continues long, and in half an hour the heavens resume their natural serenity. The dews are in such abundance, as to supply the want of rain in this country.

Hence its salubrity.

Hence we may easily account for the extraordinary wholesomeness of the air, and consequently for the just temperature of the blood, and that the inhabitants enjoy perfect health, free from acute diseases in their younger years, and retaining extraordinary vigour in old age; so that the span of life is no where extended to a greater length, nor with a happier state of health, than in *Louisiana*.

The same order will be observed in giving an account of the nature and situation of *Louisiana*, as in that of *Canada*. The description of this province will therefore properly begin with the country of the *Sioux* on the banks of the *Mississipi*, and by giving the most satisfactory account of the country on both sides that noble river to its mouth that can be found, not from hearsay, but from such as have travelled over it, and who, as they lived upon the spot, had all the necessary opportunities and advantages for that purpose, and who have made it their business to examine and illustrate the subject now before us.

Of the great river *Mississipi*.

The *Mississipi*, the chief of all the rivers of *Louisiana*, which it divides almost into two equal parts, was first discovered by Col. *Wood*, who spent almost ten years, or from 1654 to 1664, in searching its course; as also by Capt. *Bolt* in 1670, and in 1698 Dr *Cox* of *New Jersey* sent two ships, that discovered the mouth of this river, and sailing up 100 miles, took possession of the country, and called it *Carolana*. In 1699 the *French* first found this river, and called it *Colbert River*, in honour of their great minister, naming the country *Louisiana*. Some of the *Indian* nations in the Northern parts term it *Meshaſſepi*, or *The ancient Father of Rivers*, whence comes the name of *Mississipi*. They who inhabit the lower parts of the country call it, for what reason I know not, the *Balbaucha* or *Barbaucha*, but the name which the *French* sometimes give it, is the *St Louis*, and, by way of pre-eminence, *Le Fleuve*, or *The River*.

Vain attempts to discover its source.

Several attempts have been made by travellers, to discover the source of this river. Some voyagers, sent by M. de la *Salle* for this purpose, say that it takes its rise beyond the 50th degree of North latitude, in the country of the *Iſſatis* an *Indian* nation, whose country lies to the West of *Canada*. According to them, it springs from a large fountain, situated at the top of a rising ground, and by junction of the waters of five or six other rivers is increased so as to carry boats at no more than four or five leagues from its head.

Fall of *St Anthony*.

But the most satisfactory account of it is that of M. de *Charlevoix*, a native of *Canada*, and nephew of M. de *Blainville*, general commandant in the colony when the *French* first settled it. This gentleman, moved by curiosity alone, undertook to trace this river to its source. For this purpose he fitted out a canoe, and set out with two of the natives for guides, some wares for traffic, provisions for the voyage, and ammunition. Thus equipped, he sailed up the *Mississipi*, three hundred leagues above the *Illinois* river, as far as the famous cataract, called the fall of *St Anthony*. This cascade

cade is formed by a flat rock, which crosses the river from side to side, and is from eight to ten feet in height. Here *Charleville* was obliged to carry his canoe and effects on shore. When he had passed the Fall, he reembarked, and continued his voyage up the river a hundred leagues higher, and arrived amongst some hunting parties of the *Sioue Indians*, inhabiting both sides of the *Mississippi*, who told him, in their manner, that from the Fall of *St Anthony*, to the source of the *Great River*, the distance was as great as from thence to the *Great Water*, meaning the *Sea*; adding further, that the countries which lay in his way thither, were quite barren, and wholly destitute of game or any one thing necessary for the support or conveniency of human life. This conjecture with respect to the remoteness of the source of the *Mississippi*, is the more probable, as several very considerable rivers discharge their waters into it far above this Fall, and because, even higher than this place, the river is found to have from thirty to thirty five fathom water, and breadth in proportion; a convincing proof of its coming from a very considerable distance. To this might be added the opinions of the natives, who all agree in this opinion, and, no doubt, have it from other *Indians* living nearest to its head.

Though this gentleman could not visit the springs of the *Mississippi*, he learnt, however, that many rivers fell into it, even above the fall of *St Anthony*, and saw several of them himself, which, after a course of a hundred leagues, and more, discharge themselves into it on both sides.

As little is known, besides this general account, of the rivers which run into the *Mississippi* above the Fall; we shall therefore content ourselves with giving a description of the chief of those which discharge themselves into it, from this famous cataract, downwards to the sea. The first of these, on the West, is *St Peter's River*, the banks of which are inhabited by the *Sioue*; and it enters the *Great River*, near the fall of *St Anthony*. Some leagues further, on the East, is *La Riviere de Sainte Croix*, *Holy Croix* river, coming from the neighbourhood of *Lake Superior*; near its mouth copper is said to have been found. Three leagues farther is *Isle Pelée*, or the *Bald Island*, so called from its barrenness of all sorts of trees. Lower down the river widens, forming a lake called *Lac de Bon Secours*, or *Lake of Good Help*, one league broad, and seven in circuit, surrounded with meadows. On the West side of this lake *Nicholas Perrot* built a fort, in a very pleasant meadow, which the *French* have often made the center of their commerce with the Western quarters, and where they have even wintered, the country all round it affording plenty of all sorts of game.

On the West, 20 leagues lower, is the *Ouisconsin*, and on the same side with that river begins a meadow, sixty leagues in length, and surrounded with mountains, which afford a most delightful prospect. There is such another on the left side, but not quite so extensive. By this river *Father Marquette* and the *Sieur Joliet* entered the *Mississippi*, when they made their first discovery of that river. Here dwell the *Aioux Indians*, whose country lies in 43 deg. 30 min. North latitude. They are reputed to be great travellers, and will march, as it is affirmed, from 20 to 30 leagues in one day, when free from the incumbrance of their families. These *Indians* say that at three days journey farther are the habitations of the *Oman*, a nation of a fair complexion, especially the women, and with light hair. They likewise tell us that these *Indians* are always at war with the *Panis*, and other Western *Indians*, by whom they have been informed of a great lake at a vast distance, in the neighbourhood of which live a people dressed like *Europeans*, with buttons on their cloaths, inhabiting cities, exercised in the chase of the buffalo, mounted on horses covered with the skins of those beasts, but without the use of any other arms than bows and arrows.

Ten leagues below the *Ouisconsin* are the lead mines, formerly discovered by the *Sieur Perrot*, and still bearing his name. On the East side is the *Assenissipi*, by the *French* called *la Riviere a la Roche*, *Rock River*, so named from a mountainous rock opposite to it, which stands in the channel of the *Mississippi*, and is said to contain a quarry of rock crystal. Seven leagues lower you meet with two falls in the *Mississippi*, making so many carrying places; and eight leagues lower, on the W. side, enters the *Mingan* river, issuing from a vast and noble meadow, abounding with buffaloes and other wild game. This river is but shallow at its entry into the *Mississippi*, and besides very narrow, notwithstanding its long course of a hundred and fifty leagues from the North West. It is said to take its rise from a lake, and to form another after it has run about fifty leagues from the first. From this second lake it runs towards, *la Riviere Verte*, a branch of *St Peter's River*, and so named from the green colour of its bottom.

The

The banks of the *Moingona* are well stored with coal. At fifty leagues from its mouth is a large cape, or promontory, near which the waters are red, and of an offensive smell, owing, as it is said, to the large quantities of mineral ore, and, in particular, of antimony, found near this cape. At some distance from the *Moingona*, on the West, is the *Riviere au Boeufs*, or *Buffalo River*; between this river and that of the *Illinois*, on the East side of the *Mississipi*, have been discovered some very good salt mines or springs.

The next considerable river running into the *Mississipi* is the *Illinois*; but, before this is described, it may not be improper to say somewhat of those other rivers which fall into it in its course.

In travelling from *Canada* to the country of the *Illinois*, by way of lake *Michigan*, there are two different routs: The first is by coasting the South shore of that lake, and then going up the *Chicagon* river five or six leagues, whence passengers get into the river *Chicagou*, a branch of the *Illinois*, after passing two carrying places, over land. The longest of these is not above a league and a quarter, but as the river sometimes in the summer has not water sufficient to carry a canoe, the other way is generally preferred. In this, leaving the fort of *St Joseph's* river, six leagues up the stream, and then landing on the southern bank, is a carrying place a league and a quarter by the water side, and afterwards a vast meadow is to be crossed, beautified with groves of wood, which render the prospect extremely pleasing. This is called *Buffalo's*, *Head meadow*, from the head of one of those animals, of an enormous size, found in it. A league farther over the meadows is a kind of mere, or lake, which communicates with several others, the largest not above a hundred paces in circuit, which are the sources of the river *Theakiki*, from *Theak*, signifying, in some of the *Indian* tongues, a *Wolf*, because the *Machingsans*, or *Wolf Indians*, had formerly taken shelter here. The *Theakiki* is so narrow and full of turnings and windings

that canoes are often in danger of breaking, which makes the navigation of the *Theakiki* very tedious, so that after sailing ten or twelve leagues very little progress has been made. The banks are covered with game, and every where produce vines, which bear great quantities of very large grapes. The course becomes gradually straiter, and at fifty leagues from its source, though still very narrow, the shores on both sides show wonderfully pleasant, being covered with lofty trees, which, when they happen to fall into the water, obstruct the navigation. A little beyond this it widens into a small lake, the country is one continued meadow, to which the eye can find no bounds, where wander infinite herds of buffaloes, and nothing, in general, can surpass the richness of the prospect. The *Theakiki* loses in depth what it gains in breadth, so that travellers are often obliged to carry their canoes over land, where, without a guard, they run great risks from the *Sious* and *Outagami Indians*, drawn hither by the mortal hatred they bear the *Illinois*. What makes this small depth of water in the *Theakiki* the more surprising, is, that it receives considerable rivers in its course, and particularly that called the river of the *Iroquois*. At the *Forks*, or the junction of the *Theakiki* with the *Illinois*, the former loses its name. The reason of which is, no doubt, that the *Illinois* river takes its name from an *Indian* nation settled on its banks.

Few rivers in *Europe*, the *Rhine* and the *Danube* excepted, excel the *Illinois* after this junction, and no where can there be seen a finer or richer country than that which it waters, at least as far down as *Pimitoui*. Fifteen leagues below the *Forks*, it acquires a depth proportional to its great breadth, and in this space receives the waters of several other rivers, the chief of which is called *Pissicoui*, flowing from the fine country of the *Mascoutins* towards the North. This river has at its mouth a cataract, called the *Coal-pit*, from the vast quantities of that mineral found in its neighbourhood. All this way are vast meadows, interspersed with groves and thickets, and covered with grass, so very rank, that the passenger is in danger of losing himself in it, were it not for a multitude of beaten paths made over it, by the numberless droves of buffaloes, and herds of deer which traverse it.

A league below the *Coal-pit*, on the right, is a round rock of a vast height, and its summit in form of a terrace, called, from a village of those *Indians* near it, the Fort of the *Miamis*; and about a league further, another on the left, called simply the *Rock*. This is the extremity of a rising ground, which runs winding about two hundred paces along the side of the river, grown considerably wider in this place. It is steep on all sides, and at a distance has the appearance of a fortress. Here are still to be seen the remains of the palisade of an intrenchment made formerly by the *Illinois*, and easy to be repaired in case of an irruption of enemies.

Their

The *Indian* village is seated at the foot of the *Rock*, in an island, which, with several others, all wonderfully fruitful, divide the river into broad channels. The top of the mountain is a level terrass, where ten men with arms might hold out against all the *Indians* of *Canada*, were it but provided with water, there being none nearer than the river, which it is impossible to come near, without being exposed to an enemy.

The country here abounds with parrots, being the most northerly place where these birds are to be seen, and if they are sometimes found on the banks of the *Theakiki*, it is in the summer only. Hence to Lake *Pimiteoui* is 12 leagues, which is only a widening of the river, is about three leagues long and one broad. At the western extremity is another village of the *Illinois*, about fifteen leagues from that of the *Rock*.

From hence they reckon twenty leagues to the *Mississippi*. The first of these villages is in forty one degrees of latitude, and the entry of the *Illinois* in forty. From the *Rock* the river runs westward, and somewhat southerly; there are also several islands, some of them considerably large. The banks are in several places very low, so that both sides are under water in the spring, and afterwards covered with very long grass. The whole course of it is said to abound in fish, and in the adjacent meadows are vast numbers of deer and buffaloes, which latter make no difficulty of swimming the river, when pursued by the hunters. The next river which falls into the *Illinois* downwards is the *Saguimont*, a large river flowing from the South; and five or six leagues lower that of the *Macopines*, coming from the same quarter, but not quite so large, and taking its name from certain roots so called, which, if eaten raw, are a rank poison, but boiled over a gentle fire, for five or six days or longer, have no noxious quality. Between those two rivers you find the marsh called *Macboutin*, exactly in the middle, between the village of *Pimiteoui* and the *Mississippi*. Here may be discerned, after passing *Macopine* river, the banks of the Great River, which are very high, and situated at about twenty four hours sail from this river, this delay being occasioned by the winding of the *Illinois* river in this place, where it alters its course from West to South by East, and thence to East South East, in which direction at last, after abundance of meanders, and with a seeming reluctance, it mixes its waters with those of the *Mississippi*.

In this country, which belongs to the confederate *Indians*, and is esteemed by the *French* geographers part of *Louisiana*, is a *French* post, or settlement, at the village called *Tamarouas*. The country of the *Illinois* is an excellent soil, abounding in buffaloes and other game. And here you meet with the first elks to be seen in this part of the world. Swans, and all other sort of water fowl, are also in great plenty in these parts. This is esteemed the best of all the *French* settlements in *Louisiana* for producing corn, barley, and such sort of grain. All the husbandry required, is to stir the ground slightly before it be sown, which will alone suffice to produce an excellent crop; and it has been affirmed, that in a scarcity of corn at *New Orleans*, which happened during the last war, the *Illinois* imported upwards of eight hundred thousand weight to that capital. They also cultivate tobacco; but this thrives but indifferently, and ripens with great difficulty. All the plants which have been carried over from *France*, as also all manner of *European* fruits, succeed to a miracle.

The first *French* discoverers of *Louisiana* came down by the river of the *Illinois*, in their way from *Canada* to the *Mississippi*, as all those who have any business in the country of the *Illinois* only still do; but such as intend for the *Lower Louisiana*, or the *Iles*, descend, by the river of the *Miamis*, into the *Wabache*, and from that through the *Ohio*, into the *Mississippi*.

There are several silver mines in this country, particularly one called *la Mine de la Motte*, which has been assayed, as have also two others of lead, so plentiful in ore, that they vegetate within a foot and half of the surface. The country North of the *Illinois* is said to have a great many mines.

Near the mouth of the *Illinois*, on the right, is a vast savannah, or meadow, which is said to contain copper in great quantities. This coast is perfectly charming, and very different from that opposite to it, which is a high ridge of rocky mountains, adorned with cedars, that hide the view of the beautiful meadows behind them.

It is to be remarked further, with respect to the *Illinois*, so often mentioned, that some have asserted, what seems confirmed by the information of a *Missourite* woman, that those *Indians*, as well as the *Miamis*, come originally from the borders of a sea very far distant towards the West, where it has been presumed they had their first station, and before they came down into the country they now inhabit, on the banks of

the *Moingona*; at least it is certain that one of their tribes bears a name of this importance. A *Miamis* woman, taken by the *Sioux*, told Father *Pé*, superior of the missions of *New France*, that she had been conducted by the *Sioux* to a village of her own nation, situated very near the sea. The other tribes of the *Sioux* are known under the name of the *Peguarius*, *Tamarouas*, *Cabokias*, and *Kaskaskas*; and the two illages which bear their names consist almost entirely of *Tamarouas* and *Metchigamias*, and foreign nations, coming from the banks of a small river falling lower down into the *Mississippi*, and adopted by the *Kaskaskias*.

Advantage of
the French set-
tlement in
this country.

The colony of the *Illinois*, and the *French* post or settlement, among them has two advantages, one of which no other post of this country can dispute with it, and the other renders it necessary to all the rest of the province. The first is its commodious situation, by means of which a communication is maintained between the colonies of *Canada* and *Louisiana*, equally beneficial to both. The second is its fertility, which renders it the granary of *Louisiana*, and capable of supplying it with corn in abundance, were it even peopled to the sea.

The soil here is not only excellent for bearing wheat, but other necessaries for the support of human life. The climate is mild and temperate, being in 38 deg. 39 min. North latitude. Cattle might here be reared with the greatest ease; and even the vast herds of buffaloes tamed, and the flesh, hides, and wool of those beasts made a very valuable article in the commerce of the colony. The air is healthful, and the diseases, which are sometimes known to prevail here, may, at least in part, be owing to the indigence and libertinism of the inhabitants, and perhaps to the new breaking up and clearing of the lands; an inconvenience, which can have no long continuance. And in a colony once established, the climate can have no sort of effect upon such as are born in it, though of *European* parents. For these reasons the *French* have found means to attach the *Illinois* to their interests more than any other *Indian* nation, the *Abenakis* of *Acadia* only excepted. They are now almost all christians, that is, zealous *Roman* catholics, and are said to be of a very mild disposition.

Temperature
of the climate

The voyage down the *Mississippi* is very tedious, and the inconveniencies of it not a little heightened by the extreme cold in the winter season, even in the Southern parts. The windings of the river make this voyage a course of four hundred leagues, and though there are no falls or rapid currents, as in the rivers of *Canada*, it necessarily takes up much time, and passengers make even less way than on the lakes where they are not favoured by any current. The causes of the cold are much the same with those in the *English* Southern colonies.

Confluence of
the *Missouri*
with the *Missis-*
sippi.

Five leagues below the conflux of the *Illinois* river is the mouth of the *Missouri*, by which it discharges itself on the North North West into the *Mississippi*, making, perhaps, the noblest junction of two rivers on the face of the earth. Both are nearly half a league in breadth, but the *Missouri* is much the more rapid of the two, and seems to enter the *Mississippi* with the air of a conqueror, carrying its white waters unmixed to the opposite shore, and communicating its colour to the other, which retains it all the remainder of its precipitate course to the sea.

Near this conflux is an *Illinois* village, inhabited by the tribes of that nation called *Cabokias* and *Tamarouas*, which form one very numerous canton. It stands on a small river coming from the Eastern parts, and is without water, except in the spring at the distance of half a league. The reason they give why they built their town in so incommodious a situation, is, that when they first settled here, the *Mississippi* washed the walls of their cabins, but that in three years time it had lost half a league of ground, and that they were then thinking of removing it to some other place, which, with the *Indians*, is a matter of no great difficulty.

Canse river.

It will not be improper to mention the other rivers which fall into the *Missouri*, together with the *Indian* nations inhabiting the adjacent country, and the qualities of the soil. The *Missouri* receives several other rivers in its course, particularly that of the *Canse*, which has a course of above one hundred and fifty leagues. The opening of the *Missouri* into the *Mississippi* is said to lie five hundred leagues from the sea, three hundred from the Fall of *St Anthony*, and from the mouth or opening of the *Ohio* into the same river one hundred leagues.

Marameg
river.

Five leagues below the *Missouri* is the river *Marameg*, where, after many trials, the mine company of this place discovered, in 1719, a vein of lead two foot below the surface,

surface, and running quite along a chain of mountains, with some hopes of finding silver; the event of which is yet unknown.

Among the nations inhabiting those countries are the *Osages*, a numerous people, dwelling by the banks of a river of the same name, which falls into the *Missouri* at forty leagues from its junction with the *Mississippi*, and who send regularly once or twice a year to perform the ceremony of the pipe amongst the *Kaskaskias*. And fourcore leagues from this opening is the nation of the *Missourites*, from whom the *French* have given name to this river, for want of knowing the true one. Higher up, is the nation of the *Canses*, then the *Ojatas*, by some called the *Maſſotatas*, afterwards the *Aiouez*, next to them the *Panis*, a very numerous people, divided into several cantons, bearing very different names. The *Missouri* is said to take its rise among very lofty and bare mountains, behind which is another river, probably flowing from the same, and running Westward. This account ought to be of the greater weight, as no *Indian* nation is so much addicted to travel as the *Missourites*. All the nations now mentioned inhabit the Western banks of the *Missouri*, except the *Aiouez*, who reside on the Eastern, and are neighbours and allies to the *Sioux*. Indian nations of Louisiana.

The soil through which the *Missouri* flows is said to be meadow, for the most part Soil level, fat, and without a stone, which is the cause why its waters are always thick and muddy, whereas those of the *Mississippi*, flowing through a sandy firm soil, are perfectly transparent. The *Missouri* is said to be altogether unknown to the *French* any higher than two hundred leagues from its mouth, and most of the countries about it, and rivers which fall into it have been but imperfectly surveyed, and the country North of it is said to be wholly undiscovered.

The *French* had formerly a settlement on the Eastern point of an island some leagues long, opposite to the chief village of the *Missouri*, called *Fort Orleans*; and the Chevalier *Bourmont*, who commanded in it, acquired the esteem and confidence of the *Indians* in the neighbourhood of that river, so as to reconcile those who had before been all of them at enmity and embroiled in wars one with another. Amongst these people, those who inhabited the Northern parts had the greatest reputation for military prowess. After the departure of this commissary the natives cut the throats of the garrison, so that not a *Frenchman* escaped. Fort Orleans.

Some authors mention, in their account of this country, several other *Indian* nations on the banks of the *Missouri*, which are, according to them, the *Missourians*, from whom the river takes its name, the *Canses*, the *Oubouez*, the two nations of the *Panis*, white and black, the *Panimakas*, the *Aiaouez*, and the *Osages*, and, lastly, the *Padoucas*, by far the most considerable of them all, as the *Ouboues*, *Ojages*, and *Aiouez* are the least numerous, and the others but indifferently powerful. Other nations

The *Spaniards*, jealous of the neighbourhood of the *French*, formed a design to establish themselves on the *Missouri*, at about forty leagues from the post of the *Illinois*, on purpose to straiten the *French* boundaries on that side. In pursuit of their plan, they had determined, with the assistance of the *Osages*, to exterminate the *Missourians*, to whom the others are mortal enemies. With this intent they assembled at *Santa Fé* a body of men, with families proper for a settlement, and provided them with a Jacobin for chaplain, besides horses, cattle, and other necessities for an infant colony, the whole under command of an engineer. The multitude set forward, but missing their way, instead of their allies the *Osages*, fell in with the *Missourians*, to whose chief the *Spanish* leader, taking him to be the head of his own friends, without farther scrutiny, addresses the harangue he intended, and probably got by heart, for the chief of the *Osages*, acquainting him with the cause of his coming, which was to establish a lasting peace with the people, and with their assistance to destroy the *Missourians*. The *Missourian* chief, dissembling his real designs, seemed to accept of the offer with great alacrity, proposing even means for the accomplishment of the design, and at the same time inviting the *Spaniards* to indulge themselves with two or three days rest, after the fatigue of their journey, before they attempted to put it into execution, adding that it would be necessary for him to consult with his warriors and seniors on the matter proposed. During this interval the *Missourians* gave their guests the most magnificent entertainment in their power, and in the night, which was to have been the eve of their departure, fell upon the camp of the *Spaniards*, and cut them all off, man, woman, and child, only sparing the Jacobin, whom, whether out of respect to his condition, or from the singularity of his habit, they saved from the general carnage, amusing Spanish colony massacred.

amusing themselves afterwards, in good weather, with causing him to shew his dexterity in horsemanship. But the Friar one day, taking his advantage of their security, galloped off towards the *Spanish* settlements. This story comes from the *Missourians* themselves, who afterwards sold the holy instruments and habits, and other spoil amongst the *Illinois*.

*Osages and
Cajones rivers.*

Amongst the rivers which run into the *Missouri* the most known is that of the *Osages*, so called from the *Indians* of this name, inhabiting its banks, and near neighbours to the confluence of this river with the *Missouri*. But the most considerable of all is the river of the *Cajones*, which runs a course of two hundred leagues through a most pleasant country.

Hunting and
curing of the
buffalo.

Before we leave the *Missouri*, it may be proper to add somewhat relating to the manners of the *Padoucas*, the most powerful *Indian* nation dwelling on this river. Those of them who live at a distance from the *Spaniards* cultivate no sort of corn, but live by hunting, which they follow winter and summer. They have large villages composed of great cabins, capable of very numerous and almost patriarchal families. Here they make their ordinary abode, and hence you may see issuing forth at one time, a hundred hunters on horseback, with bows and arrows. About four days journey from their dwellings, they meet with large herds of buffaloes. They carry their baggage, children, and tents, on the same horses with them; a man on horseback leading the convoy, by which means men, women, and children, travel light, and without embarrassment or fatigue. After their arrival in the hunting country, they encamp near a rivulet, and always in a woody place, where they tie their horses to a long rope whilst they graze. Next day they mount each on his horse, and make to the first herd of buffaloes, and always from the windward, that the beasts may smell them, which they never fail to do, having a most exquisite scent. The hunters pursue them on the gallop till the buffaloes are so fatigued as to loll out their tongues, and fall from running to walking, when the hunters leap from their horses, and let fly their arrows, each killing his heifer, and sometimes more, for they never destroy the males. Then tying their horses to some tree, they flea the prey, take out the entrails, and cut the body in two, leaving all the rest, as the head, feet, and inwards, to the wolves and other beasts of prey. The skin is laid next the horse, and the carcass upon it, and the rest, if any, over that. Part is dressed on their arrival for immediate use, and the rest broiled, in order to be kept good for some days after. In two days the same thing is repeated, and then they bring back the meat with the bones taken out to the camp. The women and young people dry it in the smoke, whilst the men continue their hunting in the same manner as before. This meat so cured is brought lastly to the village, where they leave their horses to rest for three or four days, when some others, who had remained at home whilst their fellows were on the hunting party, take their places. This manner has given occasion, to some misinformed persons, to conclude the *Padoucas* to be a wandering nation. As this people knows nothing, or very little of husbandry, the *Spaniards*, who supply them with horses, bring them always loaded with tobacco, garden stuff, and *Indian* corn, which they barter for buffalo skins, serving them for coverlids.

Padouca Indians.

The *Padouca Indians* are a very numerous people, inhabiting a country near 200 leagues in extent, their villages reaching as far as the *Spanish* settlements in *New Mexico*. They are acquainted with the value of silver, and, according to what they told the *French* on some occasion, they actually worked some mines; and, at the same time, they informed them in what manner they proceeded. Those dwelling in villages, at a distance from the *Spaniards*, have hatchets and knives made of flint; with the largest of the former they fell small trees and underwood, and with the others they flea and cut up the beasts they kill. These people are far from a savageness of disposition, and it is no difficult matter to get acquainted with them, as they have long frequented the *Spaniards*, and in the short acquaintance the *French* have had with them, they have become very familiar; and in one of their villages, composed of 140 cottages, the dwellings of about 800 warriors, 1500 women, and at least 2000 children, in which the *French* concluded a peace with several *Indian* nations of these parts, the inhabitants were desirous to have some of that nation amongst them, promising to take great care of them.

Flint hatchets
and knives.

People of
mild disposition.

Polygamy, &c.

Polygamy seems to be in use among the *Padoucas*, and some of them have to the number of four wives. When they want horses they make use of great dogs, brought up on purpose, to transport their baggage. The men for the most part wear breeches

of

of dressed skins, with stockings of the same piece, like the *Spaniards*. The women also ^{Dress.} wear boddices, to which their waistcoats, which are made of the dressed skins, are tied : Their waistcoats are adorned with a fringe of skins.

This nation is at present almost entirely destitute of *European* goods, and seems to have but a very slight knowledge of them. The people were wholly unacquainted with fire-arms, till the *French* first brought some amongst them, and are extremely fearful of them, so that they will tremble and crouch on hearing a musket fired. ^{Fearful of fire-arms.}

They commonly go to war on horseback, equipping their horses with skins prepared and hung round with pendants, to save them from the shot of arrows. In other respects their manners are entirely the same with those of the other *Indians of Louisiana*, in which they discover nothing barbarous, except in war, but are endowed with greater magnanimity, gratitude, and observance of their word and ministers, and are less treacherous, and simpler in their diet, than those others.

As to the soil of this country, our author, in this place, says, that from its excellent qualities that of *Louisiana*, even to its utmost boundaries, may be seen. The commerce that might be carried on by means of the fur trade, which is at the same time highly lucrative, and without hazard, is very great.

From the manners and characters of those nations this writer concludes, that those ^{Manners.} Northern *Indians of America* must certainly derive their origin from the country of the *Scythians*. For if we go back two or three thousand years, and look into times of remote antiquity, we shall find a perfect similitude of customs and genius with those of the ^{Antient Scythians compared with Northern Americans.} *Scythians*, since called *Tartars*. An antient *Greek* author, who had frequented their country, and was certainly a judge in this point, tells us that the *Scythians* acknowledge one supreme God, the creator of heaven and earth, to whom they offered sacrifice, and worshipped under the image of the sun. They live, says he, in perfect innocence of manners, and are very unjustly deemed barbarous, since they follow the pure dictates of nature, and know no other desires than such as are capable of being satisfied with the fruits of the earth, and with such animals as serve them for food, keeping their promises to each other inviolate, maintaining great kindness and mutual affection in their families, exercising much hospitality towards strangers, and an unbounded humanity towards all mankind, and justly preferring that happy simplicity to our politeness, or rather false refinements, and those ancient and beneficent manners, which they derive from the first mortals, to all the enjoyments of that luxury and effeminacy which have corrupted the other countries of *Asia*. Frugality with them is the parent of justice, and as they are void of covetousness, they never make war to invade the property of others, and having no need of gold and silver, they have no passion for those false riches. Nature, which is their mistress, teaches them lessons of morality, to which all the pride and arrogance of the *Greek* philosophers could never attain ; ignorance of vice performing more in them than the speculative knowledge of virtue in nations under a better polity.

To return from this beautiful lesson of morality in *Herodotus*, the father of history, to ^{French missions and settlements.} the description of *Louisiana* : The next place worthy of notice from the *Missouri* down the *Mississippi*, is the village of *Kaskaskias*, where the Jesuits have a very flourishing mission, now divided into two, since the separation of this canton into two villages. The most numerous is that next the *Mississippi*, under the direction of two Jesuits in spiritual matters. Further down is fort *Chartres*, at about a musket shot from the *Great River*, and the whole space between the fort and river is now settled with *French* families. Four leagues still further, and a league from the river, is another large *French* town, almost entirely settled with *Canadians*, with a Jesuit for curate. The second *Illinois* village is seated two leagues further up the country, and is also under the direction of a Jesuit.

The *French* here are in good circumstances ; a *Fleming*, who was a domestic to the Jesuits, shewed them how to sow wheat, which succeeds very well ; they have also both horned cattle and poultry. The *Illinois* likewise till the ground their own way, and are very industrious, breeding great numbers of poultry, which they sell to the *French*. Their women too are very dextrous in spinning the wool of the buffalo, which they comb to an equal perfection with the *English* wool, and work it to such a fineness that you would be apt to take it for real silk. Of this they make stuffs, which they dye black, yellow, and of a deep red, and make robes of them, which they sew with the guts of deer, worked and spun into thread in a very simple manner. After the gut has been well cleared of the fleshy parts, they lay it in the sun for some days ; when it is dry, they

Manufacture of buffalo's wool.

they beat it, and out of it very easily make a thread, equal in fineness, and much superior in strength, to that of *Mecblin*.

French town.

The *French* town is bounded on the North by a river, the banks of which are so high that, though the water sometimes rises twenty five feet, it seldom overflows. All this country is open, consisting of immense meadows, separated only by small tufts of trees, all excellent in their kind; but the most common is the white mulberry, which, to the great detriment of the colony, the inhabitants are suffered to fell for building their houses, though they are in no want of other timber, equally fit for this use.

Dangerous
sailing on the
Mississipi.

The river here has been known to freeze so hard as to carry waggons though it be at least a full league in breadth, and more rapid than the *Rhone*. This is very surprising, as the winter in this country is scarce perceptible, except some slight frosts, when a North or North West wind blows. The change of climate is not very quick, on account of the slow navigating here, which in a bark canoe becomes very dangerous, from the great quantities of trees falling from this and the other rivers that run into it, which are often stopt against some points of land, and thereby interrupt the course of this river.

Pirogues.

Hence it is that, instead of canoes, they make use of pirogues, that is, hollowed trunks of trees, which, though not subject to these inconveniences, are, however, very heavy, and not easily managed, and some of them are so narrow as to be incapable of a sail; besides, the rowers, accustomed to paddle in canoes, are not very dexterous at that exercise. And again, if the wind ever happen, to blow high, which is generally the case in winter, the boat is always in danger of filling with water. The river of the *Kaskaskias* is very small.

Short summer

The leaves fall sooner in this country than in *Europe*, and are much later in budding than with us, not beginning to shoot till towards the latter end of *May*. The cause is by some ascribed to the number of trees which shade the ground, and intercept the rays of the sun, whence it is long before the earth acquires heat enough to cause the sap of plants to circulate, and sprout forth in buds and leaves.

Canes.

Eight leagues lower, on the left, is *Cape St Anthony*. Here are seen the first canes, which are much like those that grow in *Europe*, only longer and thicker. It is asserted by some, that these canes grow only on good land; but moisture likewise is required, and such lands are more proper for rice than wheat. They are not at the trouble to grub them up when they design to clear the grounds where they grow, which would be a very difficult task, because their knotty roots are very long, and spread to a great distance. These roots have a fine natural gloss, or varnish, like the bamboos of *Japan*, of which those fine canes are made which the *Dutch* sell under the name of rattans.

Clearing
and manuring
a field.

When therefore they intend to cultivate a field covered with these canes, they cut them close by the root, and leave them to dry; when dried, they set fire to them, and the ashes serve for manure, and the fire opens the pores of the earth, which is first slightly broken, and then sown with any kind of seed they think proper, such as rice, maize, water-melons, and, in general, all sorts of grain or pulse, except wheat, which in those fat lands run, all to stalk and leaves, producing no seed at all. This defect might easily be remedied by spreading the ground with a good quantity of sand, and sowing maize on it for the first two or three years.

Woods occa-
sion blights.

As for high grounds, and such as are not exposed to the inundations of the river, they are in a condition to bear corn; and if the first attempts made to cultivate wheat have failed by blights, it must be ascribed to the neglect of clearing the country of the woods, whence the air could not have free access to disperse the fogs which engender those blights. In proof of this may be shewn the country of the *Illinois*, in which being generally meadow land, the wheat sprouts and ripens as well as in any part of *Europe*.

Ohio river.

Seven leagues further, after very dangerous sailing, on account of the *Cherokees*, *Outagamis*, *Sioux*, and *Chicachas*, which infect it, who are enemies to the *French*, and have never made any peace with that nation, is the fine river *Ohio*, which may be navigated as far as the country of the *Iroquois*, when the waters are high. This river at its entry into the *Mississipi*, is at least a quarter of a league broad; and no place can possibly be more proper for a settlement than where these rivers meet. A fort here, *Charlevoix* says, would effectually bridle the *Cherokees*, at present the most populous nation in all this continent.

Six leagues from the *Ohio*, on the East, is a very high coast, which is of a yellow earth, and said to contain iron mines. It is infested with a kind of wild cats, called *Pigous*, very like ours in *Europe*, but larger. They are remarked to have some of them shorter, and others much longer and thicker tails. They are also of a very fierce appearance, and are said to be very carnivorous, and excellent hunters. The forests are full of walnut-trees, such as those in *Canada*, the roots of which have several properties peculiar to those of this country. They are very tender, and the bark of them is used for dying black; but their principal virtues are medicinal, as they are good for stopping a flux, and an excellent emetic.

It is to be remarked of the *Mississippi*, that the farther it runs the more winding it grows, and, what is singular enough, the wind follows the direction of all those windings. They reckon fourscore leagues from the narrow river of the *Chicachas*, on the East side, to the *Kaskaskias*, though by land the distance is not above one half. The river is divided, from space to space, by a number of islands, some of considerable bigness, into many beautiful channels, where the greatest ships may pass; and it is affirmed that they find 60 fathom water, at a hundred and fifty leagues from the sea.

The river *Margot* runs into the *Mississippi* on the East. A *French* general commandant, having landed in this river, in his expedition against the *Chicasaws*, built a fort on it called *Assumption* Fort; but it was razed next year, when a peace with those *Indians* was concluded.

On the West side the river *St Francis* enters the *Mississippi*; here the *French*, when at war with the *Natchez*, built a fort to serve for a storehouse to their troops, which were marching against those *Indians*.

As to the forests of *Louisiana*, with which this vast province is almost entirely covered, there is nothing in nature comparable to them, whether we regard the bulk and height of the trees, the variety of kinds, or the uses which may be made of them. For, excepting the dying woods, which grow only in hotter climates, and between the tropics, we cannot mention any species of timber which this country does not produce. There are woods of cypress from eight to ten leagues in extent; and the height and bulk of this species are always in a due proportion, and both exceed the dimensions of the largest timber in *Europe*.

It is not long since the *Europeans* observed an evergreen laurel, called the *Tulip-tree*, from the figure of its flower. This plant rises to a greater height than our *Indian* chestnut, and is adorned with more beautiful flowers. The *Copalm-tree* is higher and thicker than the tulip-tree, and distils a balsam, very little inferior to the *Peruvian*. All the known species of walnut-trees, and all sorts of trees proper for carpentry, or joiner's work, abound every where. But great caution is to be used in the choice of timber, not to chuse such as grows on the banks of rivers, nor in any place subject to the inundations of the *Mississippi*, such timber being not only too heavy, but, from having its roots always in the water, is very subject to rot, and decays presently.

The next place is the first village of the *Akanfas*, built in a small meadow on the Western banks of the *Mississippi*. There are three more within the space of eight leagues, each inhabited by a particular tribe of canton. There is a village which contains two tribes, but however disposed, they all go by the general name of *Akanfas*. One of these tribes is particularly distinguished under the denomination of *Ouyapes*, or *Wiapes*. The *French* West India company had some time ago a warehouse here, with a clerk, who passed his time in a dismal solitude.

The river of the *Akanfas*, which, as is pretended, comes from a very great distance, and at 120 leagues from its mouth is said to precipitate itself from a high chain of mountains, making a fall eighty feet high, which M. *Dumont* advises as a proper and convenient place from which to set out in order to discover the Western ocean, which he says is but 120 leagues distant, discharges itself into the *Mississippi* by two channels, four leagues from each other. This river takes its rise, as is said, in the country of the *Panis*, probably the same with those called *Panis ricaras*. The navigation of the *Akanfas* is very difficult, because of its frequent falls, and rapid currents, its small depth of water, and great number of carrying-places.

The *Fork* of the two branches is seven leagues distance from the second opening, and but two from the first. This is the river to which M. *de la Harpe* was sent to make the discovery of a rock of emeralds. It receives the waters of a beautiful stream coming from the country of the *Osages*, called *La Riviere Blanche*, or *White River*.

Indiannations Two leagues higher are the *Torimas* and *Topingas*, making between both but one village. Two leagues above this are the *Sotbouis*, and a little further still the *Koppas*, a nation very numerous in the time of *Ferdinand Soto*, and even so late as when *M. de la Salle* was here. Opposite to their village may be seen the sad remains of *Law's* grant. Grant which fell to the share of the company. One hundred and twenty leagues from the *French* post is a navigable river which the *French* have sailed up, and where the *Sieur de Villemont*, who came hither by the way of the *Black River* of the *Akanjas*, had a grant.

Colony dis-
appointed of
Palatines. To these parts nine thousand *Germans*, raised in the *Palatinate*, were designed to be sent; but, to the great prejudice of the colony, these industrious peasants never did arrive. There is, perhaps, no country in all *Louisiana*, next to that of the *Illinois*, more proper for raising all sorts of corn as well as for rearing of cattle.

Defoliation by
the small pox. In 1721 the village of the *Wyapes* was fallen to utter decay. Some time before a *Frenchman* passing this way was seized with the small-pox, which soon infected the strongest natives, and spread itself through the whole canton. The burying ground had the appearance of a forest of poles and posts newly erected, according to the *Indian* manner, and hung with all manner of trinkets. This is also reckoned the proper place whence to set out in search of the place marked in *De l'Isles* maps, as being situated on the Western ocean.

Akanjas
handsome. The *Akanjas* pass for the tallest and handsomest of all the *Indians* of *America*, and are therefore called by way of distinction the *Handsome Men*. For this reason they are thought to have the same original with the *Canses* on the *Missouri*, and the *Powtewatamis* of *Canada*. The first branch of the river *Akanjas* seems not above five hundred paces in breadth, and the second is much narrower.

Pointe Coupée is a high promontory, advancing into the river from the West. It has been cut by the river, whence it has obtained this name, and so is become an island; but the new channel is not as yet navigable, except when the water is much swelled. The distance from hence to the greater branch of the *Akanjas* is computed at two and twenty leagues, though the direct course be scarce above ten; for the *Mississipi* turns and winds, in an extraordinary manner, between the village of the *Wyapes* and the river of the *Yazou Indians*, which is 70 leagues distance.

Yazou river. The entry of the *Yazous* river lies North West and South East, and is about 200 feet in breadth. Its waters are red, and, as some pretend, give the bloody flux; and the air in the neighbourhood is very unwholesome. Three leagues hence is the *French* fort, which was some time since intended to have been transported from this place to a more healthy situation, in a fine meadow, close by a village inhabited by a medley of *Yazous*, *Couroas*, and *Ofogoula Indians*, who together may be able to muster about two hundred warriors. The *French* are, however, very distrustful of those *Indians*, on account of their connections with the *English*. Six leagues from its mouth, is the Grant of *M. le Blanc*, who had a fort and garrison here, destroyed by the *Indians* in 1730. A league from this place is an *Indian* village, and near it an hill, on which are to be seen the remains of an *English* fort. This river is navigable 45 leagues above its mouth, after which it divides into two branches, and abounds with

Crocodiles. crocodiles, from twelve to fifteen feet long. They are never heard to cry but in the night, and their bellowing so exactly resembles that of a bull, as to be easily mistaken for it. The *French*, however, bathe here with as much security as in the *Seine* at *Paris*; and though those animals never fail to surround them all the time they continue in the water, they are, however, not in the least apprehensive of them, as the crocodiles never attempt to molest them while they are in the river, only watching the moment they come out of it to surprise them. The way to save themselves, in this case, is to beat the water with a stick, which they never omit to carry with them, and by this means are in perfect security.

French import-
tant settle-
ment. The company have what they call a warehouse *d'Attente* [that is, an occasional one] in this settlement, as well as in that on the *Akanjas*; but the fort and ground on which it stands belonged to a society of *French* gentlemen. It is not easy to guess what made them chuse the river of the *Yazous* for their Grant, when they had it in their power to fix on a spot of better land, as well as a more proper situation. What probably determined their choice, was the importance of commanding this river, which rises in the *English* colony of *Carolina*, for keeping a bridle on the *Yazous*, who are allies of the *Cherokees*, an *Indian* nation under the protection of the crown of *Great Britain*.

Below the *Yazous* is a gulf, or whirl-pool, so dangerous that Father *Charlevoix* ^{Whirlpool.} tells us that, had it not been for a *Natché Indian*, the only person with him who knew any thing of it, he had been certainly lost in it. For, before you can perceive it, you are so far engaged as to be under an utter impossibility of extricating yourself. This dangerous gulf lies under a high cape on the left, containing, as they say, good quarries of stone which, in general, is scarce enough in *Louisiana*; but that defect is ^{Quarries.} amply supplied by the great conveniency for making brick.

The next country is that of the *Natché Indians*, the most beautiful, fruitful, and populous of all *Louisiana*, forty-leagues distant from the *Yazous*, and situated on the ^{Natché Indians.} same side of the river. The landing-place is opposite to a high and steep cliff, at the foot of which runs a stream navigable for pirogues and shallops. After this first height is a second tolerably easy, and on its top, a sort of redoubt inclosed within palisades, ^{Redoubt.} which, in this country, is called a fort.

M. de Iberville, the first Frenchman who entered the *Mississippi* by the sea, sailed up as high as the country of the *Natchez*, and found it so delightful, and advantageously situated, that he concluded it the fittest place that could be found for erecting a metropolis of the whole colony. Wherefore he drew the plan of a city, to which he gave the name of *Rosalie*, after the lady of the chancellor *Pont Chartrain*. This project, how- ^{Rosalie name for a metropolis.} ever, appears not to have been carried into execution, though the name of this city is retained in most maps, and particularly by *D'Arville* is called *Fort Rosalie*.

Father *Charlevoix*, though of opinion that the chief emporium in the first times, of the colony, at least, would be more properly seated nearer the sea, yet thinks that in case the colony which he believes likely enough to thrive, should ever arrive at any high degree of wealth and populousness, this place would be as fit a spot as any to support a capital. It is not subject to be overflowed by the river, the air is pure and wholesome, the country extensive, fruitful in all sorts of grain, pulse, and herbage, and, what is of vast advantage, extremely well watered. Besides, it is at no such immense distance from the sea, but that ships may easily sail up to it. And lastly, it is within a proper distance of all those places on which the *French* propose to settle, which he seems to think a principal point. The *French* had here, in 1721, a warehouse, with a chief fac- ^{French factory.} tory, who had no great business on his hands.

Amongst the many Grants in this territory, which, at the time now mentioned, were already in a good way, we find two of a large extent, consisting of a square of four leagues. One of these belongs to the people of *St Maloes*, and the other to the company, who have sent labourers hither from *Clerac* to plant tobacco. These two Grants are situated so as to form, with the fort, an equilateral triangle the sides of which are a league in length; half way between the angles is the great village of the *Natchez*. The granted lands are both watered by a fine river, which discharges itself at two leagues distance into the Great River; and a noble wood of cypress-trees serves for a screen to the company's plantation. The cultivation of tobacco succeeded perfectly well, though most of the workmen of *Clerac* are long since returned to *France*. The cultivation of indigo and cotton was undertaken much about the same time. ^{French grants and plantations.}

The great village of the *Natchez* has been long since reduced to a very small number of cabins; and the reason given for it is, that the great chief has a right to seize at pleasure all the effects of his subjects, who, to avoid his rapine, take the first opportunity to desert him; the revolvers forming several hamlets, or cantons, at some distance from the great village, which, as it is besides the residence of the court, is respected as the capital of the nation. The *Sioux Indians*, allies to the *Natchez* and *French*, are also settled in a canton in the neighbourhood. ^{Indian capital and cantons.}

Four leagues from the *Natchez* is a small river, where the *Mississippi* makes a circular sweep of fourteen leagues. Forty leagues farther down is another river, where the boats lie to in the night, and where the noise of the multitudes of fish that gambol in the river is prodigious. Two leagues farther is the river of the *Tunicas*, which, though but a rill at its mouth, at the distance of a musket shot up the country forms a considerable lake. The river of the *Tunicas* is represented by *D'Arville* as crossing a neck ^{River of Tunicas.} of land, and, by joining with the *Mississippi*, shortens the passage of that river 10 leagues.

The village of the *Tunicas* stands on the other side of the lake, on a considerable eminence; the air is said to be but indifferently wholesome, which is ascribed to the quality of the water, or, perhaps with more justice, to the stagnation and putrefaction of the waters ^{Village of Tunicas.}

Residence,
dress, and
character of
the chief.

Fruitless zeal
of a mission-
ary.

A carrying-
place.

Red and
black rivers.

French grants
and hopes.

Fort.

New-cut
island.

Remark on
the *Mississippi*.

French set-
tlements.

of the lake. The village itself is of a round form, with a large square in the middle, without walls, and but indifferently peopled. The chief's cabin is highly ornamented on the outside for the residence of an *Indian*: There are figures in relief graven upon it, and of more tolerable workmanship than one would naturally expect in such a place. The inside is, however, but ill lighted, and without any of those covers which, as some travellers tell us, were filled with stuffs and silver. The chief appears in a *French* or *European* dress, with an air perfectly free and unaffected. The *French* officers in *Louisiana* place their chief trust and confidence in this personage, who is much attached to that nation, which, on the other hand, strives to repay his good services with interest; a just piece of policy, and worthy the imitation of all who would do their country any service amongst the natives of *America*. He trafficks also with that people, furnishing them with horses and poultry, and is said to have good notions of trade. He has also learnt of the *Europeans* to hoard up money, and passes for a man of substance in that part of the world. The other cabins of this village are partly of a square form, like that of their chief, and partly round, in imitation of those of the *Natchez*: The square on which they are all built is about an hundred paces diameter. Two other villages of the same nation, at a small distance from this, are all the remains of a nation once very numerous. The *Tunicas* had formerly a missionary amongst them, of whom they were extremely fond; but drove him out after some time, for burning their temple, which, however, they have been at no pains to rebuild, nor have they rekindled their sacred fire; whence we may judge of their zeal for their own, or indeed for any religion. Some time afterwards they recalled their missionary from his exile; but their native indolence got so much the ascendant over all his preaching, that he was obliged to abandon them in his turn. At the bottom of the lake of the *Tunicas*, is a carrying-place of about two leagues, that saves ten leagues of the way by the Great River. Two leagues from the river of the *Tunicas* is the *Rio Colorado*, or the *Red River*, formerly called *la Riviere de Mârne*, the *Oumas*, and *la Riviere Sabloniere*, as also the *River* of the *Natchitoches*, after the *Indians* inhabiting its banks; but it retains only the name of *Red River* from the colour of its sands: The *French* built a fort here in 1745, 36 leagues from the *Mississippi*. The *Indians* say that this river runs from a lake, on which they never fail on account of the great swelling of its waves. From the same lake proceeds the river *Noire*, or *Black River*, which, after a course of 120 leagues, discharges itself into the *Red River*. It was hither the *Natchez* *Indians* retired in 1730, after having destroyed all the *French* in their country.

The *Red* river is only navigable for canoes, or pirogues, for forty leagues, afterwards it is nothing but unpassable morasses. Its opening appears to be about two hundred paces broad. Ten leagues above its mouth it receives on the West *la Riviere Noire*, or the *Black River*, otherwise called the *River* of the *Ouatchitas*. This flows from the North, and is quite dry for seven months of the year. Though here are several grants, yet not one of them appears in a fair way of thriving, since their only motive was the neighbourhood of the *Spaniards*, at all times a fatal bait to the *French* of *Louisiana*; for, in hopes of carrying on a trade with that nation, the best lands are uncleared and uncultivated. The *Natchitoches* are settled on the *Red River*, and the *French* have thought fit to build a fort in their country, to prevent the *Spaniards* from settling in the neighbourhood of the colony.

Twelve leagues below the mouth of the *Red River* is a second *Pointe Coupée*, or *New-Cut Island*; the Great River makes a large winding in this place. Some *Canadians*, by opening a small gut that lay behind a point, let in the waters of the *Mississippi*, which pouring through it with great impetuosity finished the canal about thirty feet fathom deep, by which travellers save fourteen leagues. The bed of the river is now become quite dry, except in time of an inundation; a manifest proof that the *Mississippi* presses towards the Eastern side in this place; a particular to be carefully remarked by such as intend to settle on the banks of that river.

To the North of this cut, and on the same side, is another grant, or settlement, called *La Concession de Ste Reyne*, in a very unthriving condition; and a league South is another, exposed to the same danger with the preceding. The soil on which this last stands is excellent, but the building, of necessity, erected at a quarter of a league distance from the river side, behind a cypress wood, the bottom of which is swampy, though capable of producing rice and garden-stuff. Two leagues within the wood is a lake two leagues

leagues in circuit, abounding with wild fowl, and its waters might be made productive of plenty of fish, by destroying the crocodiles which swarm in it. Lake.

The male cypress bears a sort of berry, or knob, which, if gathered green, affords a balsam, which is a sovereign cure for cuts. That which distils from the copalma, besides its other virtues, is also said to cure the dropsy. The root of the great cotton-tree, formerly mentioned, and which is to be found the whole way from Lake Ontario, is an assured remedy for burns and scalds of all sorts. They take the inner pellicle, or bark, and boil it in water, then bath the wound with this water, and afterwards strew on it the ashes of the same pellicle burnt for that purpose. Medicinal balsams and roots.

Three leagues farther is the well situated grant of M. *Diron d'Artaguet*, where are tortoises of a monstrous size, and so very strong that they are said to break a thick bar of iron with their paws. This spot is called the grant of the *Baton Rouge*, or *Red Staff*. Twelve leagues below are the *Bayagoula Indians*, the ruins of whose village are still to be seen. About fifty years ago it was very populous, when part of the inhabitants were carried off by the small-pox, and the rest scattered and dispersed by their fears, and have never been heard of since, so that it is much doubted whether there be a single family of them now in being. The settlers here have long applied themselves to the cultivation of silk, and for that purpose have planted great numbers of mulberry trees. They have also cultivated tobacco and indigo, which have long thrived wonderfully. Huge tortoises.
Grant of the Red Staff.
Bayagoubas.
Culture.

The next place is the little village of the *Oumas*, situated on the East side of the river, and containing some *French* houses; the great village stands a quarter of a league higher up the country. This nation is allied, and zealously affected to the *French*. Two leagues above this the *Mississippi* divides into two streams, making what is called a *Fork* in this country, by working and hollowing out to itself on the right, upon a *Fork* which it continually presses in these parts, a channel called the *Fork of the Cbetimachás*, or *Stimachás*, which, before it pours its waters into the sea, forms a lake of moderate extent. The *Cbetimacha Indians* are now almost entirely destroyed, those who remain of them serving as slaves in the *French* colony. Oumas and Stimachas Indians.
Fork.

Six leagues below the *Oumas* is the grant of the *Marquis d'Ansenis*, most delightfully situated, but since reduced to nothing by fire and some other fatal accidents. The *Colapiffas* had formed a small village in this place, which subsisted no long time. Below is the great village of that nation, much the pleasantest and finest of all Louisiana, though it musters only two hundred warriors, but all of them of undaunted bravery. Their cabins are in form of a pavilion, like those of the *Sioux*, and they very seldom use any fire in them. They have double hangings, that on the inside consisting of a texture of the leaves of the latanier, and the outer composed of mats. The chief's cabin is thirty six feet in diameter, one of the greatest any where to be seen, that of the sun among the *Natchez* having only thirty. Five leagues further is seated the grant called the *Burnt Canes*, between which and the *Colapiffas* the ground on which formerly resided the *Tachas* nation, which, in M. de la Salle's time, made a great figure in this country, but has sometime since entirely disappeared. Next in course is the place called the *Cbatitoulás*, two leagues from *New Orleans*, which, as well as some neighbouring habitations, are in a very prosperous way. The land is fertile, and, and what is more, has fallen into the hands of very industrious persons. Great village of the Colapiffas.
Burnt canes and Cbatitoulás settlements.

Ten leagues before the stream reaches *New Orleans* is the settlement of the *Germans*, who, after the disgrace of Mr *Laro*, abandoned his plantation at *Arkansas*, and obtained leave of the council to settle in this country. Here, by means of their application and industry, they have got extremely well cultivated plantations, and are the purveyors of the capital, whither they bring, weekly, cabbages, sallads, fruits, greens, and pulse of all sorts, as well as vast quantities of wild-fowl, salt pork, and many excellent sorts of fish. They load their vessels on the *Friday* evening, towards sunset, and then placing themselves two together in a pirogue, to be carried down by the current of the river, without ever using their oars, arrive early on *Saturday* morning at *New Orleans*, where they hold their market, whilst the morning lasts, along the banks of the river, selling their commodities for ready money. After this is done, and when they have provided themselves with what necessaries they want, they embark again on their return, rowing their pirogues up the river against the stream, and reach their plantations in the evening with provisions, or the money arising from the produce of their labours. Industry of the German settlers.

New Orleans
capital of
Louisiana.

New Orleans, the famous metropolis of *Louisiana*, is the first city which this king of rivers, the *Mississippi*, ever beheld upon its banks. The accounts given of the eight hundred fine houses, in five parishes, before the year 1722, appear much exaggerated, this place consisting then of about a hundred forty barracks, disposed with no great regularity, a great wooden warehouse, and two or three houses, which would be esteemed common and ordinary buildings in an *European* village. There is, however, reason to believe that *New Orleans* may in after times become a great and opulent city, if we consider the advantages of its situation, thirty leagues from the sea, which, according to some authors, requires no more than a course of twenty four hours, on a noble river, in a most fertile country, under a most delightful and wholesome climate, inhabited by people extremely industrious, within fifteen days sail of *Mexico* by sea, and still nearer the *English*, *French*, and *Spanish* islands in the *West Indies*; all which are much more than sufficient to ensure the future wealth, power, and prosperity of this city.

As the face of this metropolis has been much changed since the time in which the preceding description was made, it has been thought proper to subjoin the following from much later memoirs.

New Orleans
in its more
modern state.

At first *New Orleans* consisted of a few inconsiderable houses, scattered up and down, without any order or regularity, which had been built by some travellers, come from the country of the *Illinois*. When a resolution therefore was taken by the commandant in *Louisiana* in 1720, to build a capital, M. de la Tour an engineer was sent, who made choice of this as a proper place, and began with clearing the adjacent lands of the woods, and afterwards, traced the streets and quarters which were to compose the new city, advertising the inhabitants that, upon presenting a petition to the council, proper spaces should be allotted them for building. Each lot was ten fathoms in front, by twenty in depth; and, as each quarter contained a square of fifty fathoms, should contain twelve lots, whereof the two in the center should have ten fathoms, in front, by twenty five in depth. It was ordered that such as should obtain lots, should be obliged to inclose them within palisades, leaving quite round a void space of three feet in breadth at least, below which should be dug a ditch for draining off the waters in the season of the river's inundation. Besides these lesser drains, or defences, against the overflowings of the *Mississippi*, a dike, or bank, of earth, 16 leagues in length, was raised on both sides the river, from *Englishman's creek* to 10 leagues above the city, and behind that a ditch in the same manner. The buildings were at first only of wood, being properly so many cabins; but since brickworks have been erected, they are all of those materials, so that the governor's house, the church, the barracks, and almost all the houses are of brick, or half brick and half wood.

Its situation
and more re-
markable
edifices.

New Orleans stands on the East bank of the *Mississippi*, in 29 deg. 57 min. North latitude; and is said to be placed in a situation much inferior to many others which might have been chosen, on account of its vicinity to the *Mobile*, the chief settlement of the colony in its beginnings. Vessels of a thousand tons may ride here with their sides close to the banks at low water. It is only a league hence to the Creek of *St John*, where persons passing through the Lake of *St Louis* embark for the *Mobile*. The place of arms is an open square towards the river, in the bottom of which stands the parochial church, dedicated to *St Louis*, and served by the Capuchins. On the left of the church is the house of those monks; on the right is the prison and guard-room; and the two sides of the square are taken up with barracks for the troops. All the streets are strait, and cross each other at right angles, dividing the city into forty three islands, eleven in length along the river side, and four in depth. The intendant's house is behind the barracks, that of the governor's stands adjacent to the place of arms. The new convent of the *Ursuline* Nuns is at the extremity of the city towards the right, at the corner of *Rue de Chartres*, next the place of arms.

In this city is the council, held commonly on *Thursdays* and *Fridays*. It is composed of six counsellors, a procurator or attorney for the king, and an intendant, who acts also in quality of commissary, ordonnateur, or director of the works; there are besides a register and secretary to the council. Causes are tried here without advocates, or attorneys, and therefore without any charge, every man being his own council and solicitor.

The market stands on the bank on the left, and a little above the intendant's, and opposite



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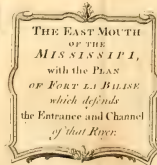
The market stands on the bank on the left, and a little above the intendants, and opposite

PLAN OF
NEW ORLEANS
THE CAPITAL OF
LOUISIANA;
with the Disposition of
its Quarters and Canals
by M. de La Tour
in the Year 1720.

REFERENCES

- A. House of the Intendant
B. Residence of the Capitan General
C. The Castle
D. Grand River
E. Hospital and Convent of the Ursulines
F. Grand House of the Jesuits
G. Place where the Windmill Stood

British Fathoms





opposite to that side of the square or place of arms, where the magazines are, is the anchoring place, where the ships lie with their sides close to the bank. The powder magazine is at some distance from the city, for fear of accidents. In a word, nothing is wanting to this capital, excepting fortifications. In other respects, there are a number of fine brick buildings, and many houses from four to five stories.

The banks of the river, for sixteen leagues on both sides, are covered with plantations not far from each other, each inhabitant raising a dike to secure his own dwelling from the inundation, which happens, as in *Egypt*, regularly every year in the spring, when such ships as happen to be at *New Orleans* take care to set sail, for fear of being prevented by the vast quantity of trees that the river carries along with it, which would break the strongest cables.

New Orleans, in 1720, made a very contemptible figure, being only, as *Charlevoix* tells us, an encampment of two hundred people on the banks of a great river, sent to build a city, and thinking of nothing farther than barely how to screen themselves from the inclemency of the weather, till a plan should be settled, by which they would be regulated in building their houses.

State of *New Orleans* in 1722.

There is nothing very remarkable in the neighbourhood of *New Orleans*: With respect to the advantages or disadvantages of the situation of that capital, opinions are divided. They who maintain the former, alledge the conveniency of its communication with the sea, by means of a small river, some time since discovered, about a league from the place towards the North East, called *le Bayou de St Jean*, or *St John's creek*. This way, say they, a very safe trade may be easily carried on between the metropolis and the *Mobile*, *Biloxi*, and the other *French* ports situated along the sea. They moreover observe that the river makes a great circuit below the city, called the *Englishman's creek*, which, by retarding the progress of vessels in their way to *New Orleans*, secures it effectually from being surprised by an enemy.

Advantageous situation of *New Orleans*.

The gentlemen, who are of another opinion, alledge that these reasons are rather specious than solid. For, in the first place, say they, those who argue in this manner admit that the river is only capable of small vessels. Now on this supposition, they ask, what need has the capital, if ever so little fortified, need to fear a surprise, since it is thus granted that it can be attacked only with small craft, utterly incapable of heavy ordnance? However, say the same opponents, let the city be placed where it will, the mouth of the river is, at all events, to be secured with a fort and good batteries, which would, at least, serve to give timely notice to the capital to prepare for the reception of the enemy. Secondly, they ask where lie the great advantages of a communication which can only be kept open by means of shallops, and with ports which, in case of an attack, could not be defended, and whence but feeble assistance, of no manner of utility, could be drawn in return. To these objections they add, that when a vessel is going up through *Englishman's creek*, it stands in need of a change of wind almost every minute, which is enough to detain it whole weeks in a passage of no more than seven or eight leagues.

Objections.

A little below *New Orleans* the land begins to be very low, on both sides the river, crosses the country, and gradually declines as it approaches nearer the sea. This point of land is, to all appearance, of no long date; for upon digging ever so little below the surface, you come to the water. Besides, the number of beaches, or breakers, and islets formed within the last half century at all the several mouths of the river, leaves no room to doubt that this peninsula has been entirely formed in the same manner. And it is very certain that when *M. de la Salle* sailed down the *Mississippi* to the sea, the opening of that river was very different from what it is at present.

Peninsula formed by the *Mississippi*.

The nearer you approach to the sea, the truth of what is here said becomes more visible. The bars which cross the most part of those small channels, which the river has opened for itself, have been multiplied only by means of the trees carried down by the current, one of which, stopped by its roots or branches, in places of shallow water, will retain a thousand more in the same place. *Charlevoix* says he has seen gatherings of trees, formed in this manner, two hundred leagues from this capital, one of which, alone, would have filled all the timber and fuel yards in *Paris*. As no human force is, in this case, able to remove them, the mud carried down by the river serves to bind and cement them together, till, by degrees, it entirely covers them. Every inundation leaves a new layer, or bed, and, after ten years time, canes

Islands formed by aggregates of trees.

and shrubs begin to grow a-top of them, thus forming points and islands, which frequently oblige the river to shift its bed, and take a new course.

Land un-
granted.

Between *New Orleans* and the sea you find no grants, on account of the small breadth of land; so that all you see in this route is only a few private habitations, with public warehouses for supplying the large grants with necessaries.

Chawachas
Indians.

Behind one of these habitations, and immediately below the *Englishman's creek*, were formerly settled the *Chawachas*, the ruins of whose village are still to be seen. The chief's cabin was not unlike the cottage of some *French* peasant, excepting only that it had no windows. It was built of branches of trees, the void places between which were filled with the leaves of the *latanier*. The roof was constructed in the same manner; this chief is absolute, like all those of *Florida*; he hunts only for his pleasure, his subjects being obliged to supply him with game out of what they take for themselves. The village now stands on the other side of the river, and a league lower down, whither the *Indians* have transported even the very bones of their dead.

Passes of the
Mississipi.

A little below their new abode the coast is much higher than any where else this way; and here, according to *Charlevoix's* opinion, is the best place for building the capital, which would then be but twenty leagues from the sea; so, that with a moderate breeze of wind at South East, a ship might easily reach it in fifteen hours. Lower is another winding of the river, called *le detour aux Piakimines*, or *Piakimine tree Creek*. Soon after great care must be taken in navigating amidst the Channels of the *Mississipi*, for fear of falling into a wrong channel, in which case it is past all possibility of ever extricating the vessel. These channels, for the most part, are but small streams, some of which are only separated by means of the bottom, which rises in ridges above the surface of the water, occasioned by the choaking up of its course with mud and trees, the bar of the *Mississipi* multiplying those channels by stopping the vent of the water, and so forcing it to break out into new openings, through the softest and newest-formed earth near it; and it might happen in time, if great care be not taken to prevent it, that all the passes should become alike impracticable, at least for ships.

Island of
Thoulouze.

Opposite to the bar is the *Island of Thoulouze*, formerly called *Isle de la Balise*, (Island of the sea-mark) from a sea-mark, some time since erected here for the convenience of shipping. This island is about half a league round, including another island separated from it by means of a channel always wet. It is every where very low land, except in one place, which is never covered with the inundation, and comprehends sufficient room to contain the fort and magazine. Here ships may unload, when otherwise unable to get over the bar. The bottom is hard, clayey ground, with five or six small springs issuing from it, which leave a very fine kind of salt on the surface. When the river is at the lowest, or during the three hottest months, the water is salt round this island; but in the time of inundation perfectly fresh, and retains this quality a full league out at sea; at other times it is brackish after passing the bar. Hence what we are told of the *Mississipi's* preserving its waters unmixed with the sea, for twenty leagues, is a meer fable.

Waters of the
Mississipi.

Principal
channel.

The following is the state of the principal channel of the *Mississipi*, as examined by the Pilot *Kerlazio* in 1722. This opening runs North West and South East for the space of three hundred fathoms, it is 250 broad, ascending from the sea to the island of *Thoulouze*, opposite to which are three small islands, which, though considerably elevated above the level of the water, had no herbage. All this way the depth of the channel in the middle is eighteen feet, on a bottom of soft mud: but such as are not acquainted must always have the lead in their hand. Ascending from hence four hundred fathoms more, in the same direction North West, there is still fifteen feet water, and the same bottom, with good anchorage all the way, and sheltered from all winds, except the South and South East, which might cause the driving of the ships from their anchors when it blows a storm; but without danger, since they must strike on the bar, which is soft mud. Afterwards the course is North West, one quarter North East, for five hundred fathoms. The river at the bar is 250 fathoms broad between low lands covered with bushes, and has twelve feet depth; and at half low water great caution must be taken, because of banks in the way.

Eastern chan-
nel.

In sailing through the Eastern channel, which is 250 fathoms broad, and from 4 to 15 deep, they steer full West for a league, and then all of a sudden find no bottom. Then entering the great channel, after leaving the bar, they sail still North West for the space of three

three hundred fathoms, constantly in forty five feet water. On the left is what the French call the *Passe à Sauvole*, by which shallows may go to *Biloxi*, steering their course Northwards. This channel takes its name from an officer, left by M. *Iberville* as commandant in the colony, when he returned to France. *Passe à Sauvole.*

Then turning Westward, one quarter North West, for fifty fathoms, and on the left hand, is a bay, at the end of which are three channels, one on the South East, another on the South, and a third on the West South West quarter. This bay has no more than ten fathoms in breadth, and one in diameter; and all these channels have very little water. Following the same course, fifty fathoms further, lies another bay, which is twenty paces in diameter, and fifty in depth within land. It contains two small channels, though they are hardly reckoned in that number, since a canoe of bark can scarce make its way through them. Bays.

From hence, you steer Westward five hundred fathoms, to the *Passe à Loutre*, or *Otter Channel*. This is on the right hand, and runs towards the South East. It is five hundred fathoms broad, but is only capable of receiving pirogues. Afterwards you sail South West twenty fathoms, and then standing Westward three hundred, after that West one quarter North West, for a hundred more; again as much West North West, then North West eight hundred, to the *Passe au Sud*, or *the Southern Pass*, two hundred and fifty fathoms in breadth, which has nine fathoms water at its entry into the *Mississippi*, and only two feet where it falls into the sea. Two hundred and fifty fathoms farther, is the *Passe au Sud Ouest*, or South West pass, of the same breadth nearly, and never less than from seven to eight feet water. *Otter channel*

Near the entrance of the river, and on the East of the Southern passage, are the islands called *Isles de Chandeleur*, on which are found vast quantities of eggs of all manner of sea fowl. It is believed that between these islands and the land there is a passage for ships of the greatest burthen, and that it would be no difficult matter to make an excellent port here. The passage is bounded on the left by a series of small lakes, situated towards the extremity of that of the *Cbetimachas*, and on the right, as above, by the *Isles de Chandeleur*, or *Candlemas Islands*. Large barks may go up as high as the lake of the *Cbetimachas*, where they may freely cut fine oaks, with which all this coast is covered. Near this gut the lands begin to be less marshy, though they are drowned four months in the year. All along the banks of the river thus far you see nothing but sand and canes. It is also remarkable that, for the space of eleven leagues up the river, the banks are so bare and naked as to produce but two trees, both on the East side, and at a league distance from each other: The one is called *l'arbre a bouteille*, or *the bottle tree*, from a bottle hung on it when first discovered by the French, and inclosing a letter from some person informing his fellow travellers which way he had gone. The second is called *la Potence à Picard*, or *Picard's gallows*, and owes this ill omened appellation to a saying of one *Picard*, who, passing by this tree in a pirogue, said, if ever it were his fortune to be hanged, he wished it might be either on this tree, or at least on such another. Here too the banks begin to be covered with lofty trees, and those in such numbers, and so thick, as to becalm the ships that pass, so that they are often obliged to warp their way with the windlafs from point to point; whence it sometimes happens that they take up two months time to make the nineteen leagues hence to the capital. Were it not for this difficulty, ships might with ease sail up the *Mississippi* above five hundred leagues; and this might be removed by clearing its banks of the wood. Two remarkable trees.

Some have been of opinion that the best way would be to shut up all the passes except the principal one, by conveying the trees which are continually floating from above into the other channels. The advantage arising from this improvement would, in the first place, be this; that, by rendering the river inaccessible even to small vessels and canoes themselves, the colony would be almost effectually secured from any surprise. The second is, that all the waters of the *Mississippi*, having been thus conveyed into one and the only remaining channel, would naturally, and of themselves, by degrees, hollow its bed, and possibly, in time, remove the bar itself. What has actually happened in regard to the two *Pointes Coupées*, already taken notice of, renders this notion far from being unreasonable. All that would then remain to be done, would be to keep the channel clear of any embarrassments from floating trees; a matter of no insurmountable difficulty. *Reduction of the Mississippi.*

As to the breadth of the river between the passes, that is, for four leagues distance from the island of the *Thoulouse* to the South West pass, it never exceeds fifty fathoms. Different breadth of the Mississippi.

But

But just above this pass the *Mississippi* recovers insensibly, and by slow degrees, its ordinary breadth, which is never under a mile, and seldom above two miles. Its depth increases in like manner, from the bar upwards, contrary to what is in other rivers, which generally have their greatest depth nearest the sea.

Plantation
distant from
the river eli-
gible.

It appears that the plantations would be better placed, at least a quarter, if not half a league from the banks, than close by the river, from the inconveniences of living on land which is always moist, and where with ever so little digging you come presently to water, and consequently can have neither cellar nor vault. Perhaps too it might be no small benefit to remove farther off, and leave the intermediate grounds and settlements free to the inundations, which might possibly contribute much to their improvement. The mud, which remains after the waters are fallen, renews and fattens the soil, part of which might be employed in pasture, and on the other might be sown rice, pulse, and, in general, such plants as prosper best in fat, moist lands. The banks of the *Mississippi* might be made to produce, from its gardens, meadow and pasture ground, not only a stock of provisions sufficient to support the inhabitants, but might furnish articles in commerce proper for the islands and neighbouring colonies. Those who have sailed down this river, and gone on shore twice or three times every day, say that almost every where at the smallest distance from the banks are rising grounds, where houses and other buildings may be erected on solid and durable foundations, and where wheat would grow very well, provided the timber was felled, and by that means the grounds left open to the salutary effects of the free circulation of the air.

Navigation
of the *Missis-
sippi*.

As to the navigation of the river, this will always continue to be attended with difficulty in its ascension, on account of the strength of the current, which even obliges persons to be very careful when descending, as it often carries them upon the points which project into the river, and upon the breakers or beaches. Hence, to navigate with safety, they will be under the necessity of using such vessels as are proper for sailing and rowing at the same time. Besides, as it is impossible to pursue their way in the night, when dark weather, these voyages must consequently be always very tedious and expensive, at least till such time as the banks of the river become better and more closely peopled through its whole course, that is, from the river *Illinois* to the sea.

Coast of
Louisiana.

The coast of *Louisiana* is bounded, according to the *French* writers, on the West by *St Bernard's Bay*, where *M. de la Salle* landed, imagining it to be the mouth of the *Mississippi*. Into this Bay falls a small river, with several others, as into *Ascension Bay*; the inhabitants of the colony scarce ever visit this coast. Towards the East the coast is, by the same writers, said to be bounded by *Rio Perdido*, corruptly termed, by the *French*, *Riviere aux Perdrix*, or *Partridge River*. The *Spaniards* call it *Rio Perdido*, or, *the River which loses itself*, from its running under ground, and afterwards emerging, and continuing its course till it falls into the sea, a small distance Eastward from the *Mobile*, where the *French* of this colony had their first settlement. The coast, from the Island of *Thoulouse* to the *Ile aux Vaisseaux*, opposite to *Biloxi*, is so very flat, that merchants dare not approach nearer than four, and barks than two leagues of the shore; and even these latter must keep at a greater distance when the wind is North or North West, or else they will run aground, as it sometimes happens. The road lies along the shore of the Island *aux Vaisseaux*, extending a short league from East to West, and very narrow.

Mobile
*French settle-
ment.*
Illes Thoulouse
*and aux Vais-
seaux.*

Ile Dauphine
described.

East from this island is *Ile Dauphine*, formerly *Massacre Island*, so called from the great quantity of human bones found in it on its first discovery, where the *French* had their first settlement in these parts. Its length from East to West is about 17 leagues, and its breadth from North to South one large league. It is constantly exposed to the burning heat of the sun, and the soil so barren as to be scarce productive of sallads and other greens. The soil consists of little more than sand, which near the sea is so white and glittering, that when the rays of the sun fall directly upon it, the eye cannot behold it without great pain; and some have been obliged to leave it on account of this inconvenience, which endangered their sight. Though this island be entirely surrounded by the sea, it has this very great advantage, that by digging in the sand, at a very small distance from the shore, you meet with the greatest plenty of the finest fresh water. The anchoring place is at two leagues distance from the island, because of the sand banks. The seas about it abound with store of excellent fish. With respect to trees, the most common are, the pine and the fir, with some shrubs, and great quantities of a plant, which bears a fruit called *Pommes de raquette*, [Racket Apples] which is a sovereign remedy

medy against the dysentery and bloody flux. Sun-burns are also extremely frequent in this island. Here was anciently a commodious harbour, but destroyed by having its entry choaked with sand in two hour's time by a hurricane.

To the Westward of *Isle aux Vaisseaux* lie *l'Isle de Chats*, or *Cat-Island*, otherwise *Isles de Chats* and *Bienville Island*, *isles de la Chandeleur*, or *Candlemas Islands*, and to the East are *l'Isle à Corne*, or *Horned Island*, and the *Isle Dauphiné*.

On the continent opposite to the *Isle aux Vaisseaux* are the *Old* and *New Biloxi*, two *Biloxi Old* and *New* places remarkable for their having been successively the chief settlements of the *French*.

after their abandoning the *Isle Dauphiné*, and so called from an *Indian* nation anciently residing in this place, and since removed higher up the country towards the North West, on the banks of a little river called *la rivière de Perles*, or *Pearl river*, from the great quantity of pearls, of an ordinary quality, found in it. The situation of the *New Biloxi* is so bad that a worse could not have been found, both an account of the difficulty of its being approached by the shipping, for reasons already mentioned, and because the road has two great inconveniencies, *viz.* the extreme badness of the anchorage, and the swarms of worms which destroy the shipping, its sole use being to shelter ships from the violence of hurricanes in case of their standing in for the mouths of the *Mississippi* when they want watering, it being dangerous, on account of the flatness of the coast, to approach it otherwise.

It is no better in respect of its situation with regard to the land; the soil consists only of sand, and produces nothing but pines and cedars, and the cassine, otherwise called the *Apalachine* plant, which springs up every where in great abundance. The heats are here prodigious in the summers, especially after the sun has set the sands on fire, if I may be permitted so to speak. And we are assured that were it not for the sea breezes, which arise regularly every day between nine and ten in the morning, this part would be absolutely uninhabitable. *New Biloxi* stands in thirty degrees fifteen minutes North latitude, as the mouth of the *Mississippi* does in twenty nine. The cold here in *February* is pretty sharp, when the wind comes from the North or North West, but lasts no long time, and is even sometimes followed with considerable heats, storms, and thunder, so that in the morning you are in the winter, and in the afternoon in the summer seasons, with intervals of spring and autumn. The breeze comes regularly always from the East, and when it proceeds from the North it is only the reflexion of the wind, and is less refreshing, but always welcome, as without wind here is no breathing at all.

Coasting along this shore, the prospect is always agreeable to the eye, but coming near it the scene is quite changed; the whole is a sandy bottom as at *Biloxi*, and nothing but dry, gloomy woods are to be found.

Thirteen or fourteen leagues Eastward from *Biloxi* is the *Mobile*, on *Maubile*, called by the *Natives* and *English* *Chicasaw* river running from North to South, one of the principal rivers of *Louisiana*, on account of the *French* settlements on it, and falling into the sea opposite to *Isle Dauphiné*. This river takes its rise in 3 streams at the foot of a chain of mountains in the country of the *Chicasaws*, and after a course of a hundred and thirty, or, as others say, three hundred leagues falls into a bay of the same name, at the distance of four score leagues by sea from that of the *Mississippi*, at the Western entrance of the river is situated *le Fort Condé de la Mobile*, built of brick with four bastions, besides half moons, a good ditch, cover'd ways and glacis, in the method of *Vauban*; with a magazine and cazerns for the soldiers of the garrison, which is always very numerous. Twelve leagues to the North on the same side of the river. Is the *French* Fort called *Fort Louis de la Mobile*, built in 1702, and deserted in 1711. The bed of the *Mobile* is very narrow, and winding, and at the same time very rapid, but is navigable only for piragues when the waters are low. The *French* fort on this river was for a long time the chief settlement of the whole colony. It is most valued on account of its serving to keep in awe the *Chataways*, a numerous nation, forming a good barrier to the *French* against the *Chicasaws*, and other *Indian* nations, in the province of *Carolina*. Some say that a stone quarry has been discovered near this place, which may be made of great service. The soil near this river is said to be extremely barren, but the interior parts, and such as are at a greater distance from it, are tolerably fertile. A hundred and forty leagues higher is the Fort of *Tombaché*, built in 1735, to serve as a communication in the war with the *Chicasaws*. *Tombaché* is a kind of mountain, consisting of a white, soft stone, and is the canton which most abounds in cedars of the whole province; the earth here is also very proper for potters work. About sixty leagues from the mouth of the *Mobile* it receives on the left the waters of the river *Aubamou*, on which, at the distance of sixty leagues from its opening,

in the Country of the *Creek Indians* in *South Carolina* the *French* have built *Fort Toulouse*. This canton is said to be one of the finest countries in the whole world.

An uninfertile
soil.

The soil on the coast, from *Rio Perdido* as far as *St Louis Bay*, is a very fine sand, as white as snow, and produces pines, cedars, and some green oaks. The river *Mobile*, whose bed is of a fine sand is far from being equal in plenty of fish to the river *Mississippi*. The banks from its source to the sea are equally uninfertile, being nothing but gravel, with a small mixture of earth; and, though not absolutely barren, its productions differ extremely from that of such lands as lie contiguous to the great river. This country is in some parts mountainous, though it is not certainly known whether they have any quarries of stone fit for building. The lands are somewhat better about the river of *Alibamous*.

Communica-
tive of bar-
renness to
women.

The lands and water of the *Mobile* are extremely uninfertile, not only in plants and fishes, but, as the quality of both these contributes much to the decrease of animals, the same effect happens with respect to the Inhabitants, many of the women having become barren on their settling in these parts; as, on the contrary, they have recovered on removing to the banks of the *Mississippi*. The interior parts of this country must be exempted from this quality common to many parts near the sea.

NATURAL HISTORY of LOUISIANA.

Introduction.

NO study can be more pleasing than that of Natural History, every advance therein disposes the mind to adore the Almighty providence, whose power, the more immediately it is examined, appears still more wonderful and beneficent: every new discovery is a fresh gratification to the curious inquirer, and its uses are manifest both in commerce and medicine. *Louisiana*, it must be confessed, affords a large field for the pursuit of this science, which has been the object of our careful attention, taking *du Pratz*, for our principal guide baiting with him at the most remarkable places, though without staying too long at one stage, or wasting the time in needless excursions, or too circumstantial descriptions.

Beautiful
country.

The inland country of *Louisiana* affords as great a variety of beautiful land-skiips, as the imagination can form; the fields are diversified with the sweetest flowers, and the slopes conveniently covered with woods, where the beasts find a sure shelter from the dews which fall here very heavily.

Herds of
bees.

As you advance the country becomes pleasanter and more fertile. Game abounds on every hand, and it is not uncommon to meet with five or six hundred bees feeding in a herd. When you fire upon one, the rest run away; but if the creature at whom the hunter aimed, is not disabled, he turns with infinite fury upon his assailant. Deer are every where seen in numbers, and large roe-bucks, which sometimes march under the direction of a white one of their own species, whom they all seem to respect, treading exactly in his steps, and none presuming to advance before him.

Deer, roe-
bucks.

Natural
observation.
Singing birds.

In the woods are many sorts of song-birds, that delight the ear, nor is their concert disturbed by the hawk, or any other bird of prey. In travelling, if a man chanceth to be necessitated to pitch his tent near a large lake or river, he is not to expect much rest; for the screaming of the flamingos, the cranes, herons, wild geese, ducks, and other water fowls are sure to keep him waking.

Water-fowl.

Mines and mi-
nerals.

Here are mines of gold, silver, copper and lead, with good coals, and water near at hand to render the working them cheap. In some places they find rocks of hard crystal, marble, a substance resembling porphyry, salt, salt-petre, and sometimes stone fit for building. But these last are in many parts so scarce as not to be found in a space of 100 leagues.

Grain and
pulse.

European grains and pulse thrive here very well. They have also various sorts of maiz, and what we call *Turkey corn*, which is natural to this country, shoots up a stalk 7 or 8 feet high, with 6 or 7 beards, each perhaps 2 inches in diameter, and containing 6 or 700 grains. This grain flourishes best in a light, loose soil, is good nourishment

nourishment both for men and beasts, and especially fattening to fowl. They have beans of different colours, as red, black, &c. called the forty days bean, as it runs up in that time, and is good food, and the apalachene bean, which is delicate eating, but rather insipid, if not well dressed. The latter was either brought from *Guinea*, or from the *English* at *Carolina*. The stalk creeps the length of 4 or 5 feet on the ground, and the leaf resembles that of ivy.

Their pompions are of two sorts, one of which is round, and but little regarded; *Pompon.* the other has a firm pulp with few seeds: and being cut in form of a pear, or of any other fruit, is laid by to keep in jars, covered with sugar, of which it requires but little, being naturally sweet and pleasant; it is also used to give a relish to fricassees, soups, and sauces. Melons of every sort are found in *Louisiana*, but all much better *Melons.* than those of *Europe* of the same species. The water melon is here particularly fine, transcending that of *Africa*, and is perhaps the most delicious in the world. It sometimes weighs 30lb. is very light and refreshing, melts in the mouth like snow, and may be given without any danger to the sick. The seed is flat and oval, sometimes black, sometimes red; but the former produces the best fruit, if sown in a light soil, which is the most proper, otherwise it degenerates, and the melon it produces, contains a reddish kind of seed. They have also fine potatoes, from which the *Potatoes.* *French* distil a strong spirit, so that they afford both meat and drink.

Vines are here so plenty that a man cannot go 100 yards from the coast for 500 *Vines.* leagues to the North, without meeting with a vine circling round a tree; but so shaded from the heat of the sun that the grapes seldom attain any degree of ripeness. But with proper management our author thinks good wine might be made of them; and he takes notice of a vine here bearing two crops of fruit within the season. Among them he thinks he found the currant, the Burgundy, and the Muscadillo grape. Here is a sort of medlar, called by the *French* Placminier, or Piacminier, the flower of which *A sort of medlar made into bread,* is white; composed of 5 petals. The fruit is rather sweeter and more delicate than the medlar, which it otherwise resembles, being however as large as an hen's egg. The natives make it up in cakes, a foot and half long, a foot broad, and an inch high, carefully separating from them the skin and seed, and dry them in the sun or with a gentle heat, the former is the better way of preparation, as it preserves the flavour. The *French* buy this cake, which is good against the dysentery and gripes after a proper cathartic. But in this case it must be taken not at random, but medicinally, being of an astrigent nature,, and the fruit of which it is made should be gathered ripe.

Here is a pleasant violet plum, which in a garden might be made tributary to the *Plum.* table's elegance; and another of a bright cherry colour, small, but too sour to be *Cherries.* eaten. It is common to meet with a small cherry, which communicates a pleasant relish to brandy, and may perhaps be the same with what is used for that purpose in *England*, and distinguished by the name of mazarine. The bluet is a shrub producing *Bluet shrub.* a blue, sweet fruit, like a gooseberry, which agrees well with brandy, and is said to have some good physical qualities.

The black mulberry is not found in *Louisiana*, but they have the red, and two sorts *Mulberries.* of white, one of which is very sweet and palatable. The first of these makes good vinegar, provided it be kept in a shady place, and close stopped. As the mulberry is extremely common, the manufacture of silk might be easily introduced, the leaf being the nourishment of the silk-worm.

The olive here is a fine tree growing often to the height of 30 feet, yielding pa- *Olives.* latable fruit, and excellent oil. Among other kinds of walnuts, this country pro- *Walnuts.* duces one as big as a large egg, which is pleasant enough, but the shell so hard, that the getting at it is scarcely worth the pains. The natives bruise the nut, and then throwing it into water continue stirring it, till the skin and oil being quite separated from the pulp, the two former swim upon the surface, and of the latter, which sinks to the bottom, they make a cake. There is a smaller nut of this kind, so very bitter, *Smaller Sort.* that none will meddle with it but the perroquet, to whom it seems a most delicious morsel; if we can judge, by his activity and noise, while upon the tree. This nut is smaller than ours, and the shell is soft. Of the bark, which is white, and close grain- ed, the natives make a sort of spade to use in the fields. Hazel-nuts require a less *Hazle-nut.* fertile soil, and therefore are not here in great plenty.

The copalm is very common, and the balm which distils from it has an infinity of *Copalm.* good qualities. The bark of this tree is black and hard; its timber too soft for any use; besides, it always runs into splinters, so that there is no working of it. A small quantity

quantity of it thrown on the fire yields a most charming odour, but there would be no bearing much of it without suffocation; its leaf is a pentagon pointed like a star. The balm of this tree is a wonderful friend to human nature; the quantity of 10 or 12 drops taken in a dish of tea is a febrifuge. It cures a green wound in two days, and is equally efficacious in all sorts of ulcers, provided the sore be first prepared by a plaister of bruised ground-ivy. It cures consumptions, removes obstructions, relieves the cholic, and all disorders of the bowels, and cheers the heart.

Cedar red and white. The red and white cedar, according to our author, are both incorruptible, so soft that they are easily wrought, and their odour, which is exquisite, is sufficiently strong to destroy insects. The cypress ranks, next to the cedar in value, and is by some held above corruption. This is certain that neither one nor yet 2 centuries will corrupt it; as was observed from one found 20 feet under ground at *New Orleans*, which tho' buried 200 years, was yet not in the least impaired. Out of the trunk of one of these trees, it is used to hollow a canoe of not more than an inch in thickness, which shall carry 3 or 4000 weight. The branches of the cypress are few, the leaves small and slender, and wood of a beautiful reddish colour, soft, light, yielding and compact.

Laurel-tulip-tree. The laurel-tulip, which is entirely unknown in *Europe*, grows to the height and thickness of a common wall-nut, the top of it is round, and so framed as to be impenetrable both to sun and rain. Its leaves are pretty thick about 3 inches broad and 4 long: the upper part of a fine sea-green, the under white. The bark is tough, and of a dark-brown; the wood soft, white and flexible. It takes its name from a large white flower, that adorns it in the spring, and has a fine effect at a distance. The faller flower is succeeded by a fruit resembling the pine apple; and its grain changes to bright red, at the first return of the cold season. The parroquets, are fond of it, as it is very bitter, and some esteem it a febrifuge.

Sassafras. Sassafras, well known among the faculty, is a large, thick tree with a coarse, chapped bark, and a cinnamon-colour wood, which is easily worked and has a pleasant smell, particularly when burning. But it must be assisted by some other wood in its conflagration; for as soon as the auxiliary fuel fails, it goes out, as if water had been cast upon it.

Maple and wax-tree. Far to the Northward the maple grows upon the high lands, and yields a syrup said to be an excellent stomachic. The wax-tree must be especially useful in this country, where the bees are obliged to deposit the fruits of their labours under ground, to protect them from the bears, their great enemy. At first sight the bark leaf, and height of this tree will impose it on you for the laurel. But the leaf is less bright and not so thick. Its fruit comes in clusters and produces a tail about 2 inches long, to which hangs a small almond, inclosed in a nut covered with wax. This wax is of two sorts, a yellowish white, and a green; of which the former bears more than double the price of the latter. It is gathered by throwing the nut into boiling water, whereby the wax is totally separated from the skin, swims at top, and is easily skimmed off, and made into cakes for use. This tree is not delicate in its situation, it grows as well in the deep shade of the wood, as in open sun-shine, in a dry as a warm soil, and is equally common in *New Orleans* as in some parts of *Canada*, where the weather is as cold as in *Denmark*. This wax bleaches quickly and well, and makes as solid and as good candles as any in *Europe*.

Cotton-tree. The cotton tree of this climate has but little title to that name; it has a pentagonal leaf, and a fruit about as large as a nut containing its seed. The wood is yellow, solid hardish, and useful to joiners. The bark is fine and compact; that of its root will stain red, and is sovereign in cuts.

Acacia. The inhabitants look upon the wood of the *Acacia* to be perennial. Of it they make their bows, a use for which it is very proper, on account of its toughness; and it serves the *French* in house building. The black oak takes its name from the colour of its bark. The wood is hard, of a deep red, and may perhaps be hereafter found useful in dying; this our author infers from its communicating a red colour to such rain as falls upon it. Besides the black, they have red, white and green oaks, and the last has been found as good in workmanship as any other.

Other sort of tree. You find also good elm, beech, elder, willow, &c. of which they make wheels, which there is no necessity of binding with iron in a country where is neither gravel nor stones, and where you may travel some hundred of leagues without meeting with any. We should have remarked that the gardens are not destitute of lemons, oranges, citrons, and peaches.

The *ayac*-wood is a shrub with a leaf resembling the laurel, but yielding a much *Ayac-wood.* pleasing smell; it distils a yellowish water, which the natives use in colouring their skins. It is of a glutinous quality, and might grow to some height, did they not take care to curb its growth by lopping.

The leaf of the *machoneti*, or vinegar-tree, resembles the beech, and mixed by the natives with their tobacco for smoking, as it takes off some of its acrimony, it has an *Machoneti.* astringent quality. The leaf of the *apalachine* taken as tea is a stomachic, and the natives by boiling it procure an intoxicating spirit, of which they are very fond. It *Apalachine.* grows generally to the height of 15 feet, has a smooth bark, a close wood, and bears a seed on which black-birds like to feed.

Love-wood (*bois d'Amourette*) grows 10 or 12 feet high, and of a moderate bulk. *Love-wood.* It is fenced with short, thick prickles, which are easily removed, and contains a pith like that of elder, whose leaf it also resembles. This shrub has 2 barks, the exterior of dusky hue, the interior of a very pale red. The bigness of a pea stripped from the outer and chewed, gives ease in the toothach.

The natives hold in high estimation a shrub called the *passion-thorn*, which is covered from the root to the branches all round with prickles shaped like a cross, so that one must be cautious in touching it. *Du Pratz* knows nothing of its virtues, and here he closes his account of the arborific productions of *Louisiana*, with observing that no' he has described every thing that came to his knowledge, yet he has not so much of the traveller about him as to go farther. He takes notice however, in this chapter of a kind of *agaric*, or *champignon*, that grows under the wall-nut tree, particularly when fallen, which the inhabitants, who are very choice in their food, gather carefully, and having boiled in water, mix with their gruel. It is delicate, a little insipid, but easily made relishing. *Agaric.*

There is another excrescence called *Spanish beard*, found sticking to the branches of trees near the sides of lake- and rivers. It is of a greyish colour, but when dried, the outer skin falls off, and discovers a skin of long, black threads, as strong as horse-hair. This excrescence may be used in stuffing quilts, couches &c. The *French* on their first coming found it a good ingredient in their mud for building. It is said to be incorruptible, and derives its name from the resemblance the natives found between it, and the beards of the *Spaniards*, who were the first *Europeans* they saw. *Spanish beard.*

Among the variety of creeping plants, which the richness of the soil renders very common, the *barbed creeper* is not the least remarkable in that it has such a liking to the copalm, or balm-tree, that it will pass by any other to attach itself to this. It derives its name from being covered with an hairy excrescence, about an inch long, looked at the end, and no thicker than a horse-hair. A decoction of this creeper is a certain cure for a fever, and tho' bitter, it excels quinquina in as much as it fortifies the stomach, whereas the latter is accused of having a contrary effect. *Barbed creeper.*

This country yields as good *sarsaparilla* as any in the world, and here is a shrub very like it, bearing a small nut, smooth on one side, and rough on the other, like the cowrie shells that pass as money on the *Guinea* coast. Our author is silent as to its properties, which he hints to be something mysterious, saying, 'the use of these nuts is too well known to the women and girls of *Louisiana*, who have recourse to them oftener than they should. Reader! make thine own inference. *Sarsaparilla.*

L'esquive is a kind of thorny bramble, found among canes, with a shining, hard bark, and a spongy root. It is a famous sudorific; and a constant washing of the head with a strong decoction of it, contributes so much to the growth of hair, that it will bring it down to the ancle. *L'esquive.*

Of canes or Reeds here are 2 sorts. What is found in marshy places the natives work up into mats, sieves, hats, baskets, and various other kinds of things. The produce of the dry grounds is not so large, but so very hard that, before the coming of the *French*, the natives used them in cutting their victuals. At the end of a certain number of years these canes, having attained full maturity, produce a crop of grain, every way larger than oats, which the inhabitants carefully gather, and make into bread. The Reed then dies, and it is a good while before another springs up in its place. *Canes.*

The *Flat de Bois*, the *Wooden Platter*, is highly esteemed by the native physicians for its sudorific effects. It bears, upon a strong stalk 16 or 17 inches high, a cinnamon coloured leaf, about 2 inches long, and one broad, with a blossom like broom, its seed lies within a sort of crowned calix cup. *Flat de Bois.*

Rattle-Snake. *L'herbe à serpent à cornettes*, the rattle-snake-root, called in the language of the country *Ouilla coudlegouille*, grows about 3 feet high, and bears a purple flower with 5 petals, about an inch broad, and formed like a cup. This flower, falling off when ripe, shews a sort of nut, divided into 4 separate apartments, each containing a small black seed. If you shake this nut it sounds exactly like a rattle-snake, as if nature thus wisely gave it voice to proclaim its virtue; it is an absolute remedy against the bite of that dangerous reptile, by applying it chewed to the injured part; for in 5 or 6 hours it entirely draws out the venom. A plaster of the ground-ivy of *Louisiana* laid close to the skull gives present ease in the headach; and our author cured a friend, in a few minutes, of a megrim, by making him snuff up salts extracted from this herb.

Ground-ivy,
cure for the
headach.

Achetchy. The achetchy is a very valuable plant, found generally in the shade of the forests, and growing not more than 6 inches high. The natives boil the root, and then by squeezing it hard obtain a beautiful red dye, which they apply variously.

Strawberries,
kemp's juice.

In the beginning of *April* appear whole fields covered with the finest strawberries. Hemp grows spontaneously, and the flax-seed that has been brought from *Europe* thrives exceedingly. The plains are covered all the summer with diversity of fine flowers, of which if our author declines an account, it is because he rather applied himself to matters that might be useful to society, rather than to those of mere curiosity. He takes notice however of one flower called the lion's mouth (*gueule de lion*) which is, he says, a nosegay in itself, on account of its beautiful colours and durability; as it seldom dies in less than 3 or 4 months. In this country, they also raise, indigo, cotton, tobacco, hops and saffron.

Wolves.

The wolves of *Louisiana* are seldom more than 14 inches high and every way proportioned, they are so tame that they come down to the habitations in search of food, and retire without hurting any body. If the huntsman when he encamps at night near a river, discerns a wolf lurking in the environs, he may assure himself that there is a herd of cattle not far off; and the wolf serves as a guide to them, being rewarded with the offals. These animals stimulated by hunger, attack the wild cattle before and behind. In the latter they shew some cunning for the creature looks about him and stands upon his defence. When they have brought down one beast they strangle him, and then proceed to another; for they destroy as many as they can, without regard to what will serve their turn.

Story.

It happened that 2 men, sailing up a river in *Louisiana*, went a shore at night to lie, and covered themselves closely from the rain, having brought every thing on shore from the canoe, which they fastened to a stake in the strand, with thongs of cow hide instead of rope. One of them, more careful, rose as soon as he waked to look after the canoe, and when he came to the water saw it was gone. As they were 50 leagues from any habitation, the accident alarmed and made him very uneasy. He roused his companion with the unhappy tidings, and both repaired to the beach, where soon after the moon shining out with a good degree of clearness, shewed them their little vessel smoothly dancing down with the current. One of them immediately stripped and soon came up with it, nor was he intimidated from boarding it instantly, tho' he found a stranger at the helm who glared upon him with a most menacing aspect, then leaped into the water, and left him clear possession. This stranger was a wolf, which during their sleep, had climbed into the vessel in search of provision; but finding nothing else made free with the cable, and then put off from shore, without meaning any harm.

Black wolves.

Two large black wolves, of a much stronger species, and more carnivorous than those common to the country were killed here in our author's time. They were supposed to come from some distant climate, the oldest inhabitant never remembring to have seen any of them before; one of them was a female, big with young.

As we have dwelt largely on the bear, buffalo, elk, and some other quadrupeds in our account of *Canada*, the reader would blame us to repeat them. Wherefore we shall confine ourselves generally to the notice of such as have not been before mentioned.

Small tiger.

Among these is a small tiger, scarcely more than twenty inches high, and every way proportionable. His skin is of a bright bay colour, but has none of those marks that render it in other countries valuable, it is very quick and active, but no way, daring, for it will run from the sight of a man, and increase its speed if shouted after. This our author affirms from his own knowledge, having one time rescued his dog, and another time his pig, from this animal's voracious jaws. What he calls the pichou which, he says, is as high as the tiger, with a most beautiful coat, and an enemy to poultry, may be perhaps the leopard.

Pichou.

The foxes here think the farmer's yard beneath their notice, as they find sufficient Foxes. subsistence in the woods. Their hair is thick, smooth, of a deep brown colour; underneath it is long, and silver coloured, which has a pleasant effect, they are vastly numerous among the woods of the small hills, and here also the tiger and pichou most commonly inhabit, nothing but hunger bringing them down to the farms.

The wild cat of *Louisiana* is very different from that of *Canada*, or indeed from any Wild-cat. other of the species, and very improperly so named, it having nothing of a cat about it, but its nimbleness. It is easily familiarised to a house, and then it becomes larger and fatter; but its skin is not so beautiful as that of a fox. It is not above 8 or 10 inches high, sometimes 15 long, and when tamed full of diverting tricks. This animal is sometimes served up to table, and not bad food. It lives upon fruit and vegetables, and is not fond of game; to catch which its short claws were never formed by nature.

The head and tail of the wood-rat are like those of the common rat, only his Wood-rat. tail has hardly any hair upon it, if you take hold of it, it winds about your finger. It is a slow, lazy animal, which scarcely any thing can put out of its common pace; but it has cunning enough on apprehension of danger, to counterfeit death so well, that the deceit was not to be discovered, nor will it stir, though you should toss it about till you are weary. It is very common, and easily taken. Nothing can be more defenceless; and though it is a violent enemy to poultry; the blood of which it sucks, one would imagine it had no enemies among the brute creation. The down is thin, greyish and rough; the natives spin it, and makes girdles of it, which they die red. It climbs well, and seeks its prey in the night. The flesh is very good food, tasting like young pig; the fat is said to allay the pain of the rheumatism and sciatica. See more particulars of this little animal, and our account of squirrels, porcupines, &c. in the Natural History of *Canada*, p. 3^d.

The beaver, hedge-hog, crocodile, and some land tortoises are found in these re- Other beasts. gions, with frogs a foot and half long, the croak of which is loud and horribly disagreeable. In the woods and Savannas are several sorts of serpents, none of which is so much to be feared as the rattle snake, whose tail, in which is a rattle, proclaims the Rattle snake. danger of his coming, and that plant which is an antidote against his poison, is always Reptiles. found near him. We have here also chameleons, various other sorts of lizards, and very large spiders.

We shall now proceed to the birds and fishes peculiar to this part of the world, in which our author confines himself, with his usual fidelity, to describing such only as Birds and fishes. he had an opportunity of knowing; and these, he observes, are very few in comparison with what the country affords. The eagle is not here so large as in *Europe*; its feathers are white edged with black, vastly esteemed by the natives, and used in adorning their calumet, or signal of peace. They have also several sorts of hawks; but Hawks. their birds of prey rather level their rage against hares, rabbits, squirrels, and other quadrupeds, than against their own species.

Their swan is large, fat, and good eating; and its feathers in high estimation for adorning crowns, and making head-dresses for women, and tippets. It flies high, and is larger than ours. Swan.

The saw bill so named from part of its bill being indented like a saw, lives only, as Saw-bill. it is said, on shrimps, which it picks from the shell, after breaking it with its bill. The crook-bill [*bec-croche*] is as large as a capon; its feathers are white, and its flesh, Crook-bill. though red, good eating. It feeds on cray-fish. The hatchet-bill [*bec-de-hache*] takes its name from the resemblance of its bill, which is red, to the edge of a hatchet, it is Hatchet-bill. sometimes called *red-foot*, the legs and feet being of a beautiful red. It hunts by the sea-side in search of shell-fish, on which it subsists, and its retreat within land is an infallible sign of a storm. The king-fisher differs from that in *Europe* only by the King-fisher. beauty of his plumage, which displays all the colours of the rainbow.

Our author observes, that when the booby, the man of war-bird, and chefs bird, (one seemingly of the same species, but swifter flighted, and chequered with brown and white) fly low, they are sure prognostics of a storm; whereas the appearance of a Prognosticks of a storm. halycon is quite the reverse, an observation known to all the world. He describes the last as somewhat larger than a swallow, with a longer bill, and the finest violet feathers, with two streaks of yellowish brown near the extremity of its wings, and one coming over the back. Halycon.

Observations on that bird. He says that one of them, to the great joy of the sailors, followed the ship, in which he returned to *Europe* for 3 days, during which time it often dived, to pick up, as he supposed, such insects as chanced to drop from the sides or bottom; and rose exactly where it disappeared. As it made no use of its legs or feet in this submersion, like other aquatic birds, he supposes it to have been assisted in its motion by the suction of the ship; and he was confirmed in this opinion by its taking wing when it left them.

Parroquets. The parroquets are easily taught to speak, but, like the natives are seldom heard. They are mostly of a fine sea-green, with a saffron-colour head, reddish near the bill. Corbijeau. The corbijeau is very common, and as large as the woodcock; the feathers exhibit a pleasing variety of colours; the beak is crooked, long and reddish, which is also the colour of its feet. The author prefers its flesh to that of the woodcock; he also flights the meat of the pheasant, which is however, in his eye, the most beautiful bird he ever saw: but he has omitted to describe it; and his figure of the flamingo is so incorrect, that we may venture to affirm it was never drawn from the life, or, if it was, the artist must have been a sad bungler. The number of wood-pigeons which swarm here in winter, and in *Canada*, where they remain till autumn is astonishing; in *Louisiana* they feed upon acorns, in *Canada* they do much mischief by devouring the grain. They may be taken by finding out their recesses, and fumigating them with brimstone in the night. By this means they fall from the branches in heaps, and torches should also be provided to frighten them, and afford light at the same time for collecting them.

Pope. We have already spoken of the cardinal; and ought to beg pardon of his intallibility for not having given precedence to the pope, a bird with red and black feathers, but of a grave aspect. When it sings, which is rare, its notes are soft and weak, as it is were old.

Bishop. We should be wanting in respect to the dignity of the two last mentioned ecclesiastics, if we took no notice of an inferior order of clergy provided to attend them; wherefore the naturalists have appointed them a bishop. He is not so large as a finch, and feed upon a sort of millet, natural to this soil; his wings are of a deep violet, and the rest of his plumage a dark blue. His song is so harmonious, and his notes so soft and various, that those who hear him scruple not to set him in competition with the nightingale. It continues it here a quarter of an hour, without seeming to breathe: it then pauses, and when once he begins seldom ceases, except to rest, in less than 2 hours.

Accident. One of these birds was wont to visit *M. du Patz* every evening, which in the end had like to have almost literally verified the proverb, and have brought an old hawk about the good father's ears. A large oak, on which his visitant was wont to perch, and of which he was therefore very careful, came thundering down one stormy night upon his roof, and went near to demolish it.

Besides these, and many others, of which we have no account, they have here the flamingo, the carion-crow of the *Antilles*, the grand-gosier, sometimes called a pelican, cormorants, cranes, wild geese, wild ducks, teal, widgeon, divers, wild turkeys, herons, egrets, spatulas, golains, bitterns, gulls, sea-pies, snipes, partridge, owls large and white, swallows, martins, wood-peckers, ortolans, turtles, nightingale, black-birds, finches, wrens, and humming birds.

Insects. Among the most remarkable insects is the silk-worm, one called the tobacco worm, which is very destructive to that shrub, and caterpillars; the latter are indeed few, but produce butterflies of incomparable beauty. In the meadows are black grasshopper or locusts, which seldom leap, and seldom take wing. They are often 3 inches long and as thick as ones finger, with a head like a horse, and have beautiful purple wings.

Cats feed on them with great avidity. The bears search eagerly for honey, without regarding the stings of the bees, which its rough skin prevents from feeling. The bees here either burrow under ground, or retire to deposit their honey in the depth of the forest, whither their enemies seldom penetrate.

Bees. The green fly is larger than the common bee, and his back is covered with a beautiful green armour, which has a pleasing effect. The fire or lanthorn-fly abounds here, as also cantharides, which inflames the skin that they touch, and may be fed with ash-leaves. Brimstone burned morning and evening is sure to drive away the muskettoes, as our author has experienced. Here are many other sorts of troublesome creatures, too tedious to mention.

Fishes. Of fish we have here the surgeon and sardinia fish, barbles 3 or 4 feet long, carp, pike, eel, oysters, muscles, and many others, which have been either described above, or have not come under the inspection of the authors whom we have consulted.

Of the Origin, Manners, Customs, Laws, and Religion of the ancient
Inhabitants of LOUISIANA.

HAD we undertaken a complete account of a country which had preserved its annals and records from age to age, and had undergone, as well as most others, revolutions in literature, we doubtless should begin its history with tracing the origin of the people. But, as we have no lights from ancient history or tradition to shew us the direct way, we are obliged to take a contrary course, and from considering the manners, customs, laws, and religion of the different nations or rather tribes, of this vast tract of land, and comparing them with those of other nations, endeavour to deliver some probable conjecture concerning their first origin and extraction: the necessity of this manner of proceeding will we hope excuse our seeming defect in point of method.

The industry of the inhabitants of *Louisiana* extends no farther than their necessities: to supply themselves with subsistence, and provide security against the inclemency of the seasons, is the utmost extent of their invention. To cut down trees for fuel and building, they had such a sort of hatchet as that used by the natives of *Canada*; their knives were formed out of a reed, which is very common; their bows were made of *Acacia*, and strung first with a tough bark of a tree, but exchanged in process of time for thongs twisted of the skins of the beasts which they hunted down; the feathers of birds afforded them ornament, and their utensils, dress &c. as were much the same as has been already described in the history of *Canada*.

The continent of *America* appears to have been very populous before the arrival of the *Spaniards*; as is evident, both from tradition, and the histories of their discoveries and conquests. The destruction made among these people by the *Spanish* arms is too well known to need in this place a recapitulation.

We are assured also that many tribes, both in *Peru* and *Mexico*, devoted themselves voluntarily as sacrifices to the manes of their sovereign, who perished either by nature or the sword, while others, preferring suicide to slavery, fell the victims to liberty by their own hands, to escape the tyranny of the *Spaniards*.

The warlike disposition also of some of these people has helped to thin them considerably. For while instigated by revenge, animosity, or some other passion, they waged long and bloody wars with their neighbours, they weakened themselves very much, though even crowned with conquest.

They have been also visited by two diseases, which have made considerable ravage among them, and against which their physicians, or cunning men, have no defence, though in other cases often wonderfully skilful. These distempers are the small-pox and colds. They fall before the small-pox like grass under the scythe; for they live all under one roof, and neither light nor air can enter but through the door, which is seldom more than four feet high, and two broad. This disorder no sooner seizes one, but the whole family, not even the oldest excepted, contract the infection. As they are naturally clean-skinned, and well made, consequently greatly alarmed at the eruptions of the pustules from this distemper; they fly to the water, to wash them off, if possible, and though they know it to be a fatal resource, they will persist, unless prevented by some of their friends.

Our author desires us to observe, that in the maps and charts of *Louisiana* there will be found many more nations named, than he takes notice of in his history: but this he desires the reader will not impute to his neglect, but to the carelessness of travellers, who have taken many things upon trust, and given imaginary situations to nations, with whose bare names they were only acquainted: some of these perhaps no longer exist, and others have been swallowed up by their more powerful neighbours, among whom their name is intirely lost. Upon the whole, he says, it is certain, that their number is greatly diminished, and that scarcely more than one third of the country, marked in the maps as populous, is at present inhabited.

On the first establishments, made by the *French* in this country, they carried on a friendly correspondence, drove some trade with the *Alibamons*, who are no friends to the *English*, and lie North of the *Apaleckins*. They are a powerful people, but of late

late the intercourse with them has been dropped, as being too far removed from the *Mississippi* river on the banks of which the colony is settled.

Chatots nation.

After this our author gives a succinct history of the nations inhabiting the banks of the river *Mobile*, from its mouth upward. The *Chatots* consisting of about 40 hamlets, are nearest the sea; they profess themselves *Roman catholics*, and endeavour to shew the *French* every act of kindness in their power. The *French* colony of *Fort Louis* lies near them to the North.

Thomez.

Taensas.

A little North of the fort are the *Thomez*, a small catholic nation, whose servile friendship often makes them troublesome. The *Taensas* consisting of about 100 hamlets, are a little more to the North. They are derived from the *Natchez*, and commit the care of the eternal fire to young men; being strongly persuaded that women would never sacrifice their liberty to it. But more of this hereafter. Near the bay is found the *Mowill* nation, called by the *French* *Mobile*, whose name is also given to the river and bay. The *French* on their arrival here found all the small nations at peace in which they still continue, being covered on the East by other nations, which stand as bulwarks between them and the *Iroquois*. The *Chickasaws* regard these nations as brethren, because they speak the same tongue, which is the language of those bordering on the East of the *Mobile*.

Pacha-oglouas nation.

The *Pacha-oglouas*, or the nation of bread, consisting of about 30 hamlets, lie West of the *Mobile*, near a bay bearing the same name. Among them are mixed some *Canadians*, who live with them as brethren. For as they are naturally of an easy temper, and well acquainted with the characters of the different people, they know how to deport themselves amicably among any of the *Indian* nations.

Languages.

The *Taensas* have preserved among them their native tongue, which is that of the *Natchez*, but they speak a corrupted *Chickasaws*, called by the *French*, the *Mobile* language. The *Chat-kaws*, who, in comparison of the *Chickasaws*, are mere moderns, preserve also their own tongue intermixed with some *Chickasaw* words; and our author discoursed with them in the latter tongue. These people are dependant on *Great Britain*.

Aqueloa Pissas nation.

There is a small nation within a league of *New Orleans*, and North of the lake with which the *French* have no great communication; they speak a sort of *Chickasaw* and have about twenty hamlets, or rather huts. They are called *Aqueloa pissas*, which signifies a nation that can both hear and see; the *French* call them *Colapissas*.

Oumas.

On the East coast of the *Mississippi* river lies the *Oumas*, or red nation. Some *French* who were at first fixed here, did them great prejudice, by allowing them an immoderate use of strong waters. *New Orleans* is about 20 leagues distant.

Tonicas.

The *Tonicas* a fragment of a nation always upon good terms with the *French*, as situated up along the river *Mississippi*, opposite the Red River. They used to assist the *French* in their wars, and their chief was strongly attached to their interest, which being properly represented at *Versailles*, the king, by brevet, appointed him brigadier of his armies, and sent him a gold headed cane, and a blue ribbon, to which was hung a silver medal representing his marriage. And the reverse was a view of *Paris*. Of these signal marks of friendship the Indian was very ostentatious. The *Tonicas* differ in some particulars, and a little in their language from the neighbouring nations: as for instance, in using the letter *R*, to which the others are strangers. The chief abovementioned was wounded in assisting against the *Natchez*, who were formerly one of the most respectable of all these nations, both with respect to their customs and behaviour.

Natchez.

Grigras.

In 1720 the *Natchez*, were settled on and about a small river, to which they gave name. They had among them two nations, who had implored, and obtained the protection; one of these the *French* call *Grigras*, from their frequent uttering these two syllables. But this name will hardly appear consistent with our author's observation that those people were easily distinguished by strangers among the *Natchez*, as being incapable of pronouncing the letter *R*. Their language is nearly the same with that of the *Chickasaws*. The other nation settled among the *Natchez* is the remainder of the *Thioux*, a people once very formidable, warlike, and restless, by which means the drew upon themselves the indignation of the *Chickasaws*, whom they resisted with desperate obstinacy, and never gave way till they were no longer able to oppose the arms of their enemies.

Thioux.

These three nations together can now muster about 1200 men, whereas tradition informs us, that the *Natchez* were formerly the most powerful nation in all *North America*, and respected by all others as their superiors. They formerly stretched from *Manabare*, which is 50 leagues from the sea, to the river *Wabache*, at the distance of 60. Among them were 500 princes, whom they called *sins*, [*soleils*] nothing could exceed the vanity of these grandees, in preparing the detestable custom of permitting people to sacrifice themselves upon their funeral bier; a destruction which men and women voluntarily, nay gladly embraced, imagining by this action to secure to themselves a happy situation in a future world; that they should be retained in the service of their prince, without fear or punishment, that they should not suffer by hunger, thirst, heat, or cold; that they should have every sort of food they could wish; and crown all, they should neither suffer nor die. It must however be observed that two branches of these people, whose princes were more humane than the rest, withdrew from the main body, and with some few followers settled upon distant lands to preserve their people from falling a prey to this desperate barbarity. These are the *Tanxas*, of whom we have just now spoken, and the *Tchitimachas*, whom the *Natchez* always regarded as brethren.

Tragical effects of vanity and credulity.

Forty leagues North keeping the great river on the East, are the *Yazoux*, possessing about 100 huts on the banks of a river, to which they give name; and farther upon his river are the *Coroas* in about 40 huts; who pronounce R.

Yazoux, nation and river.

Coroas nation.

The *Chactummas*, or red lobsters, have about 50 huts on the same river. The *Ouseugas* about 60, and the *Tapoussas* not more than 25.

Chactummas, *Ouseugas*, and *Tapoussas* nation.

North of the river *Wabache*, near the banks of the *Mississipi* are the *Illinois*, who give name to a river, along the sides of which they are scattered in several villages, near one of which, called *Tamarouas*, there is one of the most considerable *French* settlements possessed by some *Canadians*: for these people have been always staunch to the *French* interest, and assisted them as much as possible in their discoveries, particularly of *Louisiana*, nor is that complaisance, which gives them so easy an ingress among other *American* people, any mark of their want of courage, which has been often tried and approved.

Illinois, *Tamarouas*, *French* settlement.

The *Renards* lie farther North, and are a large nation, who have for a long time been in peace, tho' they were formerly fond of war. The *Sioux* are a vast way beyond these, without any intermediate nation, and are dispersed East and West, on both sides of the great river. In going from the sea North, keeping West of the river *Mississipi*, the first nation we find is a very small one, known by the name of *Tchanchas*, and *Onachas*, the last being a small village united to it. It lies between the river *Mississipi*, and the lake.

Renards, *Sioux*.

Tchanchas and *Onachas*.

In this neighbourhood are also the remains of the *Tchitimachas*, who from a numerous people are dwindled into nothing. Many of them were destroyed by the *Indians* in alliance with the *French*, whom they therefore hate, and prefer living solitary and remote from other people, and especially declining all correspondence with those *Europeans*, to whom they would by no means be obliged. The first occasion of this difference was their murder of a missionary, who was going down the river. His death was revenged: and hence hostilities commenced on both sides. This nation, which is not of a martial turn, lost many of its bravest people; in consequence of which they sued for peace, and it was granted them, on condition of their bringing in the head of the assassin. They did so, and at the same time presented the calumet to the *French* governor.

Tchitimachas.

At war with the *French*.

Along the western coast, not far from the sea, there is a nation of men-eaters, who are supposed to feed upon their enemies. The *French* call them *Atac-assas*, but our author says they have some more proper appellation, which we could never learn. They correspond with other *Indian* nations, but have no communication with *Europeans*.

Canibals.

The adventures of an officer of some consideration, who in the infancy of the colony fell into the hands of these *Anthropophagi*, may not be thought perhaps amiss in this place, as it may afford proper caution to people, whose fortune may lead them into this part of the world. A vessel from *France* coming to an anchor at the bottom of the river *Mississipi*, the captain-general sent down a brigantine, on board which was Mr. *Charleville*, a *Canadian*, perfectly well acquainted with all the *Indian* nations, among whom he had often travelled, with orders to the master to supply the brigantine with an officer and a few soldiers, to proceed on discoveries; but the

Adventure of an officer among the canibals.

the particular orders our author has not noted. The master, in compliance with the governor's orders, sent an officer, named *Belle-Isle*, a serjeant called *Silvester*, and some men on board the brigantine, with whom she proceeded to *St. Bernard's Bay*. Here the crew went ashore, pleased with the beauty of the country, which abounded with game, whereby they were tempted to walk in the woods, further than prudence should have suggested; nor were all the remonstrances of *M. Charleville*, whose experience had taught him that the consequences might be fatal, of force to dissuade them from a proceeding of which in the end they had reason heartily to repent. When they left the ship, the master warned them not to wander too far, and desired they would return early in the evening. He also told them that if they did not return back that night, he would fire too warning guns in the morning, and set sail in two hours after, if the wind continued fair; promising moreover, that, if they should not appear betimes in the evening, he would fire a gun for directing them to the sea side. He kept his word, and they heard the discharge at the time appointed. but imagined from the reverberation, that it came from a contrary quarter; so that what was intended for their preservation, led them farther astray. In the morning, the signal guns of departure were fired from the brigantine, and the Captain waited for them, till he almost lost his tide, to no purpose; the next day, ammunition beginning to run short, *Charleville* struck off to the *East*, supposing it the way to the river, but could not prevail on his company to follow. The serjeant quite spent with fatigue and hunger, dropped down under a tree, where probably he ended his days. *Belle-Isle* being young and vigorous kept up his spirits, and proceeded, till in a little time, he lighted on a wood-rat, an animal extremely sluggish, which he knocked down, seized and devoured with high relish. Sometime after, he fired upon a roe-buck, which he killed, and having husbanded his ammunition, had a little left, but the noise of his piece brought down upon him some of the natives of *Atac-essas*, in whose country he was, and he found himself surrounded, and a prisoner, before he had the smallest apprehension of danger; resistance was in vain, and it was to as little purpose to endeavour informing them by signs of his being a traveller, who had missed his way. Having known the customs of this part of the world, where the people lie in ambush, and steal upon their enemy like a wolf on its prey, he would not have gone a step without looking cautiously about him to prevent a surprise; and in that case he would have gone up directly to the first man that approached him, with a pleasant yet resolute countenance, laid down his arms, and held out his hand in token of amity. A traveller in such circumstances, who observes these directions, has nothing to fear; but may promise himself every possible assistance. He remained several months in slavery among these people, but the nature of his employment, or the hardships he underwent, we are not told: it does not appear, however, notwithstanding their anthropophagan characters, that they had any intention of fattening him for the spit or the pot. At length he was discovered by his mein to be a *Frenchman* by certain *Indians* of *New Spain* who had brought hither the *Calmuc*. They named him *M. St. Denis* who commanded among the *Nachtichoukas*. It was all he understood of their language; but he knew the name to be *French*, and expressed his satisfaction by signs at hearing it. He then made a shift to scrawl upon a bit of paper, which he luckily had about him, that he was a *French* officer of *Louisiana*, who had been lost with *Charleville*. This he directed to *St. Denis*, and dispatched it so privately by two *Indians*, whom their countrymen gave out to be lost, and delayed their departure, under pretence of waiting their return. The two *Indians* did not stay long but when they came back, kept themselves very private in the woods, contriving how ever to give notice of their proximity to their comrades, and conveying by the same channel to *St. Denis's* answer, the sum of which was a direction to take these two men for two guides; and depend upon this conduct, for his safe deliverance from the present calamity; which was accordingly effected. We should have remarked, that his ink, when he wrote to *St. Denis*, was charcoal, pounded and mixed with water, and sort of pen made of a turkey quill; and also that the correspondence between him and his unexpected friends for his release, was carried on so privately, that his talk-master had not the least suspicion of it; so that he found it easy to secrete himself in the woods according to his instructions.

Bayonne-Ogoulas Territory.

The people who once inhabited the territory called *Bayonne Ogoulas*, are now dispersed elsewhere. On the border of two small lakes to the westward, covered by a craggy point of land, is a nation known only by name to the *French* called *Ogoulas*.

Louisiana

Loufas, or *Black Water*, because the lakes are covered with leaves which give the water that colour. Between these and the *Avoyels*, a small nation inhabiting the banks of the red river, which is very rapid, we find the country quite deserted. These people used to supply the *French*, settled at *Louisiana*, with horses, cows and calves, at a very moderate price. At present they have them in vast plenty, without any purchase.

Ogou L affus.

Avoyels Nation.

Fifty leagues up the red river, near a *French* settlement, is the nation of *Natchez*, consisting of about 200 huts, they have no love for the *Spaniards*, but are well attached to the *French*, who have a settlement very near them. There are some scattered branches of this nation, but none of them numerous.

Natchezes.

About a hundred leagues from the place where this river falls into the *Mississippi*, are the habitations of a vast nation called *Cadodaguious*, which extends in different tribes a vast way. They as well as the people beforementioned, have a language peculiar to themselves; but that of *Chickasaws* is understood among them all, like *lingua franca* in the *Levant*; they call it the vulgar tongue.

Cadodaguious.

The *Quachitas* are intermixed among them, having abandoned the black river, to which they gave name, to avoid the rage of the *Chickasaws*, who dare not follow them; for the same reason the *Taensas*, who formerly inhabited this coast, near a river to which they lent their denomination, withdrew to the neighbourhood of the *Mobilians*, where we before took notice of them. These martial gentry also made war upon the *Arkansas*, a nation of good warriors, and able huntsmen, but met a reception so very warm, that they were glad to desist, more especially as they found them joined by the *Kappas*, *Mitchigamias* and a party of *Illinois*. There are no other people on the banks of this river, though the contrary has been advanced by former travellers.

Quachitas.

Arkansas Kappas, Mitchigamias Nations.

The *Missouris* are a numerous people, on the banks of the famous river so called. The *French* had here a settlement, the garrison of which was surprised and cut off by the natives. There are many other small nations about the *Missouris*, the re-capitulating which would be tedious; and north of them all, a branch of the *Sioux* was thought formerly to have resided. Our author is inclined to believe, that they formerly were to be found on both sides of the great river; and he justly observes that we must be content to wait some centuries before we can arrive at any certain knowledge of the vast tract of land running *North of Louisiana*.

Missouris.

The first *French* settlement made in this province, was upon the *Mobile*, where the commander in chief resided; but since the foundation of *New Orleans* on the banks of the great river, which is now the capital, it has been in a good measure deserted. Here is however a garrisoned fort, with four strong battions, that secure the furr trade on this side, awes the neighbouring nations, and cuts off the *Chatawaes* from corresponding with the *English*, who are also curtailed in their views on the *Chickasaws* side, by fort *Tombec*, built in 1736.

Fort Tombec.

Not far from the *Mobile* is a settlement of some *Canadians*, who contented with little, prefer the small advantages of rural labour, to all the profits of tillage; and who only visit *New Orleans* when they want necessities.

A rural settlement of Canadians.

Among the different nations into which *Louisiana* is divided, *Du Pratz* informs us that of the *Natchez* is the most remarkable; being not only very numerous, but better polished than the rest, their way of thinking more consistent with humanity; their sentiments more refined; and their customs more reconcilable to reason: therefore in describing the customs and manners of the people of this country in general, he draws his information principally from the *Natchez*.

Natchez, a polished nation.

The natives of *Louisiana*, and almost all the *Americans*, are strong, nervous, and well made; with black eyes and hair, regular features, and none less than five feet and a half high; the women are rather lower than the men; but giants, dwarfs, and deformed men are unknown among them. They are white when born, at which time care is taken to wash them in cold water: by degrees they become brown, and to this, the rubbing them with oil and bears fat, contributes not a little: besides which, it renders their limbs more flexible, and saves them from the stinging of the muskitoes. As they grow up they are furnished with bows and arrows proportioned to their strength, and by way of exercise and diversion, try their skill at a mark. He that excels is sure of great praise, and styled the great warrior, a title of which they are not a little proud: they also delight in running races.

Complexion and stature of the natives.

As they live to a very great age, the oldest of a family is the most respected, and his will obeyed with as much caution as if he was a sovereign prince. Great care is taken to prevent among them quarrels and disputes; they rarely happen. All are

Respect paid to old age.

taught the use and necessity of labour; but the women are rather more employed than the men, they are obliged when young, every morning to wash and swim under the direction of one of their elders, without regard to sex, (mothers who have the care of infants excepted) and this inures them to fatigue, strengthens their limbs, and fits them better for war. They never strike or beat their youth, but endeavour to instruct them by repeated precepts and example.

Their belief. These people believe in one great and good God incapable of evil, who created the world, and whose common commands are executed by angels, or subservient spirits, of which an inferior order who have offended him, govern in the air; and these they invoke for rain, or sun-shine, as it may be wanting to the ground. Man he created, fashioned by his own hand, and the whole world is the produce of his wisdom and power.

The sacred fire explained. The sacred fire, of which we have before made some mention, was, according to the account given of it to our missionary, by the principal person entrusted with the care of it, enkindled by means of a miraculous flame, brought from the sun, by a holy person who had descended himself from that planet, and whom they had chosen for their sovereign, submitting to a set of laws which he laid down for their government, and which were admirably adapted to the advantage of society.

Precept of their first grand Soleil. He taught benevolence, social love and resignation to the divine will, as points indispensably necessary to be observed; to avoid quarrelling, and to detest murder, adultery, untruth, avarice and drunkenness. From him are their sovereigns descended, who are also called soleils, *Suns*, for he lived to a very great age, and saw the children of his children flourish. Our author astonished the priest, who had given him this account by enkindling some fuel with reflection of the sun beams upon a piece of glass, which glass, the grand soleil intreated of the father as a very great favour; it was given him, and he was very fond to use it.

Government of the Natchez. This monarch, if we may be so allowed to call him, governs with despotic power. he has no law but that of reason, and disposes at will of the lives of his subjects. So good use does he happen to make of this authority, that no evil attempt upon him is ever heard of. His stipends are very considerable, tho' not stated, being free gifts, pledges of his people's love, and respect, and never levied by any sort of taxation.

Feast of the new corn. Among their many religious festivals, the most solemn is, that of gathering in the new corn, on which they all assemble to feed in common, and have some particular ceremonies, with a relation of which we shall not now detain the reader. They are particularly tenacious of precedency, whether in public or private, and such is the distinction of sexes, that a boy of two years of age, is permitted to take place of a woman. Each man is absolute in his own family, as long as he lives; he governs his children, and his children's children, with an uncontrollable rule, and when he dies the next to him in years assumes the domestic command.

Their rules for intermarrying. They never marry within the third degree, and the oldest of each family, agree upon the terms of the match, without consulting any of the minors, whom, however they never join against their consent; the man having first asked her hand of the woman.

Marriage ceremonies. The day for the ceremony being arrived, the bride is conducted to the house of the bridegroom by all her family, with silence and solemnity. They are received at the door by all his friends, who invite them to enter the house, which they do, with few words and little ceremony. For compliments and talkativeness, are by them deemed loss of time. Having seated themselves, after some space, the old men on each side arise, and the contracted parties do the same. A short speech is then made them, in which they are desired not to marry unless they find themselves impelled by mutual liking; and previously resolved to live together happily; "this union," says the ancient orator, "must be of your own choice, think not your friends are here assembled to force your inclinations; if either of you has any objection, declare it, that we may break off." The father of the bridegroom then delivers the portion intended for his son, into his custody, and he, having asked the love and hand of the bride and being answered satisfactorily, gives it in keeping to her father. The nuptials being celebrated with some other ceremonies, their company gives themselves up to merriment, and generally dance till morning.

Grand division of the people. The *Natchez* are divided into two grand classes. *viz.* The nobles and the people. The people are also distinguished by an appellation that implies stinking, *Miché-miché-Quipy*, however they do not much relish being called so. They each of them have a language

language peculiar to themselves, that of the nobles being much the purer and more excellent, being strong, smooth and copious, having nouns substantive declined like the Latin; without articles.

The nobles are divided into *foleils*, nobles and respected (*confidérés*). We have already made mention that the *foleils* are so named, because they are descended from a man and a woman, who made the people believe they came from the sun, the *French* for which is *Soleil*. This couple commanded that their posterity should be always distinguished above the main body of the nation; that none of them should be on any account put to death, but be permitted to end their days in peace according to the course of nature.

In order to preserve purity of blood, the title of *foleils* is only transmitted in the female line. The male children bear the appellation but for their natural lives; their issue are ranked among the nobles, and the offspring of these among the *confidérés*, or respected; thus declining until they are reduced among the people. Nor is it unusual for a *Soleil* to live to see his posterity thus degenerated. When the grand *Soleil* dies, he is not succeeded by any of his children, but by the eldest son of his nearest kinswoman; and at his or her interment, the husband or wife is always put to death to keep them company in the world of spirits. And often, all his next of kin, voluntarily devote themselves to the flames, or fall by the sword. The natives of this country are in general very superstitious, observers of omens, the flight of birds, &c. and curious to dive into the secrets of futurity. When one people, are about to declare war against another. A council of their oldest and best warriors is assembled in a hut, at the door of which the calmet of war is fixed on a pole. The occasion of the intended breach is then discoursed upon, and immediate hostilities always recommended by the chiefs, in which they find their account, being in war more respected and invested with more authority than in time of peace; their determination is always subscribed to by the chief or sovereign, the council being held in his presence, and he, as well as his subjects holding in the highest esteem the elders and their judgement. Sometimes it is agreed, to send an ambassador to the power, with whom they are at variance, to offer the calmet of peace, but without any presents, lest it should be thought they wanted to purchase it, in the mean time they solicit the aid and assistance of their neighbours. They most commonly march by night to prevent their enemies discovering them, and carry on the war as much as possible by ambuscade and surprise, taking care to leave behind them as few marks as possible whereby they may be traced. Such women and children as they make prisoners they enslave, the men they reserve for a public sacrifice, putting them with great cruelty to death; and drowning their cries with incessant repetitions of the war-hoop.

None but the *foleils* and guardians of the sacred fire are permitted to enter the temple containing the sacred fire; the guardians are eight; their business is to see the fire kept up, two of them are always acting, and they are relieved quarterly: the sacred fire is preserved in more temples than one, that it may be restored, in case of its expiring in one place, from another.

The ashes of the first grand *foleil* are deposited in the grand temple of *Natchez*, in a sort of urn made of cane, and very prettily wrought. It stands upon an altar four feet high, six long, and two broad. They have a particular veneration for the memory of their dead, and erect a sort of tomb over every body that is interred, to which for a great while they carry victuals and drink. All the nations of *Louisiana* have their respective temples, which are either grander or meaner, according to their respective force or wealth. That of *Natchez* in particular, is a solid regular building, on an eminence near a small river, it is about thirty feet every way; the wood composing it being cypress, is deemed incorruptible; and on the roof, which is shelving, are three large birds cut in wood, something like geese, and looking to the East.

They have few holidays, and scarcely any sort of diversions; except a fatiguing game, resembling our pitching the bar, and playing the quoits both intermixed, of this they are so very fond, that they often play away every thing they have, and when thus reduced, become public spoilers, taking by force from the neighbours, whatever they may stand in need of. In their visits, they speak little, the guest takes his seat, and rigid silence is observed, till he breaks it. You never see two people in company chattering at the same time; and for this they laugh at the *French*, who often all talk together.

Their food,
and beverage.

Their food is beef, venison, bear's and dog's flesh, with every sort of aquatic birds, and fish without exception. They either roast their meat on a wooden spit, or broil it, and they have maize served up at all their meals, differently prepared; or in lieu of it potatoes. They have no set hours for dining, except at public entertainments, when they all sit down together, and in token of unanimity eat out of the same dish, the women and children excepted, who have their respective shares given to themselves: at other times, they eat or drink, according as they find they have appetite. They are afraid of made dishes, and the *French* have never been able, either by example or reasoning, to persuade them to their soups, or ragouts; they not knowing what to make of the ingredients. They will drink nothing but water, or brandy, the clearness of these liquours determine their goodness; for if it be clear, they do not think it can possibly be sophisticated.

Their fasting.

When they want to make intercession with heaven, for any particular benefit, they make interest with one of their elders reputed for sanctity among them, to intercede for them. He does it by fasting nine days, during which time he abstains entirely from venery and from all manner of food till sun set, when a mess of gruel without salt, and a draught of water is brought for his refreshment.

Regard to the
grand Soleil.

Besides the obedience and profound respect paid by the *Natchez*, to the grand Soleil, they are so strongly attached to him; that when his nearest relations die, not only all those who are in his train, but numbers of others, sacrifice themselves to the manes to have the honour of attending him or her, in the world to come, and hence come it, that this nation is not near so populous as it might otherwise be.

This nation
destroyed by
the *French*.

In the year 1730, they were entirely cut off by the *French*, on account of their having joined in some schemes intended for their destruction, so that at present scarcely any thing remains of this once celebrated nation, but the name. Most authors who treat of this vast tract, observe that the best way of keeping peace with the different people, is to keep them at such a distance, as may impress them with awe and veneration; but this impression vanishes if you treat them with too much familiarity, verifying the proverb: "that familiarity breeds contempt."

Commercial
advantages
to be drawn
from hence.

France draws considerable advantages from the furs of *Louisiana*, and in our hands they might be greatly improved. Large profits might also be drawn from the hide, and fat of their oxen, for which alone the different nations kill them. The fruit of the wax-tree, is also a commodity worth dealing in, as are the various kinds of wood for house-building, ship-building and ornament; and for the completing a naval force, here is plenty of hemp, and excellent iron.

A conclusive
character of
the country.

The soil seems admirably adapted to the bearing of salt petre; and vast quantities of silk might be produced, as the worms thrive here well. Saffron, saffras, the copal balm, and various other kinds of useful drugs are the produce of these climates, and always sure of a ready market in *Europe*.

To give a brief character of *Louisiana*, we may venture to affirm that it abounds in grain, cattle, and rich commodities, which the many streams watering the country, and falling into the great river *Mississippi* render still more valuable; and no part of the world seems more happily adapted to second the operations, and improve the glory of a maritime power, than this province of *America*.

The End of the Account of LOUISIANA.

The NATURAL and CIVIL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
FRENCH DOMINIONS

I N
North and South America.

With an Historical Detail of the ACQUISITIONS, and CONQUESTS, made by the
BRITISH ARMS in those Parts.

Giving a particular Account of the

CLIMATE,	MANUFACTURES,
SOIL,	TRADE,
MINERALS,	COMMERCE,
ANIMALS,	AND
VEGETABLES,	LANGUAGES.

TOGETHER WITH

The Religion, Government, Genius, Character, Manners and
Customs of the INDIANS and other Inhabitants.

ILLUSTRATED BY

Maps and Plans of the principal Places,

Collected from the best Authorities, and engraved by

T. JEFFERYS, Geographer to his MAJESTY.

PART II. Containing
Part of the Islands of St. Domingo and St. Martin,
The Islands of
St. Bartholomew, Guadaloupe, Martinico, La Grenade,
AND
The Island and Colony of Cayenne.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. JEFFERYS, at Charing-Crofs; W. JOHNSTON, in Ludgate-street; J. RICHARDSON
in Pater-noster-Row; and B. LAW and Co. in Ave-Mary-Lane.

MDCCLXI.

THE NATURAL AND CIVIL

HISTORY

OF THE

WEST INDIES

AND SOUTH AMERICA

BY J. H. P. J. VAN DER LINDEN, ESQ.

LONDON: 1801.

PRINTED BY

J. JOHNSON,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1801.

1801.

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THE HISTORY OF THE WEST INDIES, AND SOUTH AMERICA, FROM THE FIRST DISCOVERY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

1801.

ALSO, A HISTORY OF THE ISLANDS OF THE WEST INDIES.

1801.

1801.

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1801.

To the Honourable MAJOR GENERAL

BARRINGTON.

THIS Second Part of the Natural and Civil History of the *French Dominions in North and South America*, is most humbly dedicated as a respectful Memorial of the Service he has done to his King and Country, by the Reduction of the Islands of *La Desiderada Marigante, Los Santos, and Guadaloupe*, the Description of which makes a principal Part of the Work.

By His most

Obedient

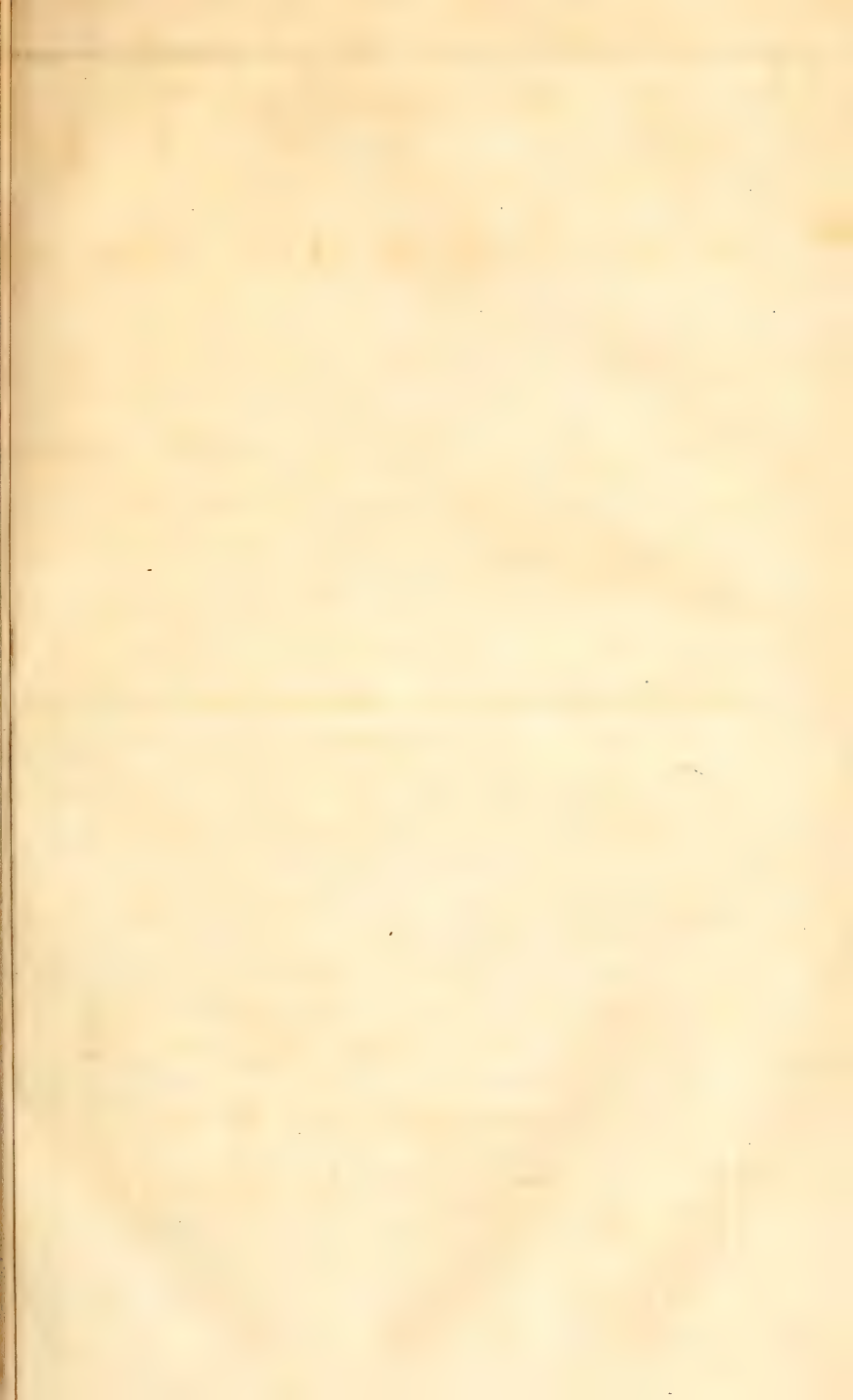
and

Obliged

Humble Servant,

THOMAS JEFFERYS.







THE
WEST INDIES

Exhibiting the
English, French, Spanish, Dutch & Danish
SETTLEMENTS.

Collected from the best Authorities, by
Thomas Jefferys, Geographer
to the Royal Highness the
PRINCE OF WALES.

NORTH SEA

SOUTH AMERICA





DESCRIPTION

OF THE

Islands subject to the Crown of FRANCE

IN THE

WEST INDIES, and SOUTH AMERICA.

IN order to give a particular description of the *French* islands, it will be proper to begin with a brief account of the discovery of the *Antilles*, or *West Indies*, why they were so called, and of their division.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, *Christopher Columbus*, a *Genoese* Navigator, probably excited by a laudable emulation of the *Portuguese*, who had lately found out a new rout to the *Indies* round the *Cape of Good Hope*, formed the plan of another to the same country, by a western course across the *Atlantic* ocean. This plan, after being rejected by many sovereign princes and states of *Europe*, among others by our *Henry VII.* was at last, after many disagreeable delays, approved by the crown of *Castile*, and the discovery of the islands called the *Antilles*, or *West Indies*; was the first fruits of so bold and hazardous an enterprize.

Many were the reasons, which might have induced *Columbus* to conclude that a continued western course must at last bring him to the *Indies*, allowing the earth to be a spherical body, which the manifest convexity of what was already known, seemed sufficiently to prove beyond the probability of a bare hypothesis.—For if it were not a sphere, it must be a portion of one; and, certainly, there was more reason to think, that it was the former, than the latter. The only objection to the first, was the seeming absurdity of supposing heavy bodies diametrically opposite; but the same objection would lie against the probability of heavy bodies remaining at rest on horizontal planes in different parts of the earth already discovered, tho' these horizontal planes were known to have a considerable obliquity one to the other. Besides, if the earth were not globular, the seas must be infinite, or they must not: If they were infinite, how should the sun and other heavenly bodies perform their course? If they were not infinite, might not the same power which held water, a heavy body, to the portion of a globe, hold all heavy bodies to a whole globe? The only sound objection, therefore, that could be made against *Columbus's* plan, was the length of the voyage: But it seems he gave the *East Indies* a greater extent than they really have. He was also encouraged in his project by antient traditions, and by observations that seemed to confirm these traditions. *Plato*, speaking of an island called the *Atlantis*, beyond *Hercules's Pillars*, much larger than any yet known, which had been swallowed up by an inundation, attended with a dreadful earthquake, added, that beyond this great island there was a vast number of small ones, and a little beyond these again a continent larger than *Europe* and *Asia* put together, washed on the opposite side by a boundless ocean. And this affirmation probably gave rise to the *Thule* of the ancients, as well as to the prophecy of *Seneca*, and a passage in *Tacitus*, but lately observed, both pretty much to the same purpose. Geographers themselves, for some few centuries preceding *Columbus's* discovery, the *Portuguese* especially, gave a place in their maps to an island called *Antille*, probably from the word *Thule*, 200 leagues West of the *Azores*.

They likewise called it the island of the *Seven Cities*, from a popular tradition, importing, that when the *Moors* invaded *Spain*, seven bishops with their flocks had taken shipping to avoid the persecution of these infidels; and that, after having been for a long time tossed about by winds and waves, they at last landed on a part of the *Antille*, where, after burning their ships, each bishop and his flock built themselves a separate city.

Project of *Columbus*.

Founded on reasons mathematical & physical.

Confirmed by antient tradition.

Antille isle in antient maps.

Island of *Seven Cities*.

ty. This tradition was so deeply rooted in the minds of the people, that several *Portuguese*, and perhaps *Spaniards*, either beggared themselves, or perished in attempting to find this island.

Portuguese
story.

Some *Portuguese* authors add, that towards the middle of the fifteenth century, when the infant *Don Henry*, Count of *Viseo*, put all his country in motion to discover a new rout to the *Indies*, a *Portuguese* vessel was forced by a storm on the coast of the *Antille*, and that the Count being informed of this adventure, wanted to send back the pilot thither, who for fear of being obliged to undertake so long a voyage, especially as he had not carefully observed the course he steered in his return home, deserted his country. Now as *Columbus* was too well read not to be acquainted with all the written traditions relating to this matter, he was likewise too inquisitive to be ignorant of those that were merely oral.

Traditions
confirmed by
observations.

These traditions and reports, with some other of the same import, were confirmed by observing that the waves, after a western wind, often threw on the coasts of the *Madeira*, *Canary*, and *Azore* islands, pieces of wood and reeds of an unknown species, and even dead bodies, which, as it was apparent by many signs, did not belong to *Europe* or *Africa*. For considering that the winds blow more generally from the east than the west in high latitudes, if these bodies came from lands at the distance west from *Europe*, where the *Indies* were supposed to terminate, they could not possibly have any marks of distinction.

Antilles why
so called.

After the foregoing account of the first discovery of the *Antilles*, or *West Indies*, or the motives which induced *Columbus* to attempt it, we need not say much to account for their etymology. To obtain the former name, it was sufficient that they were found pretty near the spot where the old geographers had placed their *Antille*; and to be honoured with the latter, the constant opinion of *Columbus* and others till the *Pacific Ocean* was discovered, that the continent of *America* was nothing but a continuation of the *Indies*, was sufficient. Some indeed would derive the word *Antilles* from the Greek particle *ἀντι*, and others from the *Latin*, *ante*, as expressing, according to the former, islands opposite to the continent, or, according to the latter, islands in the way to the continent; but the first derivation from the ancient *Thule* seems to be the most natural.

Why named
W. Indies.

These islands lie between the 10th and 28th degrees of latitude, and the 59th and 84th degrees of longitude West from *London*, and 42 and 67 degrees West from *Ferro*. They are generally divided into the *Great* and *Little Antilles*. The *Great Antilles* are but four, which are *Cuba*, *Hispaniola* or *St Domingo*, *Jamaica*, and *St John* or *Portorico*; but the *Little Antilles* are many in number. The winds, which in these seas blow constantly from the east, or within a few degrees of it, have given room to another division by the *Spaniards*, a great deal more in use than the former, tho' as yet geographers are not well agreed in dividing them by it. According to this system, the most easterly islands are called the *Windward Islands*, and the others the *Leeward Islands*; or, to keep to the *Spanish* names made use of by all ancient authors, the first are called the islands of *Sotto Vento*, and the others, the islands of *Barlo Vento*. Some ancient maps give the first name to such only, as compose a chain of little islands near the *Terra Firma*, between the mouth of the great river *Oronoco*, and that of the lake *Maracaibo*, among which are the islands *Cubagua*, formerly called the *Isle of Pearls*, and *Curacao*, or *Coracol*; but it appears at present, that the islands of *Sotto Vento* begin with the island of *Santa Cruz*, and that all those to the south of *Santa Cruz* are known by the name of *Barlo Vento* islands. Perhaps, it would have been much more reasonable, to divide the *Antilles* according to the different characters of their original inhabitants, of which some were *Caribbeans*, or *Cannibals*, a fierce and anthropophagous generation; and the rest, who had no particular name, were remarkably mild and peaceable, and detested the practice that prevailed among the others, of feeding on human flesh.

Other deno-
minations.

The FRENCH ANTILLES are

Part of	GUADELOUPE.
St DOMINGO.	La Desfrade. (Desert.)
La Tortue or Tortuga.	Marie-Galante.
La Gonave.	Les Saintes.
Isle à Vache.	MARTINICO.
St BARTHOLEMEW.	Becouya or Little Martinico. Desert.
Part of	Les Grenadins or Grenadillos. Des.
St MARTIN.	La GRENADE.

Santa Cruz was sold by the *French* to the *Danes* about the year 1733, for 75,000*l.* ster*l.*

ty. This tradition was so deeply rooted in the minds of the people, that several *Portuguese*, and perhaps *Spaniards*, either beggared themselves, or perished in attempting to find this island.

Portuguese
story.

Some *Portuguese* authors add, that towards the middle of the fifteenth century, when the infant *Don Henry*, Count of *Viseu*, put all his country in motion to discover a new rout to the *Indies*, a *Portuguese* vessel was forced by a storm on the coast of the *Antille*, and that the Count being informed of this adventure, wanted to send back the pilot thither, who for fear of being obliged to undertake so long a voyage, especially as he had not carefully observed the course he steered in his return home, deserted his country. Now as *Columbus* was too well read not to be acquainted with all the written traditions relating to this matter, he was likewise too inquisitive to be ignorant of those that were merely oral.

Traditions
confirmed by
observations.

These traditions and reports, with some other of the same import, were confirmed by observing that the waves, after a western wind, often threw on the coasts of the *Madeira*, *Canary*, and *Azore* islands, pieces of wood and reeds of an unknown species, and even dead bodies, which, as it was apparent by many signs, did not belong to *Europe* or *Africa*. For considering that the winds blow more generally from the east than the west in high latitudes, if these bodies came from lands at the distance west from *Europe*, where the *Indies* were supposed to terminate, they could not possibly have any marks of distinction.

Antilles why
so called.

After the foregoing account of the first discovery of the *Antilles*, or *West Indies*, or the motives which induced *Columbus* to attempt it, we need not say much to account for their etymology. To obtain the former name, it was sufficient that they were found pretty near the spot where the old geographers had placed their *Antille*; and to be honoured with the latter, the constant opinion of *Columbus* and others till the *Pacific Ocean* was discovered, that the continent of *America* was nothing but a continuation of the *Indies*, was sufficient. Some indeed would derive the word *Antilles* from the Greek particle *ἀντι*, and others from the *Latin*, *ante*, as expressing, according to the former, islands opposite to the continent, or, according to the latter, islands in the way to the continent; but the first derivation from the ancient *Thule* seems to be the most natural.

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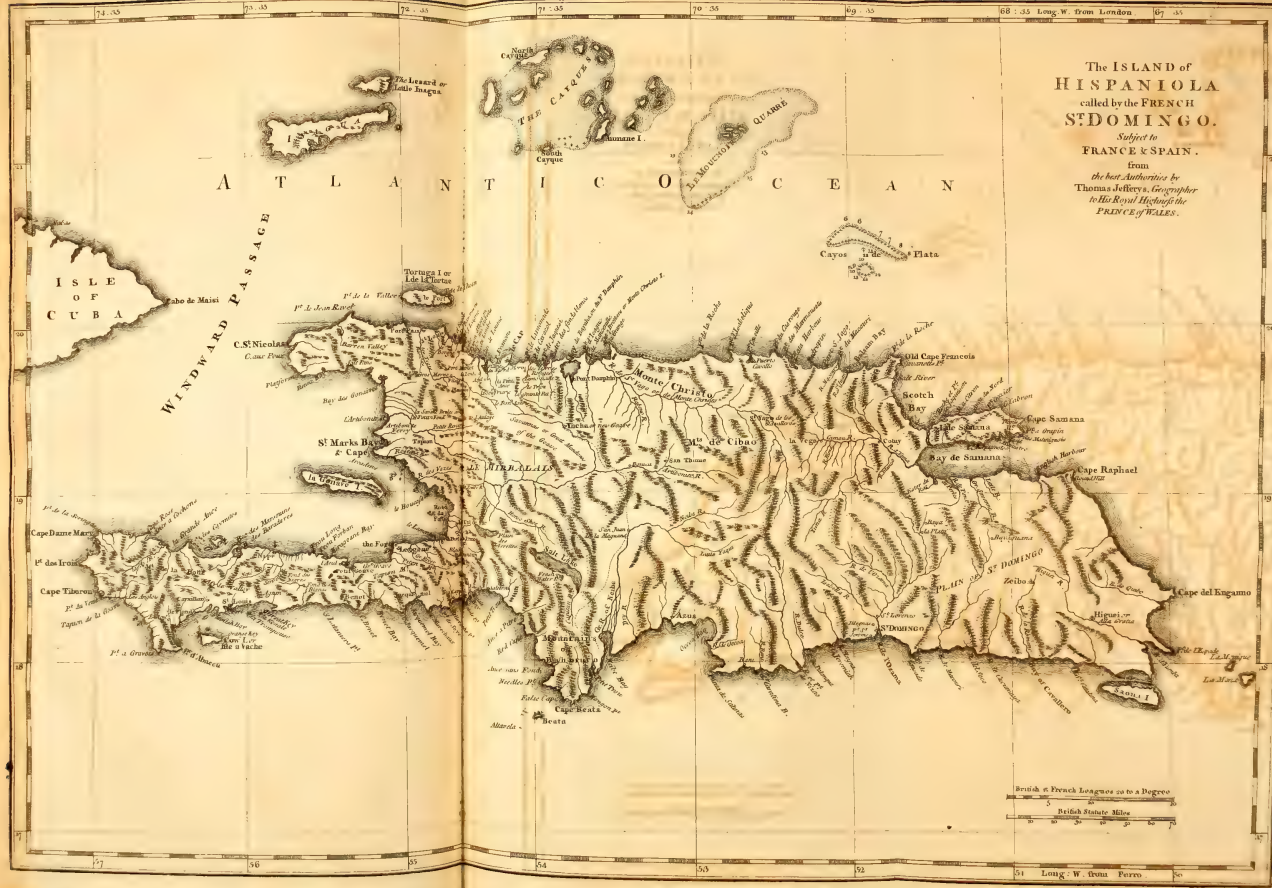
MARTINICO.

Becouya or *Little Martinico*. Desert.

Les Grenadins or *Grenadillos*. Des.

LA GRENADÉ.

Santa Cruz was sold by the *French* to the *Danes* about the year 1733, for 75,000*l. sterl.*



The ISLAND of
HISPANIOLA
called by the FRENCH
ST. DOMINGO.

Subject to
FRANCE & SPAIN.
from
the best Authorities by
Thomas Jefferson, Geographer
to His Royal Highness the
PRINCE of WALES.

French & French Leagues as to a Degree
British Statute Miles

21

20

19

18

17

Description of HISPANIOLA, or St DOMINGO; also of Tortuga, La Gonave, and Isle a Vache.

THIS island is, next to *Cuba*, the chief in extent of the *Antilles*; but, in point of importance, is superior to them all. Hence it first drew, or in a manner engrossed, all the attention of the *Spaniards* who discovered these islands; nor could any other island enable them to make solid establishments in countries separated from all others, then known, by so great an extent of ocean. And it may be truly said, that this island has proved the mother of all the *Spanish* colonies in the new world. Island of Hispaniola. Its importance.

Its first inhabitants called it *Quisqueia*, and *Haiti*: The first of these names signifies a large country, and the second a mountainous one; but the island has lost both, by changing its masters; for, at present, it is never mentioned by any other names, than those we have given it. Primitive names.

Columbus, from some resemblance he fancied between it and *Spain*, called it *Spanish Island*, and the generality of *Spanish* authors give it no other name, but that and *Espagnola*, both which have been latinized into the diminutive *Hispaniola*. The name of *St Domingo* it owes to the *French*, who called it so after its capital *San Domingo*. We must not confound *St Domingo*, with another of the *Antilles*, named *Dominica*, from its being discovered on a *Sunday*, called *Dies Dominica* in the *Roman* ritual. Modern appellations. Dominica isle why so called.

If we may believe *Dom Peter Martyr d'Anglerie*, this island was first peopled by *Savages*, who came thither from *Martinico*, otherwise called *Matinino*, and astonished at its extent, immediately concluded it was the largest country in the world, and called it *Quisqueia*, from the word *Quisquey*, which, in their language, signified *all*. After this, on observing the long ridges of mountains, which take up almost all the heart of the country, and reach many of them from one end to the other, they called it *Haiti*, which signifies a rugged mountainous country. At last they found among these mountains, some that pretty much resembled those of their own island, which in their native language was named *Cipangi*, whence they gave the new discovered island the name of *Cipanga*. The island is 160 leagues in length from East to West; its mean breadth from North to South is 30 leagues; and its circumference, measured by tracing the coast, may amount to near 600 leagues. Whence peopled. Its extent.

Its situation, with respect to the rest of the *Antilles*, is the most advantageous imaginable, as it stands, you may say, in the center of this great cluster of islands, and looks as if intended by nature to give laws to them. The other three *Great Antilles*, especially, lie in such a manner, as to prove its superiority, and their own dependance; for it has three points of land, corresponding respectively to each island. *Cape Tiberon*, the land's end to the South West, is but 30 leagues from *Jamaica*. There are but 18 between *Portorico* and *Cape Espada*, its easternmost point; and 12 between *Cuba* and *Mole St Nicolas* to the North West. It is besides surrounded with a multitude of scattered isles, which are as so many ornaments to set it off, and are besides capable of being rendered beneficial to it. The most considerable are *la Saona*, *la Beata*, *Sainte Catherine*, *Altavella*, *l'Isle Avache*, *la Gonave* and *Tortuga*, besides *la Navazza*, and *la Mona*, the first of which lies 10 leagues from *Cape Tiberon* towards *Jamaica*, and the second halfway between *Cape Espada* and *Portorico*. Situation.

Moreover, bounteous nature seems to have been as careful to provide for the safety of this island, as for its convenience and dignity. It is encompassed by numbers of rocks, which render it not easy of access. The North shore especially is bordered with shoals and little islands so very low, that it would be the height of imprudence to venture among them, without a thorough knowledge of their position. Difficult of access.

The air of this island, as well as of the rest of the *Antilles*, and indeed of all islands situated between the tropics, is not near so warm as one would at first be apt to conclude; and so far from being dry, that you find it moist to the last degree. Its temperature.

Its temperature, in point of heat, is owing to certain winds, which blow constantly from East to West, from about 9 or 10 in the morning till near sun-set, and in the night time from the land towards the sea. The first of these winds must be attributed to the diurnal rotation of the globe from East to West; and the second, to the superior solidity of earth above that of water, in consequence of which, the heat received by the former in the day time becomes permanent, whereas the heat received by the water immediately rises into the atmosphere, with such particles of water as it has seized, in form of a very subtil vapour. By this means, the surface of the land must be much warmer at the

the approach of night, than that of the sea, and therefore communicate to the superincumbent air an extraordinary quantity of heat, so as to rarify it, and make it flow towards the sea, where the air is cooler, less elastic, and therefore ready to give it admittance. This theory is confirmed by observing, that the night is calmer in the inland parts of the island than on the coasts. And this is not the only advantage the coasts have over the inland parts, for when the latter have spent all the heat they received in the day time, they remain so long without a new recruit, on account of the circumjacent mountains, which so interrupt the sun's rays, that the inhabitants are often under a necessity of making fires to supply their absence.

Of moisture
how caused.

As to the moisture of these intra-tropical climates, it is plainly owing to the perpendicular direction of the sun's rays on the vast surface of water within their sphere of action, and the volubility of this element, in consequence of which it is impossible that the atmosphere should not be constantly replete with a moist vapour, ready to resolve itself into rain or dew, on its meeting with any bodies capable of condensing it. These bodies are, on land, chiefly hills and mountains, which, by presenting a greater surface to the sun's rays than any horizontal section of them would do, must be struck by a smaller quantity of them in proportion, and even reflect into the circumjacent plains most of those that strike them in this manner.

Its good and
bad effects.

But whatever may be the causes of this moisture, and of the dews and rains produced by it, both which serve to soften and fertilize the land, and the latter especially to refresh the air, their other effects are very mischievous. It is no easy matter to keep meat in this climate for so small a time as twenty four hours, and the dead must be buried when the breath has scarce left their bodies. Most fruits pulled ripe immediately rot; and those which have been pulled before they are quite ripe, are scarce more lasting. Bread, unless baked as hard as biscuit, grows mouldy in two or three days. Most wines turn sour in a very short time. Iron utensils, scowered in the morning, are rusty before night; and it requires the greatest care to keep rice, *Indian* corn, and bean seed, from one year to another. In short, it is computed that there often falls more rain here in a week, than in *Paris* in a whole year.

Difference of
the weather in
St Domingo, &
its causes.

One of the most surprising peculiarities of this island, is the great variety of soils that compose its surface; for we can ascribe to nothing else the great difference in point of weather, between parts of it which are even contiguous. Thus some spots shall scarce ever be free from rain, while the adjoining are almost perpetually dry, the clouds stopping short the moment they reach their borders, and just detaching a few vapours, which produce some drops, and immediately disappear.

Cause of the
difference be-
tween the N.
and S. parts.

There is also a great difference in respect of weather, between the North and South coasts of the island; for, in some seasons of the year, while one side is deluged with constant rains, and shook with thunder, the other shall be free from both, or rather in the greatest want of the former. But this difference may be accounted for by the sun's lying sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other of the mountains, which advance into the air between the two coasts, intercept the sun's rays, and condense the clouds driven against them. What serves greatly to confirm this theory, is, that this difference in the weather is chiefly, if not only, sensible during the six months that the sun is on the North side of the line, when the difference between the direction of the sun's rays with regard to the two coasts, as the island lies between the line and the tropic of *Cancer*, must be much greater in proportion than during the other half year. Hence little thunder is heard in this island till the sun is declined so far north, as to be within as many degrees of the island, as the island itself is of the adjoining tropic.

Clear air and
bright nights
with causes.

Though the weather is so very moist here, the air is however very clear, as the vapours raised by the excessive heat remain but a very short time in that state where they become visible in the form of clouds. For the same reason, a day seldom passes without sunshine, and the stars and moon in cloudless nights give light enough, the former to travel by, and the latter for reading the smallest characters, sometimes forming rainbows. But this extraordinary light afforded by the moon, must be attributed in a great measure to the more direct incidence of her rays upon the atmosphere, in their passage to those parts of the globe that lie within her orbit, and consequently their reaching them in greater numbers, than where many of them, on account of their obliquity, are lost to us by reflection. But it is not so easy to give a reason why the stars at or near the zenith should be here visible at noon day, as we are told by *Charlevoix*; since the same causes which render them more brilliant here than elsewhere, having the same effect upon

the

the sun, it seems but reasonable to conclude that the superior light of the sun should equally eclipse that of the stars.

To this little conformity, however, that is to be found between the weather in different parts of the island, must be ascribed the disagreement between the inhabitants in what they call winter and summer. Those who live in the western and southerly districts, and in the heart of the country, give the name of winter to the season in which storms infest the island, lasting from *April to November*. Those on the northern coast come nearer to us in their distinction of the seasons, tho' few of either quarter have any notion of a spring or autumn.

Difference in reckoning of seasons.

Some indeed, who are more attentive to what happens, divide the year in the following manner : Winter, they say, begins with *November* and ends with *February*. During this interval, the evenings and mornings are in some degree cold, vegetables grow but slowly, and plants receive but little nourishment, tho' it be the season for heavy rains. These circumstances are often the cause of a murrain among cattle. Spring follows, and lasts till *May*; nature at this period, seems to revive; the meadows put on a new livery; the sap rises in trees; plants produce flowers, which perfume the air with their sweets. The drought that succeeds, and puts an end to all these charms, is but too exact a picture of summer, for it is a summer of the torrid zone. This season lasts till the end of *August*. To conclude, the storms, which after some interruption now again begin to discharge their fury, from the wane of the *August* moon to the month of *November*, give this quarter some resemblance to our autumn.

Division of seasons.

From what has been said, it follows, that a man must have a very good constitution, and besides live very soberly, or else have been naturalized to this climate, to have a chance of living long in it. Hence very few *Europeans*, after having spent some years in this colony, find not their strength considerably impaired. The heat by its constancy insensibly, undermines the most vigorous bodies, unaccustomed to it, and dries up by little and little, what the physicians call the radical moisture, there being no winter for nature to repair the forces lost by an immoderate perspiration. Hence the florid colour of the face loses its brightness, and the stomach a great part of its natural heat. Hence the blood drawn by venesection, even by way of precaution, appears quite livid, an indiscreet bleeding is sufficient to bring on a dropsy, and the inhabitants, when heated, have not that greediness for cooling liquors remarkable in those of more temperate regions, but rather seek after what will cherish warmth. Hence, in short, it is, that people grow old before the time, and that children born of *European* parents are not so strong or perfect in their bodily frame as others, and that such numbers die in their infancy.

Inconveniences of *Hispaniola*.

But a great part of these evils is owing to the little care people in general take of their health, and to excesses of debauchery or labour. Besides, in proportion as the Creoles are more remote from their *European* extraction, they become less subject to these inconveniences. The ancient islanders enjoyed good health, and were long lived; the Negroes here are stout and strong, and enjoy a constant state of good health, as well as the descendants of the *Spaniards* settled here two hundred years ago. Nay, it is no uncommon thing to see people among them 120 years old. In short, if people grow old here sooner than elsewhere, they continue old longer than elsewhere, without feeling the inconveniences of extreme old age.

Much owing to the excesses of the inhabitants.

It was observed that the difference of the weather in some measure, at least in different parts of this island, was owing to the difference in soils, of which, indeed, there is here every variety of kind and colour. The most esteemed is of a dusky black, a little intermixed with sand, which serves to make it light, friable, and porous. But there is no land, or very little, that may not be turned to some account. One half of the island consists of mountains, but these mountains may be cultivated to their very tops, and none of them can be called barren, except a few very steep, and of an extraordinary height; those, for instance, in the neighbourhood of Cape *Tiberon*, from whose lofty summits, *Charlevoix* says, *St Martha* may be seen, tho' 180 leagues distant. Some on the coasts serve for dikes to check the fury of the waves, and woe to those ships that a gust of wind should happen to force upon shores without banks, where nothing is to be seen but lofty rocks, rising perpendicularly out of the water, and forming what for that reason are justly called *Cotes de fer*, or iron coasts: Such in particular is that shore, whose eastern extremity terminates at *Cape Francois*, thence named, and western reaches to *Port de L'Acul*.

Difference of soils.

Mountains of a prodigious height.

Mines and
quarries.

There is no island in the world, as yet discovered, where such rich mines of gold have been found. There are not wanting also mines of silver, copper, and iron, besides others of talc, rock-crystal, antimony, tinglafs, brimstone, and pitcoal; quarries of white marble and jasper, and many other kinds of stone. The commonest are *pierre à feu*, or sap-stones, some of which are as white as crystal, with sharp points like a diamond, which they also resemble by their brightness, and even hardness, since they cut glafs. There are likewise pumice stones, hones, and what is called the eye-stone, (in *Latin Umbilicus marinus*) on account of its virtue in purging the eyes of any filth that might have entered them.

Salt-pits and
mountains.

There are natural salt pits in many places along the coast, and mineral salt in a mountain near the Lake *Xaragua*, much harder and more corrosive than sea-salt, the breaches of which, it is said, are not to be repaired in less than a year. *Oviedo* adds, that the whole mountain is but one mass of very good salt, as bright as crystal, and no ways inferior to that of *Catolonia*.

Other considerable
advantages.

If to all these advantages, we add another that is universally allowed, namely, the prodigious multiplication of useful animals transported from *Europe*, and in consequence of which, a sheep has been often sold for a real, a cow for a castellan, and the finest horse for three or four: If we consider besides the quantity and variety of precious goods to be mentioned hereafter, which this island could supply were it sufficiently inhabited; if we reflect in the last place, that no country in the world produces more delicious fruits, roots, and other esculent vegetables, or a greater variety of them, we cannot but allow, that there is no great exaggeration in the praises bestowed upon it by the *Spaniards*, and especially *Oviedo*, who spent the best part of his life in this isle.

Hurricanes.*

The seas hereabouts are generally calm, the reason of which is evident from what has been said of the winds that prevail here. But like some persons hard to put in a passion, and whose transports are as furious, as they are rare; when it grows angry, it is very terrible. It breaks over its bounds, deluges the country, carries off every thing that opposes it, and leaves every where it passes the most shocking marks of its fury. It is after these storms, known by the name of *Hurricanes*, that the shores of *St Domingo* and the other *Antilles* are covered with shells, which greatly surpass in beauty and brilliancy the finest of *Europe*.

Rivers.

This island is intersected by a prodigious number of rivers, but few of them are better than torrents, or very rapid rivulets. The waters are every where very wholesome, and even salutary, but so cold and piercing, that they ought to be drank with great caution; and, as for bathing, it is very dangerous to make use of them for that purpose. We are told that there are fifteen of them as broad as the *Charente* at *Roche-fort*, exclusive of the six principal ones. These six are the *Ozama*, whose mouth forms the port of *San Domingo*; the *Neyva*, which has nothing remarkable, but the great number of channels by which it falls into the sea, and labours under one very great inconvenience, namely, that of often shifting its bed; the *Macoris*, which is the most navigable river of the island, and the best supplied with fish, but then its course is very short; the *Yague*, or river of *Monte Christo*, at whose source there has been discovered a fine gold mine, of which it every where shews samples intermixed with its sand; the *Yuna*, which is very rapid, and rises at a place where there is a very rich copper-mine; and, lastly, the *Hattibonite*, commonly called the *Artibonite*, which is the most considerable in length and breadth amongst them all. Of these six rivers, the three first empty themselves into the sea on the South, the next on the North, the fifth on the East, and the last on the West coast.

Lake of Cul
de Sac

Near the town of * *Cul de Sac* is a lake, or pool of the same name, of an irregular form, whose greatest length exceeds not 4 leagues, and its breadth is but one and a half, and in many places much less. It extends from North-West to South-East, its waters are sweet but very insipid. To the East of this lake, is a plain known by the name of

Plaine des Ver-
rettes.

la *Plaine des Verrettes*, about four leagues long, and terminated at both ends by mountains.

Salt Lake.

The breadth of this plain, which is but 3 leagues, separates Lake *Cul de Sac* from another which is larger, and called by the *Spaniards*, *Riguille*, and by the *French*, *Etang Salé* or the *Salt Lake*. This second lake is 8 leagues long from East-South-East to West-North-West, and lies to the East of the *Plaine des Verrettes*; the greatest breadth is but two leagues. Its waters, tho' called salt, are scarce more than brackish, these lakes are full of crocodiles. It is commonly thought that the *Salt Lake* has a communication with the sea; but this

supposition

* Any place which has no passage is a *Cul de Sac*, and signifies if literally translated the bottom of a bay.

supposition is altogether needless, since the great number of salt mines in the neighbouring mountains sufficiently account for the brackishness of its waters.

Four leagues distance from the last lake, is another about a league in circumference, which in times of great rain overflows its banks, and unites with the lake next to it. This little lake lies between the mountains *de la Beata*, called by the *Spanish* authors, mountains of the *Baoruco*. These lakes thus united we may suppose to be the Lake *Xaragua* described by *Oviedo*.

Xaragua lake

When the *Spaniards* discovered this island, they found it divided into five distinct kingdoms, perfectly independant of one another; there were indeed some petty princes who did homage to no other, and were called *Caciques*.

Island anti-
ently divided.

The first of these five kingdoms was called *Magua*, which signifies the kingdom of the plain. It comprehended what has been since named the *Vega Real*; or at least contained the middle and best part of that district.

*Magua king-
dom.*

La Vega Real is a plain 80 leagues long, and ten where broadest. *Barthelemy de las Casas*, who lived a long time on the spot, assures us that it is watered by thirty thousand rivers, of which twelve are as large as the *Ebro* and *Guadalquivir*. The rest are no better than torrents and insignificant rivulets. Twenty five thousand of these rivers spring from a long ridge of mountains on the Eastern border of this district, and most of them roll down gold intermixed with their sand; for this country lies near the famous mines of *Cibao*; these mines however did not belong to the kingdom of *Magua*, whose king at the arrival of the *Spaniards* was called *Guarionex*. This prince's capital stood on the same spot of ground, where the *Spaniards* afterwards built a very famous city, called *Conception de la Vega*.

*Le Vega Rea
plain.*

*Barthelemy de
las Casas.*
Well watered

The second kingdom was that of *Marien*, *Barthelemy de las Casas* scruples not to say, that it was larger and more fruitful than *Portugal*. It contained all that part of the Northern coast, which extends from the Western extremity of the island, where *Cape St Nicolas* lies, to the river *Yague*, known at present by the name of *Monte Christo*, and contained all the Northern part of *la Vega Real*, now called the plain of *Cape Francois*. It was at *Cape Francois*, that *Goacanaric*, king of *Marien* resided; and it is from an abridgement of his name, that the *Spaniards* still call this port, *el Guaric*.

Gold mines
of *Cibao*.

*Conception de
la Vega city.*
*Marien king-
dom.*

The third kingdom was called *Maguana*, and contained the province of *Cibao*, and almost all the course of the river *Hattibonito*, or *l'Artibonite*, the largest in the whole island. *Caonabo*, who reigned there, was a *Carribean*, who came over to *Haiti* as an adventurer to seek his fortune: As he did not want understanding nor courage, he soon gained the esteem and respect of people, who were deficient in both these qualifications, whence he found it very easy to acquire a considerable territory among them. He generally resided at the town of *Maguana*, from whence his kingdom took its name. The *Spaniards* afterwards built another on the same spot under the name of *San Juan de la Maguana*, which is now in ruins. The *French* call the district, where it was seated, the *Savanna of San Ouan*. *Caonabo* was the most powerful monarch of the whole island, and seemed best to understand how to use his authority.

*Maguana
kingdom.*

*Caonabo a fa-
mous monarch*

The kingdom of *Xaragua* was the fourth, and either owed, or gave its name to a pretty considerable lake, already mentioned. This kingdom comprehended all the Western, and great part of the Southern coast of the island. Its capital, called also *Xaragua*, stood on the same spot, where now stands the town of *Cul-de-Sac*. The inhabitants of this kingdom were handsomer than those of the rest; there was also a greater number of noble families among them. The people here, too, were more polite, in easier circumstances, and moreover spoke more elegantly than those in other parts of the island.

*Xaragua
fourth king-
dom.*

The fifth kingdom was the *Higuey*. It comprehended the Eastern part of the island, and was bordered on the North by the river *Yague*, and on the South by the river *Ozama*. The inhabitants of this kingdom were the most warlike of the whole island, on account of the frequent necessity they were under of defending themselves against the *Carribeans*, who often made descents upon their coast in order to carry off prisoners.

*Higuey fifth
kingdom,*

These barbarians immediately killed the men, devoured their entrails on the spot, and salted their carcases; the boys they castrated in order to fatten them, and regale themselves with the flesh at their entertainments; for this purpose they inclosed them in parks, as we serve oxen or sheep. As to the female captives, they preserved the young and the healthy for the sake of having issue by them, and made slaves of the old and infirm. The people of *Higuey* made use of bows and arrows like their enemies,

Inhumanity
of the *Car-
ibbean Can-
nibals.*

but

but were very far from handling them with equal dexterity, and accordingly their defence consists chiefly in flight.

Of the origin
and difference
of the inha-
bitants of the
Antilles.

It is very probable, however, that the continent of *America* was inhabited before the adjacent islands. The difficulty is to determine whence those came, who first peopled this island; neither is it very easy to assign reasons, why the inhabitants of the *Great Antilles* should have been so very mild, and so peaceable a people, and those of the *Little Antilles* so fierce, so warlike, and so inhuman. Besides, both the *Cannibals*, their neighbours to the South, and the *Floridians*, their neighbours to the North, fed equally on human flesh, tho' there is scarce any room to doubt, that the original inhabitants of *St Domingo* were descended from one or the other, or perhaps from both. But whatever sentiment we follow, we shall still be under a necessity of accounting for the difference in the manners and characters of these people. The inhabitants found on this island, when the *Europeans* first landed here, are made by some authors to amount to three millions, by others to one only. The last perhaps say too few, but it is very probable that the first make them too many, and that we ought to take a mean between these two opinions.

Number of
the original
inhabitants of
Hispaniola.

These islanders were in general of a middle stature, but well made, Their complexion was very swarthy, their skin reddish, their features coarse and even hideous, their nostrils very wide, their hair, of which they had none but on their head, very long, their forehead so low as scarce to deserve that name, their teeth foul and rotten, and their eyes particularly fierce and louring.

Their out-
ward figure.

Accidental
causes.

But all these properties were not equally natural. The redness of their skin proceeded, in some measure, from the *Rocou*, with which they used frequently to rub it; to this cause we may add the excessive heat of the sun, against which they had no clothes to defend themselves. And as to the singular conformation of their heads, which they considered as a great beauty, they effected it by art. For this purpose, the mothers took care to press together with their hands, or with two little boards, the crown of the head in their new-born infants, in order to flatten it by degrees, and hence the skull compressed, and in a manner bent back upon itself, became so hard, that the *Spaniards* have often broke their swords in striking those unhappy creatures on the head with them. Now it is easy to judge, that the above operation must have given a turn to all the features, and consequently contributed to the wildness observable in the countenance of these people.

Their consti-
tution & char-
acter.

The men went quite naked, and took but little pains to hide what should not be seen. The women wore a kind of petticoat, which in women of quality reached no lower than the knees; the girls had no manner of covering whatsoever. Both sexes were of a weak constitution, a phlegmatic temper, somewhat melancholy, and lived almost upon nothing. A crab or a burgot served them a whole day, whence they could not but be feeble, and destitute of vigour and strength, they never worked, gave themselves no concern about any thing, and past their lives in the most indolent manner imaginable. After spending part of the day in dancing, if they were at a loss for something else to do, they went to sleep. But then they were the simplest, the mildest, and the most humane mortals upon the face of the earth, and if they had not, they at least seemed to have, the smallest share of reflexion and memory, without gall, without bitterness, without ambition, and in a manner without passions of any kind. In short, more like children than men. They neither knew, nor desired to know any thing. It could not therefore be expected they should give any rational account of their origin; for which reason, as we can say nothing on that subject, but from their own reports, our conjectures must be very weak and ill grounded.

Their tradi-
tions.

Besides, they had neither the art of writing, nor any thing that could supply the place of it, except songs. But these songs were altered at the death of their princes, and therefore it is impossible from a few ill digested fables, and these too from time to time subject to alterations, to derive very antient traditions.

Of the origin
of mankind.

Of this we may form some judgement, by what they related of the origin of mankind. The first men, they said, issued from two caverns of the island. The sun, incensed at their appearance, changed the guardians of these caverns into stones, and transformed the men newly escaped from their prisons into trees, frogs, and several other kinds of animals. The world, however, was soon stocked with inhabitants.

Of the sun &
moon.

Another tradition affirmed, that both sun and moon had issued from a grotto of the same island, in order to give light to the world. And the inhabitants used to go in pilgrimage to this grotto, which was adorned with paintings, and its mouth guarded by

two Demons, to whom the Pilgrims were obliged to pay their respects before they were permitted to advance further. These fables show, that the islanders made no doubt but that the rest of the earth owed its inhabitants to their island; and there are few nations of *America*, that have not discovered the same prevention in favour of their country.

Oviedo complains greatly, that no one thought of informing himself of the manners, customs, and religion of the ancient inhabitants of this island, till they had been in a manner extirpated. Some authors represent them as very loose, and to this attribute the distemper commonly called the *French disease*, that raged among them, and soon communicated itself to the *Spaniards*. The islanders could not make a complete cure of it, tho' they often greatly weakened its fury by the use of *Guaiacum*. Manners of the original inhabitants.

This people had a great aversion to any thing that looked like avarice, so that nothing could disturb the tranquillity of the island. Accustomed to confine themselves to the mere necessities of life, they never entertained any thoughts of hoarding, and what the earth produced, almost without cultivation, was in a manner looked upon as every man's property; at least, those who happened to be in easy circumstances, never denied their assistance to the indigent. They were likewise most religious observers of hospitality, and that towards all comers without exception. It was not requisite to be known in a house, to be well received in it, and the greatest strangers met with as hearty a welcome, as the best friends could expect. Their distrustfulness and hospitality.

The Princes of this island were all despotical. The lives, the goods, and even the religion of the subjects were all at the disposal of their sovereigns, who, however, made no ill use of this their extensive authority. The subjects, on their side, were very dutiful, punctually executing the orders of their *Caciques*, and cheerfully submitting to their determination in affairs of every kind. Their government.

Their laws were few, and mild; theft or robbery, however, were considered as a most grievous offence, and punished accordingly. The criminal was empaled without distinction of rank, and left exposed in that condition to the eyes of the publick; it was not even lawful for any one to intercede for him. This great severity produced the desired effect. Few persons ventured to engage in so dangerous a business; and considering also that these islanders did not know what it was for one man to make an attempt upon another's life, they all lived in the greatest peace and security. Theft how punished.

All the principalities of the island were hereditary, but when a *Cacique* died without issue, the children of his sisters succeeded him preferably to those of his brothers. The reason of this custom was the same with that which established it in so many other countries, especially in *America*; namely, that the sisters children are more certainly of the uncle's blood, than those of a brother. For the same reason they should have set aside the children of the prince himself, but custom interposed in their favour. In some provinces, the widows of the *Caciques* were obliged to follow their husbands by way of company into their graves, on pain of passing for women that had been unfaithful to them during their lives. And when a woman happened to be too easy about her character to secure it at so dear a rate, her children were excluded the succession, this behaviour of hers being considered as a tacit acknowledgement of her offspring's illegitimacy. Order observed in the succession of their princes.

When the *Caciques* happened to differ, which was seldom known but on occasion of their fishing parties, the quarrel was soon terminated, and almost always without the effusion of blood. And indeed their arms were ill contrived for that purpose, being nothing more than sticks, or a kind of clubs, which they called *Mancanas*, about two fingers broad, terminating at one end in a point, and at the other in a handle like the hilt of a sword. They had likewise javelins, of the same substance, that is, a very hard kind of wood, which they lanced with great dexterity. After all it must be allowed, that these arms were sufficient for people who went quite naked, and made use of no defensive weapons. The worst circumstance that attended wounds made with this wood, which was very brittle, was its often leaving splinters behind it. For as they wanted skill to extract them, the consequences generally proved fatal to life or limb. The inhabitants of the Eastern provinces had the use of bows and arrows, which they no doubt borrowed from their inveterate enemies the *Caribes*, who inhabited the *Little Antilles*. Their wars.

The common food of our islanders was maize, which in *Europe* is called *Turkey-wheat*, or great millet, potatoes and cassava; the public may expect a full account of all these articles in a very laborious work now preparing for the press. Hunting, fowling, and fishing formed another great resource; but the best of the game was always reserved Their food.

for the *Cacique's* table, and it would have been a crime in a subject to express ever so little a desire of tasting it. The leaf and root of a kind of *Arum* or calf's foot, which the *French* have called *Caribee cabbage*, purslane, wild spinage, the buds of potatoes, and of *Mombins*, were made use of on extraordinary occasions, or rather served as ragouts. They mixed them all up together, and seasoned them with their *axi*, or pimento; this composition they called *Yracas*. In times of scarcity, when the ordinary foods were not to be got, they had recourse to the wild fruits, with which their forests abounded. Besides they had so well accustomed themselves to eat of everything that came in their way, even those things which *Europeans* abominate most, such as worms, spiders, bats, adders, and the like, that it was impossible they should starve. But tho' these animals are no way poisonous in the islands, the use of them, and the slightness of their common food, must have been the true causes of their having such bad constitutions, and being so incapable of hard labour. But if these islanders fared so poorly, it was entirely their own fault, for we may safely affirm, that their country, and in general a great part of *South America*, has great advantages, in regard to the means of subsistence, over *Europe*, where wheat and other corn fit for bread, are become of such absolute necessity, that the failure of them generally occasions a famine, in consequence of which thousands perish. But in this part of the New World there are six species of vegetables, all as good food as bread, which never fail, but multiply in a surprising manner. The ground here may be made to yield three crops a year of maize, and two of rice. Among the different kinds of potatoes, which are all very palatable and wholesome, there is one called the six-weeks potatoe, because it may be eaten in six weeks, or two months at most, after sowing. In a tuft of bananiers, which generally consists of a dozen plants, there is always some one or another loaded with fruit; and this fruit likewise is very nourishing. The manioc and igname are indeed to be had but once a year, but the crops are almost always very plentiful; at least they never can be said to fail, though these vegetables scarce require any labour or attendance.

Their houses.

The manner in which the inhabitants of *Haiti* built their houses, perfectly answered their frugality in other respects, all their buildings being reducible to two very simple designs. Every one was at liberty to follow which he liked best, there being no rule to the contrary, but the poorer sort generally made use of the following. They first planted pretty deep in the ground, and in a circular form, at about four or five paces distance, stakes about the size of our rafters; on these stakes they laid flat, but very thick pieces of wood, which served to sustain a number of long poles united at top by their small ends, so as to form a conical roof. The poles were bound together by canes, which, to make the frame the stronger, they placed two by two, and that only at about a palm interval between every two canes. To complete the roof, they thatched it with very fine straw, or with palm leaves, or the small ends of canes. As to the wall, the intervals between the stakes were filled up by canes fixed into the earth, and bound together with a kind of very tough strings, called by *Oviedo*, *Beschiufchi*, that grow upon some trees, and hang down from the branches. The walls made in this manner were very solid, and so tight, as not to admit the least breath of air thro' them. The canes used in building them grow to a much greater size in *America*, than those to be seen in *Spain* and *Italy*. The strings I mentioned, are of different sizes, and all, even the finest, may be split in two, so as to afford threads fit to bind up the smallest parcels. They have besides their uses in medicine, according to the same author, but he does not tell us what these uses are. The houses, or rather huts built in this manner, were fittest to withstand the impetuous winds, which sometimes infest the island. To make them still stronger, it was usual, at least in such places as were most exposed, to plant a post in the center, and bind the extremities of all the poles to it. The other houses were of the same materials and construction, but differed in form, being very like our barns. The roof was supported by a long beam, and the beam itself by forked pieces of wood fixed in the ground from one end of the house to the other, so as to divide it into two equal apartments or rooms. These houses were larger than the first, and better adorned. Many of them had a kind of portico or porch, thatched with straw. This was the place where they received visits; and *Oviedo* assures us, that the roofs of these parlours exceeded those of the houses in *Flanders* at the time he wrote this account.

Their language.

The language of these islanders was not every where exactly the same, for each province had its distinct dialect, but such, however, as could be understood in every other part of the island; that used in the heart of the country was most esteemed. It was
even

even deemed sacred, and in great vogue in the other provinces. These dialects were very far from being barbarous, and were moreover attainable with great ease. We may judge of their sweetness, by some words of them that still subsist, and which the other nations of Europe have borrowed from the Spaniards. Our word *canoe* comes from their *canoa*, and of *amacha* we have made *hammock*, which is a kind of hanging bed made of linnen or cotton, and suspended at its corners, or extremities, by means of ropes to two posts or trees, and of general use in all hot countries. Our islanders called *uracane* those terrible storms so frequent in their country, and we have taken it at second hand from the Spaniards, just changing it to *hurricane*. Father *le Pers* adds to these words, the term *Savanna*; but this is a mistake; for *Mariana* places it among those remaining among the Spaniards, of the ancient language of the *Visigoths*, who conquered them.

To return to their songs, in which, as I said before, all their annals consisted, they were always accompanied with a round dance, and he who led the ball, first began the song, which was repeated after him by the rest of the company. He also regulated the steps in the like manner: First he made some steps forwards, and then as many backwards, while all the other dancers copied after him. Time and measure were always strictly observed. Sometimes the men danced by themselves on one side, and the women on the other; at other times the two sexes intermixed, and then it was indifferent whether a man or woman led the way. But on public festivals, and other important occasions, they always danced to the sound of a drum, and the drummer was generally the first man in the town, or even the *Cacique* himself. *Cacique*, in the language of the country, signified prince or lord, and the Spaniards have made a general word of it, to express not only all the Sovereigns of America, the Emperors of Mexico, and the Incas of Peru only excepted, but even the petty lords that commanded the smallest villages.

This drum was nothing more than the trunk of a tree fashioned into a cylinder, on one side of which was made a square oblong opening towards the opposite side, where, after lessening gradually, it terminated in another opening in the shape of a H. This drum, whose music could not be very agreeable, they placed on its greatest opening, while they struck it with a stick upon the other.

Another diversion called *batos* was equally in vogue among these islanders. The *batos* was a kind of ball or foot-ball, of a solid substance, but extremely light and elastic, so as to rebound almost as much as those made of a bladder blown up within a leathern case of a spherical form. They never applied either hand or foot to it, but only the head, hips, elbows, and especially the knees. The person who struck it last, marked one, and the game consisted of as many strokes as the players thought proper. The women played at it as well as the men. *Gonzalez Fernandez d'Oviedo*, an antient author, says, that the *batos* consisted of a composition made of the roots of certain trees, which he does not mention, and several herbs, by boiling them together; and that this composition formed a black paste pretty much like pitch, but not sticking to the hands, when it was well dried. The number of players was not limited, and sometimes amounted to twenty on a side. The opponents were separated by a line, which it was not lawful for either to transgress. In every town there was a piece of ground set apart for this exercise, and another near it for more numerous parties, as, for example, when one town challenges another, which often happens.

The victory was always celebrated by a general dance, at the conclusion of which they never failed to get themselves drunk with the smoke of tobacco; a thing easily accomplished, as, in the first place, they never began to smoke till they were quite exhausted with fatigue; and, secondly, the stoutest head could hold out but a few moments against their manner of smoking. Their way was to spread moist leaves of tobacco on half-kindled coals, and then thrust the trunk of a pipe formed like a Y into the smoke, and the two branches into their nostrils, and so draw in the fumes, which soon ascended to the brain. Every man remained on the spot, where he fell a victim to this sport, except the *Cacique*, whose wives removed him to his bed. Whatever dreams succeeded this drunkenness, were considered as so many inspirations from heaven. But we may well imagine, that this kind of debauch, which had frequent returns, must considerably impair both the brain and the constitution of these Indians.

Tobacco was a natural production of Hispaniola; the inhabitants called it *cobiba*, and the instrument with which they smoked it, *tabaco*. This derivation is no longer called

Their songs and dances.

Drum to which they danced.

Play of the batos.

Drunkenness caused by tobacco.

Derivation of the word tobacco.

called in question, and it is a popular error to derive it from the island *Tobago*. Father *Labat*'s opinion, that it comes from *Tabasco*, the name of a town in *New Spain*, appears equally groundless. The *Spaniards* say, *Hazer un Tabaco*, to signify the diversion of round dancing and smoking in the *American* manner; and hence, it seems, must be derived the word *tabagie*, so much used by ancient voyage-writers to express an *Indian* festival.

Different names given to tobacco in France.

One thing is certain, which is, that this plant now so well known, and adopted by many people for one of the most indispensable necessities of life, was altogether unknown to the ancients. As it first came into *France* by the way of *Portugal*, it for some time had no other name than the *Brasilian* word, *petun*. It was afterwards called *Queen's herb* and *Nicotiana*, because the *French* owed their first knowledge of it to *Monf. Nicot*, ambassador of *Charles IX.* at *Lisbon*, who at his return to *France* presented some of it to the queen mother, *Catherine of Medicis*. Father *de Tertre*, who wrote almost 80 years ago in the islands of *America*, seldom gives it any other name than *petun*; and *Rocheport*, who wrote at the same time in *Holland*, never calls it by any other but that of *tobacco*. In fact, this is the name the *Dutch* knew it by, and which they borrowed from the *Spaniards*, with whom they always carried on a considerable trade in this article.

Of their occupation.

Hunting.

Fowling.

Necessity sometimes prevailed over the indolence of these *Indians*, and obliged them to turn their hands to some employment, which generally consisted in fishing, fowling, or hunting. In hunting they made use of little dumb dogs, which we shall hereafter mention; but often they did no more than set fire to the four corners of a meadow, which by this means in a minute's time they generally found covered with game half roasted. They seldom fowled, and few of them knew the use of the bow and arrow, tho' they had industry enough to supply the want of arms. They used in particular to take great numbers of parrots, and their manner of catching them was singular enough. A boy about eleven years old, climbed a tree with a tame parrot on his head. The fowlers then, covered all over with leaves, placed themselves with as little noise as possible, round the trunk of it, and made the parrot scream. Upon this all the parrots within hearing flocked about him, screaming likewise with all their might. The child, on their alighting, cast a running knot round the neck of the bird that lay most convenient to his hand, pulled it to him, and twisting its neck enough to kill it, let it fall to the ground; and went on in this manner till not a single bird remained. They had another method of catching wood-pigeons; they brought these birds together by imitating their cooing, and then secured them by nets which, as well as their fishing-nets, were very well adapted to their several purposes.

Their preparations to look for gold.

Tho' these people, before the arrival of the *Spaniards* among them, were very far from valuing gold as much as it is prized by us, they can by no means be said to have despised it. They used to search very carefully for it, but then they generally satisfied themselves with such little grains as were easily found, which they used to flatten, and hang to their nostrils. Nay, it seems they considered this metal as something sacred, since they never went in search of it, till they had prepared themselves by long fasting and some days continence: They even affirmed that as often as they omitted this preparation, their searches proved unsuccessful. *Columbus* did at first all that lay in his power to prevail on the *Spaniards* to follow this example, and not set out for the mines, till they had approached the sacraments of confession and communion; but he preached to no purpose; no one listened to him; and when he offered to interpose his authority, he was told that the church having enjoined confession and communion but once a year, it did not belong to him to make new precepts on the occasion; that after all, they found themselves condemned against their inclinations to a much longer continence than that observed by the islanders, since they had left their wives behind them in *Spain*; and as to fasting, their life, considering the small pittance of bad food they were reduced to, might well pass for a constant and rigorous fast. *Columbus*, however, would not be contradicted, and, as far as it lay in his power, suffered none to visit the mines, but such as had prepared themselves in the manner he proposed.

Their manner of cultivating the ground, & procuring fire

The ancient inhabitants of *Hispaniola* seldom employed themselves in any sort of husbandry, and the *Spaniards* found no tools among them fit for that purpose. Fire was in a manner their universal instrument. They used to set fire to the grass of their *Savannas*, (this is a term borrowed from the *Spaniards*, and signifies plains, and in general

general every place that produces nothing but grafs. They ufed, I fay, to burn down the grafs of their favannas, when thoroughly dried, and after a flight loofening and opening the earth with fticks, fowed their maiz in it.

Their manner of cultivating maiz.

They never ufed ftones to procure fire, tho' their ifland abounds with fuch as are very fit for that purpofe; perhaps they did not know how to make ufe of them. Be that as it will, their way was to take two bits of wood, one very porous and light, the other denfe and harder; this they ftuck into the firft, and turned it very rapidly, much as we turn the little instrument for preparing chocolate. This violent collision immediately produced fire from the hard wood, while the foft wood ferved, like tinder or touchwood, to receive and retain it.

Fire by collision of woods.

Fire alfo was the principal means employed by thefe people for conftituting their canoes or pirogues. After chufing a tree, they made a fire round it, juft fufficient to kill it, for they let it ftand to dry. After this they made another fire round it to bring it to the ground, and then fixing upon dimensions, according to the intended fize of their veffel, they gradually hollowed the trunk with fire, paring off the burnt parts with a kind of hatchet or axe, made of a very hard green ftone. No quarries of this ftone have as yet been difcovered, either in this ifland or elfewhere. It is generally believed, that they were brought hither from the river of *Amazons*, whole flime, it is faid, petrifies when expofed to the air. But then how could thefe iflanders, who had no communication with any other people, procure themfelves the flime of fo diftant a river.

Their manner of conftituting canoes, or pirogues.

Hatchets of ftone.

Thefe people reprefented their deities under the moft hideous figures that can be imagined. The moft tolerable were toads, tortoifes, fnakes, and crocodiles. But in general, they were human figures horrible, and monftrous, with fomething in them both frightful and ridiculous. From the great variety of thefe figures, it is reafonable to think, that thefe iflanders believed a plurality of gods; and from their ugliness, that they were perfuaded that thefe deities had more power to do harm than good; and hence thefe poor heathens feldom thought of more than appeafing the fury of their gods, and engaging them by facrifices not to do them any mischief.

Hideous images.

Thefe idols they called *Chemis*, or *Zemes*, and made them of chalk, ftone, or baked earth. They placed them at the corners of their houfes, adorned their beft furniture with them, and impreffed the images of them on their bodies. It is not therefore furprizing, fince they had them constantly before their eyes, and were under the greateft awe of them, that the forms of them often occurred in their dreams. They did not attribute the fame power to all thefe divinities. Some, they imagined, prefided over the feafons, and others over health; this clafs of genii over hunting, and that over fifhing; and every deity had its peculiar worfhip and offerings. Some authors, who pretend to have more thoroughly ftudied thefe people, affirm that they confidered the *Zemes* only as fubaltern divinities, and minifters of one, fovereign, eternal, infinite, almighty, invifible Being.

Chemis idols in high veneration.

Zemes fubaltern divinities

But this fupreme God they did not allow to be uncreated, for they gave him a mother, who had five different names, which were, *Attabeira*, *Mamona*, *Guacarapita*, *Tiella* and *Guamaonocan*. But neither this fupreme being, nor his mother had any worfhip paid them, unlefs we may refer to her the adoration paid to a divinity among the *Zemes*, in the form of a woman, attended by her two principal minifters, in conftant readinefs to execute her orders. One of thefe minifters, they faid, was the Goddefs's herald, whole bufinefs it was to fummmon the other *Zemes*, when fhe wanted to fend them to raife winds, caufe rain, or otherwife procure mankind the bleffings they requested. The other minifter had nothing to do but punifh by inundations, thofe who refufed the goddefs that homage fhe required of all mankind.

Mother of the fupreme god.

Don Fernando Columbus, in the life of his father, *Chriftopher Columbus*, tells us, that the *Zemes* were confidered as the tutelary gods of mankind, and that every man had his own particular *Zemes*, to whom he gave the preference above all the reft. He adds, that they ufed to fet them in private places, where no Chriftian was permitted to enter; that whenever they were under apprehenfions of the difcovery of thefe private repositories, they took care to remove the *Zemes* beforehand; that fome *Spaniards* having one day entered the cabbin of a *Cacique*, they obferved a *Zemes* making a great vociferation, and uttering abundance of things in the language of the country, which they did not underftand; that concluding there muft be fome impofture in the affair, they kicked the ftatue to pieces, and thereby difcovered a long pipe between the head of the idol and a little corner covered with leaves, where a man, that could not be feen,

Impofture under the mask of a *Zemes*.

made the god say whatever he pleased ; that the *Cacique* begged the *Spaniards* not to say any thing of the matter, owning that he had recourse to this trick, to make his subjects obey him, and pay him tribute. *Don Fernando* adds, that the *Caciques* had three stones, which they kept very religiously, on pretence that each had its particular virtue ; one to make the seed grow, the second to make women bring forth without pain, and the third to procure rain or dry weather as need required.

Solemn procession in honour of their gods.

To conclude this subject, we find in the most ancient authors the description of a solemnity, which we shall relate, as it is the only religious ceremony of this people, they have taken care to transmit to us. The *Cacique* appointed the day, and caused it to be proclaimed by publick criers. The solemnity began by a numerous procession, where the men and married women appeared in their most precious ornaments ; but the girls assisted quite naked as usual. The *Cacique*, or principal man of the place, headed the march, incessantly beating a drum ; and in this manner the whole company repaired to a temple full of idols, whose figures resembled devils more than gods. Here the priests stood ready to receive the offerings of the people, which they presented to the divinities with great cries and howlings. Part of these offerings consisted of cake, which the women brought in baskets adorned with flowers. When the offerings had been performed, on a signal given by the priests, the women began to dance, and sing the praises of the *Zemes*, to which they added those of the ancient *Caciques*, and concluding with a prayer for the prosperity of the nation. The priests after this broke the cakes, consecrated by their pious oblation, and distributed them among the heads of families that were present. These pieces of cakes were to be kept the year round, and were looked upon as preservatives against all manner of evils. The *Cacique* never entered the temple, but seated himself at the door, where he continued to play on his drum, while the whole procession marched by him. The devout train entered the temple one by one singing, and directed their steps towards the principal idol, and, as soon as they got into his presence, thrust every one a stick into their throats to excite vomiting. The spirit of this ridiculous ceremony was to show, that to appear before the divinity in a religious manner, it was requisite to have a clean heart, and in a manner discernable on the lips.

Imposture and credulity.

The *Zemes* communicated themselves more particularly to the *Butios*, for thus they called their priests, who were at the same time physicians, surgeons, and druggists. And tho' the devil, if we may believe the old *Spanish* writers, had some share in the transactions of these several professions, they were however attended with impostures merely human. When the *Butios* consulted the *Zemes* in publick, the god's answer was never heard, but the people were left to judge of his intentions, by the countenance of his priest. If the priest danced and sung, it was accounted a good sign, and the spectators immediately expressed their joy by every demonstration they could imagine. But if, on the contrary, the priests put on a sorrowful countenance, the votaries burst into tears, and fasted till the divinity vouchsafed to give some certain mark of his anger being appeased.

Priests artful in practising physic without success.

The *Butios* had no mark of distinction, but the figure of a *Zemes*, which they always carried about them. They omitted nothing, however, that could make the people fear and respect them, and were particularly attentive to make the multitude believe, that they were frequently honoured with the conversation of their gods, and admitted to their most intimate confidence, and informed by them of the most secret events of futurity. It was an easy matter for these impostors to get the ascendant over a rude and credulous nation, who often carried their veneration for them to such a degree, as to call them *Zemes*, and consider them as divine men. For tho' the predictions they ventured to make were often contradicted by events, they still found means to preserve both confidence and esteem.

Their danger in practising physic without success.

But the people were very far from always respecting these *Butios* in quality of physicians, as much as they did in that of priests, as it was much harder to impose upon them in regard to health, than in religious matters. When a sick person, in spite of the physician's care and predictions, happened to die under his hands, he was no longer considered but as an ignorant impostor. The nearest relations of the deceased gathered about the body, cut off the nails and hair, mixed them with the juice of a particular herb, and poured this composition into the mouth, entreating the departed to let them know, if it was by the physician's fault that the disease proved mortal. And, it is said, that by virtue of magical operations and invocations, with which these entreaties were accompanied, they have at last obtained an answer. Perhaps what happened on the occasion, was merely

merely natural, for it is well known, that in all nations people have pretended to discover the secrets known to God alone, by signs which in themselves were very ambiguous and indifferent. Be that as it will, if the real or supposed answer charged the physician, they immediately fell upon him, and tore him to pieces, when he had not the precaution to retire to a place of safety. But it was requisite, in order to proceed lawfully to this inquest, that the physician should be already suspected; and very often the priests themselves accused each other, out of jealousy, of having neglected the patient, or maliciously used some charm to abridge his days. It is however allowed, that the Butios applied themselves with much diligence to the study of simples: but when their skill failed them, they made it up with deceit and assurance. Besides the people never forgot that they were ministers of those gods, whose power they so much dreaded, and therefore seldom dared to hurt them in cold blood.

Their manner of treating the sick had something very ridiculous in it. They first played a thousand antic tricks about the patient's bed, and then, after sucking the part affected, produced a thorn, or something of that kind, which, as they affirmed, they had extracted, but had in fact taken care to hide in their mouths for that purpose. 'Here,' said they, '*here is the thing that made you sick, and it was such a one who contrived to get it into your body.*' And thus these mountebanks sowed division among the best united families.

The present inhabitants of *Hispaniola* still find the figures of *Zemes* in several parts of the island, and it is by this sign they know, where *Indian* towns formerly stood, as well as by certain heaps of shells found under ground; the *Indians* having been very fond of shell fish; and as often as this happens, very curious discoveries are to be made, by continuing to dig a little, in the neighbourhood of such heaps; for here are generally to be found every thing this people used; such as earthen vessels, flat earthen plates for baking cassava bread, hatchets, and those little plates of gold they used to hang to their nostrils, and sometimes to their ears; but above all, a considerably quantity of *Zemes* of every form.

These people had but very slender notions of the immortality of the soul and another life. They believed, however, that there was a place where the souls of good men met with rewards, but never spoke of any torments prepared for the wicked. Every one placed this paradise in his own province, and represented to himself the life that was to be enjoyed there as very delicious, according to his own particular notions of things. They particularly rejoiced in the thoughts of finding their friends and relations there, and above all things great choice of wives. Some placed the residence of departed souls, near *Lake Tiberon*, where are great plains all covered with *Mameys*, a kind of fruit now called the *St Domingo Apricock*. This, they pretended, was the ordinary food of these souls, who provided themselves with it in the night time, and lurked all day in mountainous and other places of difficult access. This opinion added a kind of sacredness to the mamey, which is in itself an excellent fruit, and the living abstained from it thro' respect, and for fear of exposing the deceased to the want of proper subsistence.

We have already related the extravagant notions of our islanders, concerning the origin of men, and of the sun and moon. The cavern, from whence the sun and moon issued, and which, we said, was frequented by all the inhabitants of the island, contained two idols, to which they never failed to make very rich offerings. This cavern is thought to be the same with that, in the *Quartier du Dondon*, at six or seven leagues from *Cape Francois*. It is one hundred and fifty feet deep, and about as many high, but very narrow. The entrance to it is larger every way, than the largest coach-way, and the grotto receives no light but by this opening, and another in the roof, in the form of a steeple, thro' which, they added, the sun and moon launched out into the heavens. This vault is all over so regular and beautiful, that one can hardly think it the work of nature alone. There are no statues to be seen in it, but *Zemes* on all sides engraved on the rock; and the whole cavern appears, as if divided into a great many niches, some high and some low, but all pretty deep; one would be apt to imagine that these niches had been made there on purpose.

The women, according to another tradition, did not make their appearance in the world for a long time after the men. These islanders had no set rules in regard to the number of their wives, several had two or three, and others a few more. One of the sovereigns of the island, at the time it was discovered, had thirty; but these examples were rare. It appears, however, that in this respect every man was left to his own discretion,

Their method of treating the sick.

Antiquities of *Hispaniola*.

Religious notions of the old inhabitants.

Sacred caverns of the sun and moon.

Origin of women.

Plurality of wives.

cretion, and suited the number of his wives to his abilities to maintain them, so that few having any thing to spare, the generality of them put up with one. As to prohibited degrees, they observed none but the first, which they never dispensed with.

Equality of
wives.

Among the wives of the same man, there was generally one more distinguished than the rest, tho' without any superiority over them. All the wives lay round the husband, and no jealousy ever troubled the peace of the family.

Women in-
terred alive
with their de-
ceased hus-
bands.

At the death of the *Cacique* above mentioned, two of his wives were obliged to keep him company, and be inclosed alive in the grave where his body was deposited. But, at other times, women have been known to pay this mark of love and respect freely and of their own accord. In general they were permitted to do on the occasion as they liked best, and few were fools enough to throw themselves away in this manner.

Their fune-
rals.

The women were always charged with the care of burying their husbands. This they performed by first wrapping up the body in broad cotton bandages, and then placing it in a pretty deep grave with all the deceased's most precious effects. The corpse was not laid out horizontally, but seated on a little bench under a kind of wooden arch, to hinder the earth from falling in upon it. This ceremony was accompanied with songs and a medley of superstitions, of which no account has been left us; but the bodies of the *Caciques* were not interred till they had been first well emboweled and dried by fire.

Simplicity of
the natives.

Such was the state of *Haiti*, when *Columbus* discovered it in December 1492. And had the original inhabitants been treated by the first adventurers and their successors with common humanity, they would probably be at this day one of the most considerable people upon earth, since they did not want the seeds of sense or courage, as afterwards appeared on many occasions; tho' they shewed too little of either in the beginning, to give the *Spaniards* reason to treat them otherwise, than as a parcel of meek innocent children. Not only they received their new guests with the greatest kindness, but gave them gold in plenty for such things, as the poorest beggar in *Europe* would think beneath his notice.

Tyranny and
cruelty of the
Spaniards.

It must however be allowed, in justice to the crown of *Spain*, that it gave the strictest orders not to use them ill, and in justice to *Columbus*, and some other commanders, that they did their utmost to see these orders strictly obeyed. But whenever the poor *Indians* driven to extremities by the impositions, extortions, and cruelties of the adventurers, made any attempt, or were even suspected to have formed any plan to redress or revenge themselves, they were immediately treated by the officers as rebels, tho' those who had used them as beasts, were left unpunished. And this behaviour of the officers was winked at, or rather approved by the court, as if any sovereign state or prince had a right to treat as rebels, people whom they had no right to consider as subjects. Some, no doubt, had done homage to the crown of *Spain*, but such homage was generally obtained by force or fraud. And as to any pretence founded on the pains taken to make Christians of them, nothing can be more frivolous. Had the crown of *Spain* taken much more than it really did, the returns, even of the first voyage, had been a sufficient equivalent; for, as to any risk, it does not appear that the conversion of new-discovered countries to Christianity, was the primary motive to venture in search of them.

Conversion of
the *Indians* to
Christianity
opposed.

This consideration, it seems was of such weight with some wise princes and honest ministers of *Spain*, that the adventurers were obliged to bethink themselves of a stratagem to hold the *Indians* in subjection. They represented the *Indians* as incapable of governing themselves, and urged the impossibility of bringing them over to Christianity, if they were not ranged and entrusted to the care of *Spaniards*, who, as guardians, should be intitled to certain services from these poor people. But, instead of complying with the rules prescribed for their behaviour as tutors, many of them neither took any pains to instruct their pupils, nor observed any measures in the hardships imposed upon them. Nay, some had the impudence to affirm, that the *Indians* were incapable of instruction, in hopes of acquiring a right to use them like beasts, when they gave up that of treating them like pupils; while others most scandalously threw out invectives, and even made opposition in the churches, against some zealous missionaries come over on purpose to preach the gospel to the *Indians*, for fear they should become more knowing, and of course less submissive to their worse than *Egyptian* task-masters. But, as a celebrated author very judiciously remarks, those ministers of darkness had no occasion to oppose the instructions thus given the *Indians*, since their own ill usage of the poor people, and their bad examples, were sufficient to defeat them. However, the pious and charitable behaviour of the mis-
sioners

oners unexpectedly got the better of their prejudices, and made them apply for baptism with an earnestness, that even those, who entertained the most favourable opinion of them, never expected.

But it would be highly unjust to suppose the body of the *Spanish* nation so universally negligent or obdurate, as not to afford some persons capable of understanding, and resolute enough to plead the cause of the poor abused *Indians*. *Barthelemy de las Casas*, Licentiate of Divinity, and afterwards Bishop of *Chiappa*, the whole order of *Dominicans*, many others of the clergy, and the *Jeronomites*, who were first sent over to examine into the grievances of the *Indians*, openly espoused their cause. *Las Casas*, in particular, and the *Dominicans*, denounced from the pulpits of *San Domingo* the vengeance of heaven against their cruel guardians, and *las Casas* returned to *Spain*, to defend their cause before his Catholic majesty, and was thereupon declared their protector, in which office he exerted himself with indefatigable patience and zeal. It is universally allowed, however, that he has greatly exaggerated the cruelty of his countrymen.

Their cause
espoused.

It would be unpardonable not to mention the excellent *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*, whose having chiefly contributed to *Columbus's* undertaking is the smallest part of her merit. She took all opportunities of enforcing the directions she had first given for treating the *Indians*, in every respect, like the *Spaniards* themselves; and carried her zeal so far, that she even recalled her favourite *Columbus*, because he had, as she imagined, trespassed against her orders on this head. One of the chief articles of her will was in their favour, and it is more than probable she would have cheerfully sacrificed her authority over these people, for the sake of forwarding the great and glorious work of civilizing and converting them.

Praise of *Isabella* Qu. of *Castile*.

The cruelty of the adventurers would, no doubt, have alone been sufficient to exterminate the *Indians*, but some contagious disorders, and especially the small pox, made great devastations among them. Some authors will have the *French* disease to be a native of *Europe*, others make the small pox a native of *America*; but it is equally probable that we gave the *Americans* the last, and received from them the first. In this unfortunate commutation however, in which both sides were losers, the *Indians* were more to be pitied than the *Europeans*, on whose part the most dangerous of the two disorders was altogether voluntary.

N. t. v. e. countries of the *French* and *Small pox*.

Whatever be the case, hard labour, barbarous usage, and sickness, made such havoc among the poor *Haitians*, that, in the year 1509, there remained but 60,000, out of 1,200,000 souls found on the island, by the most moderate computation, at the first landing of the *Spaniards*. In four years more, these miserable remains were reduced to 20,000, and at the year 1533, to 4000. In consequence of the bold behaviour, wise conduct, and singular moderation of a young *Cacique*, who, driven to extremities, had cantoned himself in inaccessible mountains, from whence also a multitude of fugitive *Indians*, encouraged by his example, had so harassed the *Spaniards* as to make them think of abandoning the island, the last remnant abovementioned were set at liberty, permitted to settle in any part of the country, and committed to the jurisdiction of the *Cacique*, who, pursuant to *Qu. Isabella's* directions, had received a good education, and of his successors under the name of *Caciques* of *Haiti*. These chiefs were even entrusted with a power of life and death, but those who thought themselves aggrieved, had liberty to appeal to the royal tribunal of *San Domingo*. And it does not appear that this colony of *Indians*, as it is called, tho' settled in their own country, has ever since had the least reason to complain of the *Spaniards*. We are however well assured, that in the year 1716, with all their advantages, it consisted of no more than about thirty men and twice as many women.

Indians dwindled away to an inconsiderable number.

In proportion as the *Indians* dwindled away the *Spaniards* grew rich and numerous, till an insatiable thirst of gold drove those harpies to *Mexico* and *Peru*, so that at last hands were wanting to work the mines, and those who remained were in process of time, thro' restraints upon their commerce, and by the depredations of the *Dutch*, *French*, and *English*, but more perhaps thro' their own indolence, reduced to the greatest misery and distress. By the beginning of the year 1506 they had built and peopled 17 towns, and the gold dug annually out of the mines, and found in the rivers, amounted at least 460,000 marks, or 1,840,000 ounces. In the same year they began to cultivate sugar, and were soon in a condition to export great quantities of that valuable commodity, as also of hides, cassia, tallow, horses, pork, and provisions of all kinds, having replaced the *Indians* with *Negroes*, who, tho' not so good miners, vastly surpassed them in every other kind of work.

Flourishing state of the *Spanish* colonies.

Its miserable
decay.

Things remained nearly in the same situation as to exports, except gold, for many years, till at last they took an irretrievable turn, and went backwards so fast, that in the year 1606, the colony was no longer to be known. *San Domingo* the capital, a port formerly crowded with ships of all nations, now received but one yearly from *Spain*, the only country in *Europe* with which it had been for some time permitted, and now could possibly trade. And the inhabitants of the island in general were reduced to such distress, that it was found necessary in several places to celebrate divine service before day-light, to give the people an opportunity of complying with the precepts of the church, without trespassing against decency, by appearing at it half naked in the day-time.

First settle-
ment of the
French on
Hispaniola.

In 1630, a multitude of *French*, just expelled from *St Christophers* by the *Spaniards*, with some other adventurers, *English* as well as *French*, finding the Northern coast of *Hispaniola* uninhabited, and abounding with swine and black cattle, thought proper to take possession of it, and with the more confidence as relying on assistance from the *Dutch*, who now frequented these seas, and promised to supply them with whatever they wanted in exchange for hides procured by hunting.

Rife of the
Buccaneers &
Freebooters.

These first settlers were called *Buccaneers*, from their custom of assembling after a chase, in order to regale themselves with broiling the flesh of the cattle they had killed, and *buccanning*, that is, drying the rest. But many of them, soon tired of this new way of life, chose to turn pirates, trusting to find, among those who remained on land, a quick sale for all the booty they could make at sea. This new body of adventurers were called *Freebooters*, from their making free prey or booty of whatever came to their hands.

Island of *Tortuga* described.

These *Freebooters* resorted chiefly to *Tortuga*, where a harbour afforded security to their ships, and the inland parts of the country to themselves, especially against the *Spaniards*, whom they had most reason to fear. The Northern coast of this island is almost inaccessible even to canoes, and the Southern has but the one just mentioned harbour, which however is not so much a port, as a pretty safe road about two leagues from the Eastern point of the island, and therefore simply called, *the Road*. It affords good anchorage in a fine sand, and may be very easily defended by planting a battery on a hill that commands it. The lands near this road are universally good, and contain some fine plains of wonderful fertility. The whole island is covered with very tall trees, growing between rocks, where it is a wonder how they are nourished. The *Acajou* is the principal, and still constitutes the chief riches of the country. *Tortuga* is eight leagues in length from East to West, and two leagues from North to South, which is also the breadth of the channel between it and *St Domingo*. Its latitude is $20^{\circ} 10'$; the air is very good, but there is no river, and but very few springs. The most considerable yields a stream of excellent water, as big as a man's arm; the rest are inconsiderable, whence the inhabitants were obliged to reserve the rain-waters. This island, tho' now in a manner uninhabited, had formerly six districts well peopled, namely, *la Basse Terre*, *Cayenne*, *la Montagne*, *la Milplantage*, *le Ringot*, and *la Pointe au Maçon*; and a seventh called *Cabesterre* would have been peopled, but for the scarcity of fresh water. All the vegetables of the *Antilles* were to be found here, its tobacco especially was excellent, and the sugar canes of an uncommon size and goodness; some hogs brought hither from *St Domingo* had multiplied prodigiously, and tho' smaller than those of the great island, their flesh was more delicate. Lastly, the seas on all the coasts, especially on the South, abounded with fish.

Seized by the
Freebooters.

When the *Freebooters* formed a design to seize on *Tortuga*, it had a small garrison of twenty-five *Spaniards*, who considering their situation as no better than an exile, were probably as glad to be summoned by the *Freebooters* to leave it, as the others were to see their summons obeyed without resistance.

A thriving colony.

As soon as the inhabitants of *St Christophers* got notice of what was doing on the coast of *St Domingo*, they escaped in numbers to *Tortuga*, in hopes of making speedier fortunes by a freer commerce with strangers, and especially with the *Freebooters*, who always gave good prices, and afforded good bargains. Many of the new comers applied themselves to husbandry, and planted tobacco, and the resort of *French* ships, especially from *Dieppe*, greatly contributed to the prosperity of the colony. These ships supplied the settlers with servants bound for three years, and doing all the services that could be expected from slaves.

Classes and
government.

Thus the colony consisted of four classes; *Buccaneers*, *Freebooters*, *Planters*, and *Indentured Servants*, who generally remained with the *Buccaneers*, or *Planters*. And these four

four orders composed what they now began to call the body of Adventurers. These people lived together in a perfect harmony under a kind of democracy; every freeman had a despotic authority over his own family, and every captain was a sovereign in his own ship, tho' liable to be discarded at the discretion of the crew. Adventurers.

The court of *Spain* was infinitely more alarmed at the establishment formed by these Adventurers, than it had been at that of the *French* and *English* at *St Christophers*. Wherefore, from a persuasion that if those on the island of *Tortuga* could be once dislodged, the rest would disperse of themselves, the general of the galleons had orders to attack this island, and, in order to make short work of it, to put to the sword all he should find there. This commission the general executed perfectly well; for while part of the inhabitants were engaged in hunting with the Buccaneers in the island of *St Domingo*, he fell upon the remainder, put to the sword all he found, and hanged those who in hopes of mercy surrendered at discretion. Some few fled to the woods and mountains, whom the *Spaniards* did not think worth their pains to pursue, and left the island without a garrison. Adventurers disposed of *Tortuga*.

His next care was to rid *Hispaniola* itself of Buccaneers, for which purpose the general assembled a body of five hundred lancemen, who, as they seldom marched more than fifty in a company, were called *the Fifties*. The Buccaneers, well knowing that no peace was to be expected from the *Spaniards*, thought it best for their defence to elect a chief, and made choice of one *Willis*, an *Englishman*, of great conduct and bravery. But he soon gave them reason to repent their favour, for he drew about him a multitude of his countrymen, and laughed at his electors when they proposed transferring the command to another. Hence this colony must have been irretrievably lost to *France*, had not a bold adventurer found means of opposing to *Willis* a man of superior merit. Buccaneers elect *Willis* their chief.

This Adventurer embarked privately for *St Christophers*, and informed *M. de Poinci*, governor general of the *French* Windward islands, of all that had happened at *Tortuga*: The governor, who well understood the importance of this island to his country, immediately resolved to rescue it out of the hands of the *English*, and chose for this purpose an officer named *le Vasseur*, a skilful engineer, and a man of great valour and conduct, but a *Calvinist*. To this worthy person, besides the government of *Tortuga*, and of the coast of *St Domingo*, he granted, by way of further encouragement, the free exercise of his religion for himself, and all others of his persuasion who would accompany him in this expedition. *Le Vasseur* appointed governor of *Tortuga*.

These terms were too favourable for *le Vasseur* to refuse them, and therefore he assembled as many inhabitants as were willing to go with him, and set sail with no more than thirty-nine men under his command for *Tortuga*. He did not however think proper to appear before it, till he had got some intelligence from the buccaneers on the coast of *St Domingo*. With this view he put in at *Port Margot*, about seven leagues to the leeward of *Tortuga*, where he remained three months, during which he raised some soldiers, and was joined by fifty Buccaneers, mostly Protestants. He then proceeded to *Tortuga*, in hopes that all the *French* under *Willis* would come over to him, as in fact they did. Having landed without resistance, he marched in order of battle, and summoned *Willis*, and all the *English* in the island to leave it in twenty-four hours, if they expected quarters. So unexpected a summons, followed by the insurrection of the *Frenchmen* under him, struck such a terror into *Willis*, that, without examining whether *le Vasseur* could make his words good, he abandoned the island, leaving the *Frenchmen* in possession of a fort he had built, and fortified with some cannon. Expels *Willis* from *Tortuga*.

The *English* gave the *French* no farther uneasiness, but the *Spaniards* being determined, cost what it would, to suffer no strangers on this island, or on the coasts of *St Domingo*, fitted out a squadron of six ships, and put on board six hundred land forces, who entered the road in full confidence of victory. Five or six hundred paces from the sea is a hill with a plain on its top, about the middle of which rises a rock thirty feet high, and very steep on every side, about nine or ten paces from the spring abovementioned. On this plain *le Vasseur* had formed terraces capable of lodging four hundred men at their ease, and taken up his quarters, and disposed his magazines on the top of the rock, which was ascended half way by steps cut in it, and above these by an iron ladder, which could be drawn up at pleasure. He had besides contrived a tube like a chimney, thro' which a person could let himself down upon the terras without being seen. This post, however inaccessible in itself, was besides defended by a battery, and there was another on the terras, which commanded the port. *Le Vasseur* suffered the *Spaniards* to come within half cannon shot of his works, when he fired so furiously, and put them in such disorder, that with Repulses the *Spaniards*.

with much difficulty recovering their boats, they weighed anchor the moment they got on board their ships. However, some time after they landed again, but at a good distance from the fort, at a place where *le Vasseur* could not, or did not think proper to oppose them, but immediately marched in order of battle towards the hill, in hopes of carrying it by storm. But by the way they fell into an ambuscade, and with the loss of two hundred men killed on the spot, fled back to their ships with the utmost precipitation, and never appeared afterwards.

Evades a plot
to deprive
him of his go-
vernment.

M. de Poinci, grown jealous of *le Vasseur*, or apprehending that he might erect a little protestant republic in *Tortuga*, formed a design to remove him from thence with the first opportunity. For this purpose he sent his nephew to him, under pretence of complimenting him on his success, and inviting him to a conference at St *Christophers*, in order to concert further measures for the good of the new colony of *St Domingo*, but with orders as soon as *le Vasseur* left the island, to assume the government of it himself. But *le Vasseur* quickly saw thro' the Envoy's fair speeches, and, tho' he treated him with the utmost respect and ceremony, excused himself from leaving the island, for fear, he said, the *Spaniards* should attack it in his absence, and, finding it without a chief, make an easy conquest of it.

Becomes a
tyrant.

Le Vasseur, no doubt, might have easily effected what was most apprehended by *de Poinci*, had he continued to behave with as much moderation, as conduct and valour; but as soon as he saw himself in a condition to fear nothing from without, he gave himself little trouble to gain the love of his own people. First, he deprived the catholics of the free exercise of their religion, burnt down their chapel, expelled the priests who officiated there, and took every other measure he could devise to get rid of them. Next he quarrelled with his own minister, and, at length, played the tyrant with all his subjects indifferently, loaded them with taxes, punished them for the least faults with the greatest severity, having contrived an iron cage, in which the inclosed could neither stand nor sit. This he called his Hell, and the dungeon of the castle, a place scarce more tolerable, his Purgatory. In short, from being mild, affable, and generous, he became all at once cruel, haughty, and interested to the last degree. He still, however, made great professions of respect for M. de Poinci, till he thought himself sufficiently established to apprehend nothing from that quarter. For on M. de Poinci's request to send him a silver statue of the Blessed Virgin, taken by some Frechbooters on board a *Spanish* vessel, as more suitable to a Catholic, and a knight of *Malta*, than to a Protestant, *le Vasseur* sent him the model of it in wood, telling him that he knew the catholics had too much sense to fix their esteem on the materials of which such things were made, and that the silver image was of such exquisite workmanship, that he could not prevail upon himself to part with it.

Wants to be
acknowledged
prince of *Tor-
tuga*.

De Poinci, we may well think, would immediately have attempted to revenge this insult, but he happened at this time to have work of more importance upon his hands. The court of *France* having nominated another general to succeed him, he thought proper not to resign his place, principally for fear of being called to an account on his return to *France* for his concessions to *le Vasseur*. This step bred a civil war in the infant colonies, some siding with the new general, while others adhered to the old. *Le Vasseur* taking advantage of their divisions, endeavoured, by representing to the Protestants of *Tortuga*, that island as a sure asylum for those of their persuasion, to engage them to acknowledge him for their prince.

Assassinated.

But *de Poinci* getting the better of his adversary, and seeing himself again in quiet possession of his government, turned all his thoughts to the reduction of his dangerous neighbour *le Vasseur*. For this purpose he fitted out two ships, and gave the command of them, also of *Tortuga*, and the coast of *St Domingo* to M. de Fontenay, who, the better to cover his designs, gave out that this armament was intended only against the *Spaniards*. But he was no sooner arrived at *Lecu*, a little port of *St Domingo* opposite to *Tortuga*, than he was informed that *le Vasseur* had been assassinated by *Martin* and *Thibuet*, two of his partisans, said to be his nephews, but certainly constituted his heirs, who, after their paricide, had seized upon the government, and all *le Vasseur's* treasures. On this news, M. de Fontenay set sail for *Tortuga*, and after he had been driven from the road by the cannon of the fort, landed his troops at *Cayenne*.

And surren-
dered to M.
de Fontenay.

But the usurpers, finding the inhabitants no way disposed to run any risk on their account, thought proper to surrender the fort, on condition of pardon for what was past, and leave to keep their ill-got treasures. The news of this success no sooner reached St

Domingo,

Domingo, than all the Catholics whom *le Vasseur* had driven out of the island, or who had retired from it to avoid his tyranny, immediately returned.

De Fontenay then set about repairing and enlarging the fortifications, and erected two great bastions of hewn stone, which took in the whole plain, and extended to an adjacent mountain, hitherto thought inaccessible. The island upon this grew so populous, that for want of room, some families were sent to *St Domingo*, where they settled on the Western shore, tho' nearer to the *Spaniards* than the North-West, and farther from *Tortuga*, whence alone they could expect assistance.

This new settlement alarmed the *Spaniards*, who therefore sent some armed boats to crush it in its infancy; but the Buccaneers and Freebooters speedily repaired to the assistance of their brethren, and obliged the enemy to retire after burning a few plantations. The *Spaniards*, provoked at their disappointment, resolved to destroy the root of the evil, by recovering *Tortuga*, and leaving a force there sufficient to secure the possession of it to his Catholic majesty. Nor was it long before *de Fontenay* gave them a favourable opportunity of effecting their designs, as he not only permitted, but encouraged the inhabitants to join in cruising with the Freebooters, who now resorted hither from all quarters. Hence the lands were sometimes left uninhabited, and the fortifications without defenders.

The *Spaniards* took advantage of this negligence and security, and made dispositions to reconquer the island with such secrecy, that the governor had scarce time to prepare for their reception. And at last their fleet, consisting of five large vessels, with a multitude of barks full of troops and stores, commanded by Don *Gabriel Rozas*, appeared in the road. Hence, annoyed by the cannon of the fort, they retired, and landed at *Cayenne* in spite of all the resistance the *French* could make. After a rest of three days, they made a motion, which shewed that their intention was to erect a battery on the top of the mountain adjacent to the bastions of the fortresses. The *French* laughed at the attempt, till a volley from the cannon assured them of its success, and forced them to desert the upper works of the fort. The besieged, however, made a resolute defence, and erected an epaulment, which secured them against this formidable battery. But the *Spaniards* planted another halfway up the mountain, which scoured the fort from one end of the new defence to the other. The *French* had now no other resource left, but to nail up the enemy's cannon, and they attempted it with great bravery, but the besiegers, forewarned by a fugitive slave, repulsed them with loss. This success of the *Spaniards*, and the destruction of the garrison occasioned a mutiny in the fort, which the governor with much difficulty appeased. In the mean time, the *Spaniards*, who had flattered themselves with carrying the place by storm, began to grow as sick of the siege as the *French*, and were preparing to retire, when a second deserter informed them of the state of the besieged. On this advice they redoubled their fire, and *de Fontenay*, after another vigorous, but unsuccessful sally, finding he had as much to fear from within as without, determined to surrender, and obtained very honourable terms, by which, among other things, it was agreed that the *French* should, as soon as possible, get afloat two ships that lay stranded in the road, and retire on board them wherever they thought proper. On one of these embarked *Martin* and *Tibot*, with the women and children of the island; but these assassins, one of whom had his wicked hand, which had been shattered by a granado, cut off, falling short of provisions, put all their useless mouths ashore on some desert island, and proceeding to sea were never heard of afterwards.

M. de Fontenay, with the rest of the *French*, embarked in the other ship, which proving leaky, they put into Port *Margot*, where a *Dutch* vessel, on a supposition that they were returning to *France*, supplied them with every thing they wanted. This encouraged *Fontenay* to attempt the recovery of *Tortuga*, which he had in a great measure lost thro' his own fault, and having proposed it to his men, and some Buccaneers, they all swore never to desert him. He therefore immediately set sail for *Cayenne*, and repulsing the *Spaniards* who opposed his landing, pursued them vigorously, in hopes of entering pell-mell with them into the fort, till a dog happened to discover an ambuscade laid for them. The *French* on this made so furious a fire on the *Spaniards* in ambuscade, that they immediately fled with precipitation, but the *French* too fatigued to follow them, stopt short at a spring to refresh themselves; here the *Spaniards* made a sally upon them, but were forced to retire. These successes however availed nothing, as the *French* wanted cannon to batter the place. Hence they were on the point of relinquishing the project, when *Fontenay* bethought himself of the cannon, which the *Spaniards* had planted against the epaulment

Fortified, and in a flourishing condition.

Imprudence of the new governor.

Island regained by the *Spaniards*.

Exemplary fate of *Martin* and *Tibot*.

Vain attempt of *Fontenay* to retake *Tortuga*.

epaulment he had raised to secure himself from the batteries on the summit of the mountain, and which, as he was informed, they had left on the same spot, surrounded with felled trees, and guarded by fifty men. Wherefore with all speed he climbed the mountain, and attacked the party, which, surpris'd at so unexpected a visit, quickly gave way, and left him in possession of what he wanted. But he came short of gunpowder, and was obliged to abandon his promising enterprize.

Adventurers
settled at Cul
de Sac.

The Adventurers upon this began to forget *Tortuga*. The Buccaneers with much difficulty defended themselves against the *Spanish* fifties. Such of the Adventurers, as preferred planting, and were rich enough to undertake it, retired to the Western coast of *St Domingo*, where the establishment formed in the Great Bay, called the *Cul de Sac*, grew daily stronger, in spite of all the measures taken by the *Spaniards* to crush it.

Assist the En-
glish in con-
quering Ja-
maica.

As to the Freebooters, who consisted of a greater mixture of nations than either of the two other classes, they offered their service to the *English*, who, after miscarrying in an attempt upon *St Domingo*, thought fit to attack *Jamaica*, where they met with better success, driving all the *Spaniards* into the woods and mountains. But as they could not be easy, while their enemies remained in these fastnesses, they called some of the Buccaneers of *St Domingo*, as fittest to scour such places, and setting a price on the heads of the fugitive *Spaniards*, were so well served by these Adventurers, that the remains of the fugitives were soon glad to come in and ask quarter.

Tortuga retai-
ken by the
French.

In 1660, *Tortuga* returned again under the dominion of *France*, thro' the conduct and bravery of M. du *Rausset*. This officer landed part of his troops from canoes on the Northern coast, from whence they climbed the mountain at the back of the fort, and surpris'd the guard of the cannon with which the *Spaniards* had formerly forced the *French* to surrender, while he advanced with the rest unseen, and attacked them on the South. *Rausset* soon after returned to *France*, leaving the command to his nephew M. *la Place*, a man well qualified for his trust, who sent inhabitants to *Port de Paix* and other places, but was soon after obliged to give place to M. d'Ogeron, whom the *French* king had named governor, on the recommendation of the *West India* company, to whom he had granted *Tortuga*, on their satisfying *Rausset* for his claims, in consequence of his undertaking the recovery of it at his own peril and cost. The *French* writers consider this event as the epocha of the foundation of their colony of *St Domingo*, and M. de Ogeron, for his singular prudence in executing his commission, as the father of it. Their account of the state of the *French* and *Spanish* colonies at that period, has importance enough for inducing us to transcribe the most material particulars.

State of the
Spanish colo-
ny of Hispa-
niola.

The *Spanish* colony consisted of about fourteen thousand *Spaniards* and other freemen of different colours, with as many slaves, besides about twelve hundred fugitive Negroes, intrenched on an almost inaccessible mountain about seven leagues from the capital, who kept all the country, and the capital itself, under contribution. Next to the capital, which contained about five hundred houses, was *St Jago*, inhabited chiefly by merchants and goldsmiths. This town had been pillaged a few years before by five hundred *French* adventurers, provided with an *English* commission, in revenge for the death of some of their countrymen, taken by the captain of a *Spanish* man of war out of a neutral ship, and put to death in breach of his oath not to hurt them. The other *Spanish* settlements were little open defenceless towns, whose inhabitants were in most wretched circumstances.

State of the
French.

The worst of these habitations, was however better than the best of the *French* considered in themselves. *Tortuga*, the capital of this infant colony, had but two hundred and fifty inhabitants, who cultivated nothing but tobacco. A little island by *Port Margot*, seven leagues from *Tortuga*, about half a league in circumference, had sixty dwellers, and on the opposite part of the great island, there might be reckoned ninety more. M. *la Place* had begun to clear some ground at *Port de Paix*, but this settlement was scarce worth mention. On all the Western shore there was no settlement but *Leogane*, which consisted indeed of at least an hundred and fifty inhabitants, half of them in Ogeron's pay. This was besides the ordinary rendezvous of the Buccaneers, when pursued by the *Spanish* fifties. But neither the Buccaneers, in number three thousand, nor the Freebooters almost as numerous, are included in this list. As these two bodies were the principal support of this colony, and the *Spaniards* of course did their utmost to extirpate them, the reader may be supposed to require a particular description of their manners and customs, which were indeed quite singular and curious.

Manners of
the buccan-
ners.

The Buccaneers bestowed the name of *Boucans*, from whence they took their own,

on some little spots of cleared ground, large enough for drying their skins, and erecting some houses for buccanning their meat, with some huts, which they called *Ajoupas*, a word they borrowed from the *Spaniards*, and the *Spaniards* from the *Haitians*. These huts were a bare defence against sun and rain, being on all sides open to the wind, whose refreshing gales were very agreeable to the inhabitants. As the adventurers had neither wife nor child, they associated by pairs, and mutually rendered each other all the service a master could reasonably expect from a servant, living together in so perfect a community, that the survivor always succeeded his partner. This uniting, or knitting, in fellowship they called *S'emateloter* [infailloring], and each other *Matelot* [sailor], whence is derived, at least in some parts of the *French* dominions, the custom of giving the name *Matelotage* [sailorage], to any kind of society formed by private persons for their mutual advantage. They behaved to each other with the greatest justice and openness of heart; it would have been a crime to keep any thing under lock and key, but on the other hand the least pilfering was unpardonable, and punished with expulsion from the community. And indeed there could be no great temptation to steal, when it was reckoned a point of honour never to refuse a neighbour what he wanted; and where there was so little property, it was impossible there should be many disputes. If any happened, the common friends of the parties at variance interpreted, and soon put an end to the difference. [*This seems in part a description of the golden age, and proves the truth of the proverb, THERE IS HONESTY AMONG THIEVES.*]

As to laws, the Buccaneers acknowledged none but an odd jumble of conventions made between themselves, which, however, they regarded as the sovereign rule. They silenced all objections by coolly answering, that it was not the custom of the coast, and grounded their right of proceeding in such a case, on their baptism under the tropic, which freed them, in their opinion, from all obligations antecedent to this marine ceremony. They were under very little subjection to the governor of *Tortuga*, and were satisfied with rendering him from time to time some slight homage. They had in a manner entirely shaken off the yoke of religion, and thought they did a great deal, in not wholly forgetting the God of their fathers. We are surprised to meet with nations, among whom it is a difficult matter to discover any traces of a religious worship: And yet it is certain, that had the Buccaneers of *St Domingo* been perpetuated on the same footing they subsisted at this time, the third or fourth generation of them, would have as little religion as the *Caffres* and *Hottentots* of *Africa*, or the *Topinambous* and *Cannibals* of *America*.

Their laws and religion.

They even laid aside their surnames, and assumed nick-names, or martial names, most of which have continued in their families to this day. Many however, on their marrying, which seldom happened till they turned planters, took care to have their real surnames inserted in the marriage contract; and this practice gave occasion to a proverb, still current in the *French Antilles*, *A man is not to be known till he takes a wife*.

Assume nick-names.

They wore nothing but a filthy greasy shirt, dyed with the blood of the animals they killed, a pair of trousers still more nasty, a thong of leather for a belt, to which they hung a case containing some *Dutch* knives, and a kind of very short sabre called *Manchette*, a hat without a brim, but a little flap on the front to take hold of it by, and shoes of hogskin all of a piece. Their guns were four feet and a half in the barrel, and of a bore to carry balls of an ounce. Every one had contract servants, more or fewer according to his abilities, and a pack of twenty or thirty dogs, among which there was always a couple of beagles. Their chief employment at first was ox-hunting, and, if at any time they chased a wild hog, it was rather for pastime, and to make provision for a feast, than for any other advantage. But, in process of time, some of them betook themselves entirely to hunting of hogs, whose flesh they buccanned in the following manner:

A proverb.

Their apparel, arms, hunting.

First, they cut the flesh into long pieces an inch and a half thick, and sprinkled them with salt, which they rubbed off after twenty-four hours. Then they dried these pieces in stoves over a fire made of the skin and bones of the beast, till they grew as hard as a board, and of a deep brown colour. Pork prepared in this manner will keep in casks a twelvemonth and longer, and when steeped but a little while in luke-warm water, become plump and rosy, and yield moreover a most grateful smell, either broiled or boiled, or otherwise dressed, enough to tempt the most languid appetite, and please the most delicate palate. Those who hunt the wild boar, have of late been called simply *Hunters*.

Buccanning flesh.

In hunting, they set out at day-break, preceded by their beagles, and followed by their servants, with the rest of their dogs. The beagles often led their masters, who ventured to follow them, through most dreadful roads. As soon as they had roused the game, the

Manner of hunting.

the rest of the dogs struck up and surrounded the beast, stopping it, and keeping a constant barking till the buccaneer could approach to shoot it, in which he commonly aimed at the pit of the breast, and as soon as the beast was down, he ham-strung it, to prevent its rising again. It has sometimes happened that the creature, not wounded enough to fall to the ground, has run furiously at his pursuer, and ripped him open. But in general the Buccaneer seldom missed his aim, and when he did, was nimble enough to get up the tree behind which he had the precaution to place himself. What is more, some of them have been seen to overtake the beast in chace, and ham-string him with all the dexterity and dispatch imaginable.

Way of eating.

As soon as the prey was half skinned, the master cut out a large bone, and sucked the marrow for breakfast. The rest he left to his servants, one of whom always remained behind to finish the skinning, and bring the skin with a choice piece of meat for the huntmen's dinner. They then continued the chace till they had killed as many beasts, as there were heads in the company. The master was the last to return to the boucan, loaded like the rest, with a skin and a piece of meat. Here the Buccaneers found their tables ready, for every one had his separate table, which was the first thing, any way fit for the purpose, that came to hand, a stone, the trunk of a tree, and the like. No table-cloth, no napkin, no wine, appeared; bread, potatoes, and bananas, were not wanting if they came in their way; otherwise the fat and lean of the game, taken alternately, served to supply their place. A little pimento, and the squeeze of an orange, their only sauce, contentment, peace of mind, a good appetite, and abundance of mirth, made every thing agreeable. Thus they lived and spent their time, till they had compleated the number of hides for which they agreed with the merchants, which done, they carried them to *Tortuga*, or some port of the great island.

Diseases, and changes of life.

As the Buccaneers used much exercise, and fed only on fresh meat, they generally enjoyed a good state of health. They were indeed subject to fevers, but either such as lasted only a day, and left no sensible impression the day following, or little slow fevers, which did not hinder them from action, and were of course so little regarded, that it was usual with the patient, when asked how he did, to answer "Very well, nothing ails me but the fever." It was impossible, however, to prevent their wasting away in time under a climate, to whose intemperature they had not been early enough inured, and to support besides for many years so hard and laborious a way of living. Hence the most considerate among them, after they had got money enough to commence housekeepers, relinquished it. The rest soon spent the fruits of their fatigues in taverns and tippling-houses, and many had so habituated themselves to this kind of life, as to become incapable of any other. Nay, there have been instances of young men who persisted in this painful and dangerous profession, in which they had at first embarked, merely thro' a principle of libertinism, rather than return to *France*, and take possession of the most plentiful fortunes.

Their boucans.

The principal places of assembly, or *Boucans*, as they called them, of these people were at the Peninsula of *Savana*, a little island in the center of the Bay of *Samana*, Port *Margot*, *la Savane Brule*, or, the *Burnt Savanna*, near the *Gonaives*, the *Embarcadero of Mirbalet*, and the bottom of the bay of *Isle Avache*, from whence they made excursions to the gates of the *Spanish* settlements.

Their bloody contentions with the *Spaniards*.

Such then were the Buccaneers of *St Domingo*, and such their situation, when the *Spaniards* undertook to extirpate them. And at first they met with great success; for as the Buccaneers hunted separately, every one attended by his servants, they were easily surprized. Hence the *Spaniards* killed numbers, and took many more, whom they condemned to a most cruel slavery. But whenever the Buccaneers had time to put themselves in a state of defence, they fought like lions, to avoid falling into the hands of a nation, from whom they were sure to receive no quarter, and by this means they often escaped; and there are instances of single men fighting their way through numbers. These dangers however, and the success of the *Spaniards* in discovering their boucans, where they used to surprize and cut the throats of them and their servants in their sleep, engaged them to cohabit in greater numbers, and even to act offensively, in hopes that by so doing, they might at last induce the *Spaniards* to let them live in peace. But furious as they behaved whenever they met any *Spaniards*, their fury served only to make their enemies more intent on their destruction, and assistance coming to both parties, the whole island was turned into a slaughter-house, and so much blood was spilt on both sides, that many places on account of the carnage of which they had been the theatres,

more

were intitled of the massacre; such as the bill of the massacre, the plain of the massacre, and retain those names to this day.

For several years the court of France seemed to give itself but very little trouble about the Adventurers, with a view either to disown them, or claim them as subjects, as might at any time best suit with its interest. It sent them no assistance, nor named any governor till *du Rouffet*; for *le Vasseur* and *de Fontenay* had no commission but from *de Poinci*. Policy of the French ministry.

On the other hand, the court of Madrid, alarmed at the increase of these people, sent orders to the president of the royal audience of *St Domingo* to endeavour their extirpation, with commission to fetch troops for that purpose from the neighbouring islands and the continent, and promises of rewards to those who should distinguish themselves on the occasion; and, for the greater security, sent over an old Flemish officer called *Vandelmof*, who had served with reputation in the Dutch wars, to command in the expedition. Court of Spain resolves on extirpating the Adventurers.

Vandelmof arrived at *St Domingo* in 1663, and on notice that the principal boucan of the French was on the burnt meadow abovementioned, he immediately put himself upon his march with 500 chosen men to surprise them. But the Buccaneers, warned of his approach, and tho' but 100 strong, received him at a defile, where the Spaniards lost the double advantage of an expected surprise and of numbers. They fought, however, with great bravery, tho' *Vandelmof* fell at the first discharge, but were at last broken, and fled to the mountains, whither the Buccaneers did not think fit to pursue them. Spaniards routed by them.

Though the Spaniards lost but twenty-five men on this occasion, they thought proper to recur to their old way of dealing with these people, who frequently suffered themselves to be surprised, till at last, alarmed by their many losses, they resolved to remove their boucans to the little islands about *St Domingo*, retire thither every night, and never hunt but in large parties. This expedient succeeded, and the parties in consequence becoming less unequal, they suffered no considerable loss for a long time, and their boucans by that means becoming more settled soon grew into towns. Adventurers secure themselves on little islands.

Hence arose the settlement at *Bayaba*, which was mightily promoted also by the goodness of the port, the safest and most spacious about *St Domingo*, and perhaps there is not a better in all America. In the middle, is an island defending its mouth, which is very narrow; and the largest ships may ride in it close enough to the shore to touch it with their bowsprits. But the chief motives inducing the Buccaneers to establish themselves in this quarter, were the plenty of game in the adjacent parts of the great island, and the vicinity of *Tortuga*, to which they could pass in a few hours, and dispose of their hides. And the French and Dutch vessels which traded to the coasts of *St Domingo*, finding *Bayaba* more commodious than *Tortuga*, even that short run was soon saved, and the former by degrees became the seat of a fair little town. Port & town of Bayaba.

When the Buccaneers had once fixed themselves as related, each boucan ordered scouts every morning to the highest part of the island for reconnoitring the coasts, and discovery of Spanish parties. If no enemy appeared, they appointed a place and hour of rendezvous in the evening, and were never absent if not killed or prisoners. When therefore any one of the company was missing, it was not lawful for the rest to hunt till they had got intelligence of him if taken, or avenged his death if killed. Custom and ordinance of the Buccaneers.

One evening the Buccaneers of *Bayaba* happened to miss four of their company; they immediately resolved to assemble all in a body the next day, and never to separate till they had heard what was become of their friends. With this resolution they set out the next morning in a body for *St Yago*. They had not gone far when they were informed that those they were in quest of had been taken, as they suspected, by the Spaniards, and put to death without mercy. The Buccaneers, on this advice, were exasperated to madness, and, after dispatching the informers, ranged over the first habitations in their way, like so many wild beasts, and sacrificed all the Spaniards they could find to the manes of their brethren. They revenge the death of their comrades.

But the Spaniards had also frequent opportunities of discharging their fury on the Buccaneers. And once in particular surprised about thirty, fording a little river that falls into the sea near *Bayaba*, with every man a hide on his back, and, after a very resolute defence, killed them all, whence that river has ever since been called the River of the Massacre. River of the Massacre.

But these little advantages were far from being decisive, and only served to incense the parties to the highest degree, so that now they began to think of nothing but revenge, tho' to the detriment of interest and business. With this view chiefly the Spaniards made a general hunt over the whole island, and destroyed all the wild cattle they found. This

Buccaneers
turn Planters
or Freeboot-
ers.

destructive revenge put most of the Buccaneers under a necessity of betaking themselves to some other profession. Hence many of them commenced planters, and cleared the districts of *Great* and *Little Guayves*, and *Leogane*. The settlement of *Port du Paix* was also considerably increased by this event. Such of the Buccaneers as did not relish the life of a planter, as too sedentary or regular, entered among the Freebooters, who by this junction became a very famous body, and deserving our attention no less than the Buccaneers.

Fuller ac-
count of the
Freebooters.

We may well suppose that those of the Adventurers who turned pirates under the name of Freebooters were none of the honestest men among them. The infancy of this afterwards so formidable a power was very weak and inconsiderable. The founders had neither ships, nor pilots, nor ammunition, nor provision. They began with forming little societies, to which, in imitation of the Buccaneers, they gave the name of *Match-tage*, but among themselves they went by no other than that of *Freres de la Côte*, "brothers of the coast," which in time was extended to all the Adventurers, especially the Buccaneers; at least however the title *Gens de la Côte*, or "men of the coast," was used to signify the military, or rather fishing men, of the *French* colony of *St Domingo*. Be that as it will, every society of Freebooters purchased a canoe that would carry twenty-five or thirty men. Thus provided, their next business was to take the first opportunity for seizing on a fishing boat, a bark, or some such small vessel. This effected, they returned to *Tortuga*, to compleat their crews, which for a bark generally consisted of 150 men, after which they sailed to *Bayaba*, or *Port Margot*, for a stock of beef or pork; those who preferred turtle plied away for the Southern coast of *Cuba*, where these creatures abound.

Their rise and
names.

Gradual in-
crease.

Convention.

What, after this, engrossed their attention was the choice of a captain, whom they could divest at pleasure, and who had no authority but in time of action, nor more than two shares in prizes. The surgeon's chest was furnished at the common cost, smart-money to the maimed and wounded deducted from the prize-money before the dividend, and proportioned to the damage. Thus a man who had lost both eyes or legs received 600 crowns, or six slaves, and the cruise was to be continued at all events, till there was enough to satisfy all such demands. This convention they called *Chasse-partie* "hunting match," and the resulting division *d'Compagnon bon Lot*, "a comrade's fair share."

Animosity of
the Free-
booters a-
gainst the
Spaniards,
how ground-
ed.

Though the Freebooters at first made prizes of all ships that came in their way, the *Spaniards* were the chief objects of their enmity and animosity, because they were prohibited by that nation from hunting and fishing on their territories and coasts, to both which the Freebooters pretended a natural right. And they had so well formed their consciences, and grounded their proceedings upon this maxim, that they never set out upon an expedition without first offering up publick prayers for its success, nor ever succeeded without returning solemn thanks to God for their victory.

Serious re-
flections.

It is impossible to reflect on transactions, during the war between the *Spaniards* and Freebooters, without acknowledging the hand of God in employing those pirates to revenge on the *Spaniards* the inhuman cruelties they had exercised upon the original inhabitants of the New world. The relations published of their behaviour were sufficient without their known haughtiness, and exorbitant power, to render them odious to all other nations. Hence Adventurers have been known to fight against them out of pure animosity, and not from any motive of libertinism or interest.

Montbarr a
scourge to
the *Spaniards*

We have a remarkable instance to this purpose in a gentleman of *Languedoc*, named *Montbarr*. He had read, when a child, some relations recording the cruelties and bloodshed of the *Spaniards* in those parts of the world, on which he conceived such an implacable hatred against that nation, as sometimes kindled into fury. It is reported of him that while he was at the college, happening to act in a play the part of a *Frenchman*, he fell with such fury on his school-fellow, who played the *Spaniard*, that he would have killed him had not the spectators interposed. A passion that shewed itself so early, and by such violent sallies, was not to be easily conquered, and *Montbarr* longed for nothing so much as to quench it in the blood of the *Spaniards*. Hence war was no sooner declared against them, than he took shipping for those fatal coasts, so often stained with the blood of the poor unfortunate *Indians*, whom he hoped, and took the greatest delight in thinking, that he should be able to revenge. And it is impossible to express the mischief he did the *Spaniards*, sometimes by land, at the head of the Buccaneers, and sometimes by sea, commanding the Freebooters, whence he was furnished the Extirpator. It is confessed, however, that he never killed a man but in fair fight, nor is he accused of those

those piracies and debaucheries which rendered so many of the Adventurers abominable before God and man.

But to return to the Freebooters, they were so crowded in their little barks, and so careless of their provisions, that hunger and want of room made danger disappear in search of their wants, and the sight of a large ship, instead of cooling, excited their courage in hopes of finding a good stock of provisions as well as enlarging their quarters. Wherefore they attacked every thing they could come up with, and immediately boarded. A single broadside would have sunk their puny vessels, but they were light and governable, the sailors dextrous, and never presented to the enemy more than the bowsprit, well lined with good marksmen, who, by firing into their port-holes, soon disconcerted the gunners. A ship once grappled by them, however well manned, was as good as taken. The *Spaniards*, who looked upon them as devils, and called them by no other name, lost courage at the sight of them, and surrendered directly, calling for quarter, which was seldom granted but when the prize turned out rich, otherwise they were thrown overboard.

Courage and success of the Freebooters.

They usually brought their prizes to *Tortuga*, or *Jamaica*, and before distribution every man held up his hand, and solemnly protested he had brought in all his plunder to the common stock. If any man was convicted of a false oath, he was without further ceremony put ashore on some desert island, and there left to shift for himself. Whenever they took commissions from the governor of *Tortuga* they paid him the tenth of the booty; but when *France* was not at war with *Spain*, they repaired to some remote quarter, and there divided the plunder, after which they took their pleasure, till every farthing was spent. Their patience under hunger and thirst, and other inconveniences, was really amazing, but as soon as victory had restored peace and plenty, they carried their lewdness and debauchery to the highest pitch.

Their conduct and behaviour.

As to religion, it would be absurd to suppose they could have any. However, now and then they appeared to think seriously of their condition, and before an engagement used to embrace in token of mutual reconciliation. After this they would fall to thumping their breasts, as intending to excite in their hearts a compunction of which they were scarce any longer susceptible; but when danger was over, they returned to their former way of living.

Of their religion.

The Buccaneers accounted themselves honest men in comparison of the Freebooters, whom they considered as first-rate villains. The former were indeed less vicious, tho' the others preserved a much greater share of religion. But, in short, if you except a certain openness and integrity of heart, which characterised them both, and their not feeding on human flesh, few barbarians of the new world surpassed; but many came short of them in wickedness.

More religious and vicious than the Buccaneers.

The Planters had also their associations, and every association was allotted land in proportion to the number of persons that composed it. Though the Adventurers of this class were thus seldom obliged to measure their strength with the *Spaniards* than the other two, they had many brave fellows among them, and from this body was drawn the militia which distinguished itself on so many occasions. If we may give credit to some facts recorded in the history of the Freebooters, the Planters were every whit as bad as they or the Buccaneers.—We have but little to say of the fourth class of Adventurers, the Indented Servants, since they never did any thing but by order of their masters. Many of them indeed have been known to fight occasionally with the greatest bravery, and not a few have been industrious and saving enough to purchase their freedom, and raise immense fortunes.

Of the Planters.

Indented Servants.

The Freebooters generally cruised on the coasts of *Cumana*, *Cartagena*, *Porto-bello*, *Panama*, *Cuba*, and *New Spain*, at the mouth of the *Chagre*, and in the neighbourhood of the lakes of *Maracaibo* and *Nicaragua*. They seldom attacked ships bound from *Europe* to *America*, their cargoes usually consisting of flour, wines, and linnen goods, too troublesome and bulky, and besides not so easily vented. But they waited their return, where they were sure to find them freighted with gold, silver, curious stones, and all the noblest wares of the new world. It was usual with them to follow the galleons to the *Bahama* channel, and if any one of them, through bad weather, or any accident, happened to be left behind, it was sure to fall into their hands.

Places of cruising and quality of prizes.

Thus one of their captains, called *Pierre le Grand*, a native of *Dieppe*, made himself master of a vice-admiral of the galleons, whom he carried into *France*, though his own ship carried but five little guns, and twenty men. He boarded the *Spanish* vessel, after giving orders

Bold action of two captains.

orders to sink his own ; which struck such a panic into the *Spaniards*, that they suffered him to go quietly into the admiral's cabin, where he immediately clapt a pistol to his breast, and obliged him to surrender. He then put his prisoners ashore at *Cape Tiberon*, except a few necessary to help navigate the vessel. Another Freebooter, one *Michael le Basque*, made a still bolder attempt with equal success. He had the assurance to attack, under the cannon of *Porto-bello*, another ship belonging to the same fleet, with a million of piasters on board, and carried her off.

It appears by this account of the *St Domingo* Adventurers, that it was not easy to find a person fit to govern, or rather to make men and christians of them ; yet such was M. *d'Ogeron* : He knew how to gain both their love and respect, brought them to reverence laws that they thought no way obligatory to them, gave their bravery a turn, which not only freed it from that air of piracy, which had hitherto rendered it universally odious, but made it extremely useful to their king and country, and converted great numbers of them into settled inhabitants, tolerating with quiet discretion in the rest those abuses he had not power enough to abolish ; nay, he appears, on all occasions, to have acted more like a father than a governor. However, though he had, in quality of an inhabitant of the coast of *St Domingo*, where he had for some time lived before his promotion, given the Adventurers sufficient reason to know what they might expect from him as commander, he was obliged, in order to secure his footing at *Tortuga*, to dissemble his being sent in behalf of the *West India* company, and his intentions to suppress the trade carried on with the *Dutch* by the Adventurers, who alledged that the *Dutch* had never suffered them to want any thing at a time, when the court of *France* did not so much as know there were any *Frenchmen* at *Tortuga*, or on the coast of *St Domingo*.

M. *d'Ogeron's* first care, after he had taken possession of his government, was to repair and augment the fortifications, to employ all the inhabitants, facilitate commerce, and, in short, to procure his colony a name that might render it respectable. And though most of the projects he had formed for those commendable purposes miscarried for want of timely assistance, *Tortuga* and the coast of *St Domingo* soon began to put on a new face, which confirmed the *Spaniards* in their uneasiness concerning the establishments formed by the *French*. In fact, *Ogeron*, the year after his arrival, proposed to the *French* ministry an attempt upon *San Domingo* ; and probably nothing hindered M. *Colbert* from approving and seconding it, but his not being sufficiently acquainted with the character of the proposer. This minister, however, really came into *Ogeron's* way of thinking as to the expediency of appointing a particular governor for *Tortuga*, whose salary this disinterested officer offered to pay out of his own purse, that he might visit every place where he might think his presence necessary. *Colbert* also approved his representation on the necessity of building a fort at *Tortuga*, surrounded with good walls for securing the road, and for barring the entrance of the same road to the *West* ; of making a highway twelve or fifteen leagues long in the island of *St Domingo*, to facilitate the communication between the several quarters ; of forming an establishment on the Southern shore near *Ile Avache*, as the ships bound for *Jamaica* generally passed by it ; of lowering at least one third of the duties on all manner of goods coming from *France*, without which it would be impossible to induce the *Buccaneers* and *Freebooters* to become planters ; of sending yearly a supply of 1000 or 1200 persons, one third children ; of remitting to the inhabitants one half of the duties payable on tobacco and other exports ; and, lastly, of putting an effectual stop to the trade carried on there by the *Dutch*. All these regulations would doubtless have been of infinite service to the colony, but, tho' all approved, were none of them put in execution.

Ogeron formed another design, in which he was better seconded, contriving to fix the Adventurers by giving them wives. The *West India* company sent him for that purpose fifty young girls ; and, small as this number was, the alterations they made in the manners of the Adventurers were very conspicuous. These women communicated to their husbands some share of those virtues which adorn the fair sex, and in exchange borrowed from their husbands qualities peculiar to the men. For a long time *St Domingo* was famous for producing *Atalantas* as alert and dextrous in hunting the bull and boar, as the most celebrated *Meleagers*, and many an *Amazon* ready to exchange a brace of bullets with the most resolute warriors. *Ogeron* sent back the ship for another cargo of the same kind, and obtained it ; but tho' no goods ever turned to better account ; it was the last. Wherefore many young fellows, who, could they have procured wives, would have remained in *St Domingo*, and commenced planters, detested the place as soon as a peace was made, and left

M. *d'Ogeron*
appointed go-
vernor of
Tortuga, and
the coast of *St*
Domingo.

His care and
projects for
the advantage
of his colony.

Cargoes of
girls.

Alterations
produced by
them.

left the colony in a very languishing condition. They began indeed to send girls indented for three years to *Tortuga*, but this commerce was soon prohibited on account of the great disorder it produced. *French* authors charge their ministry with this neglect of sending female supplies to their new colonies, as the commonest and greatest of oversights.

Supplies of females necessary in a new colony.

The governor bethought himself of another expedient to make trade flourish, honourable to himself, and advantageous to the colony. He engaged the company, by a prospect of profit, to advance money to a multitude of Adventurers, who continued to lead a licentious and vagrant life for want of sums to commence planters. He offered to advance money himself for the same purpose without interest; nay more, he bought two ships, and sent them to *France* on his own account, tho' those ships rather belonged to the Adventurers, who were all free to put on board what they thought proper at a moderate freight. And when the ships returned with *European* commodities, the charitable governor immediately exposed the cargoes to sale, without requiring ready money, or even notes for any thing they wanted. Nay, he would not accept of notes when offered, but was content with the buyer's promise to pay as soon as able. He has been even observed, on many occasions, to use a kind of good-natured violence with those who, through modesty or timidity, were shy of asking, or hesitated in taking what was offered. In short, he was never known to hear of any person in distress without flying to his assistance, and his manner of doing favours greatly enhanced their value. By such behaviour he gained the hearts, and could command the purses of all the inhabitants.

The governor's wife & charitable behaviour.

People now flocked from all parts of *St Domingo*, for the sake of living under so wise and beneficent a governor, who distributed the new comers in so judicious a manner, that all that part of the Northern shore of *St Domingo*, which lies between *Port Margot* and *Port de Paix*, came by degrees to be inhabited. The war which the revolution in *Portugal* had kindled between the courts of *Lisbon* and *Madrid*, and in which *France* so deeply interested herself, gave the governor an opportunity of gaining over a great number of Freebooters, who had hitherto preserved an intire independence, by distributing among them commissions received from the new king of *Portugal*. In doing this he had in view to make useful inhabitants of those pirates, when he had first taken advantage of their bravery to strengthen his colony against the *Spaniards*.

He gains over all the Freebooters.

Though the Freebooters may be regarded as founders of the colony of which we give a history, we shall not follow them in their courses, which were now no longer confined to the *Atlantic*, or seas of the *Antilles*, but reached to the remotest corners of the *Pacific Ocean*. And though they did the *Spaniards* infinite mischief, they suffered enough themselves to pay dearly for all their advantages, even had they been gained by such hostilities as the laws of God and man could justify. They seldom returned home without losing great numbers of their men by sickness, sword, fatigue, and famine; and usually brought home but a very small part of their ill-gotten wealth. In all attacks, their first attention was to make some prisoners of consequence, not only to obtain those ransoms which the rules of war allow, but to enforce the most unreasonable demands, as it was usual with them, when the *Spaniards* refused to send them the sums they demanded in ransom for houses or effects, or proved dilatory in their payments, to strike off the heads of some of them, and send them to their countrymen, with menaces to serve the rest in the same manner, if their demands were not punctually answered. And, when like to be overpowered, they used to make their prisoners march before them, threatening to put them all to the sword, if the least opposition were made to their retreat. They have even been known to put scaling-ladders into the hands of nuns and clergy, and others most respected by the *Spaniards*, and force them on other such service, in hopes that the *Spaniards*, for fear of hurting their friends, would spare their most inveterate enemies.

Proceedings of the Freebooters.

While the Freebooters were thus worrying the *Spaniards* both far and near on the continent, the *French* at *Tortuga*, and on the coast of *St Domingo*, were weak enough to believe that the *Spaniards* would remain quiet in consequence of the peace of the *Pyrenees* in 1659, and *Ogeron* received orders to stand only on the defensive. But the *Spaniards* either received no such orders, or else did not think proper to obey them, but continued their hostilities with such inveteracy, that the *French* could not go to rest without placing centinels round their habitations, nor work without being equally prepared to fight, and, in spite of all these precautions, were murdered by night in their beds, and by day in the very heart of their plantations. This inveteracy of the *Spaniards* made it im-

Spaniards molest the *French* on *St Domingo*.

possible for Ogeron to restrain the Buccaneers, and such of the Freebooters as remained in the neighbouring seas; and probably he was not sorry that the *Spaniards* by such behaviour should authorise the Adventurers to continue the war, since most of those who composed his colony were unfit for any thing else, and, if kept at home inactive, might occasion great disorders, both at *Tortuga* and elsewhere.

At last the war broke out afresh between *France* and *Spain* in 1667, and as Ogeron was now at liberty to act openly against the *Spaniards*, he sent one de *Lisle*, a captain among the Freebooters, at the head of four hundred volunteers, to plunder *St Jago de los Caballeros*, whose inhabitants were most troublesome to the *French*. This place lies fourteen leagues from the sea, in a fertile and agreeable plain, at the banks of the river *Yoque*, or *Monte Obrisso*, and directly South of *Puerto de Plata*, which is its embarkader or sea-port. The churches here are very fine, but the houses very mean, and the inhabitants; like those of almost all the *Spanish* towns in *America*, situated at some distance from the sea, and very poor, their whole trade consisting in tallow and leather, and all their riches in cattle, of which they feed vast herds in the neighbouring savannas.

De Lisle landed his men at *Puerto de Plata*, and his arrival struck such terror into the *Spaniards*, that they not only made no opposition at the desiles, but deserted the town itself, where the *French* found some treasure, which did not amount to more than three hundred crowns to each man, including the ransoms of the prisoners, and twenty thousand piasters paid them for not reducing the town to ashes.

At this epoch of time the Freebooters were at the height of their glory. Their principal commanders among the *French*, besides those mentioned, were *l'Olonois*, *Vauchin*, *Grammont*, *Poinet*, *le Picard*, and *Tributor*; and, among the *English*, *Rock*, *David*, *Morgan*, and *Mansfield*. They took, plundered, and ransomed *Cumana*, *Coro*, *Santa Martha*, the *Caraccas*, *Maracaibo*, *Porto-bello*, and *Panama*, some of them, particularly the last, after they had notice of the peace concluded at *Aix la Chapelle* in 1668, pretending they were not obliged by it, as neither signed by them or their plenipotentiaries, nor themselves called upon to assist at the conferences.

Ogeron, who had made a voyage to *France*, returned in 1669 with a new commission, the abuses, heretofore committed by the proprietary governors of the *French* settlements, having determined the court of *France* not to grant any commission for the future for more than three years. This gentleman, before he left *Paris*, had presented M. *Colbert* a memorial, intimating that when he was appointed governor of *Tortuga* and the coast of *St Domingo*, the planters were but nine hundred, and now fifteen hundred; and that he had reinforced the colony with three hundred persons at his own expence. He adds that one advantage of this colony was its keeping the *English* of *Jamaica* so much in awe, that the governor of that island had offered him a perpetual neutrality for the settlements of the two crowns in the *West Indies*, whatever disturbances might happen between them in *Europe*. M. *Colbert* having expressed a desire of building a fort on the coast of *St Domingo*, the *West India* company, who had taken Ogeron's advice on the occasion, made answer, that first the building would cost between eighty and a hundred thousand livres, besides the pay of the garrison; secondly, that the expence would be quite useless, as the *French* required no safer retreat than the woods, where the *Spaniards*, embarrassed by their lances, could make no stand against them; thirdly, that the colony after all would not be obliged to fly to the woods for shelter, if good roads were once made for affording the several ports an easy communication, and four hundred men well armed and disciplined were constantly kept on foot at *Leogane*; lastly, that tho' a fleet were to land a large body of troops on the coast, these forces could do no more than burn a parcel of sorry huts, which could be rebuilt in three days; and that it would be dangerous to make a fortress, because the Adventurers would either retire elsewhere, for fear such an erection should draw the *Spaniards* on their hands from all quarters; or, if they remained, would lose courage as soon as they found themselves shut up in a place however defensible, and even perhaps mutiny against the governor, and oblige him to surrender, as had already been the case at *Tortuga*, where *Fontenay* commanded them.

Another thing, which Ogeron had greatly at heart, was establishing a *French* colony on the coast of *Florida*, as this country is but two hundred leagues from *Tortuga*, and the winds are always favourable to go or come, so that the *French* of the *Antilles*, by having a sure and easy retreat, if at any time their settlements happened to be broken, might be under no necessity of going over to the *English* islands, which by that means they considerably strengthened. Another advantage from such a settlement would result

St Jago a Spanish town.

Taken by *de Lisle*.

Successes of the Freebooters.

Jamaica awed by *St Domingo*.

Reasons against building a fort on the coast of *St Domingo*.

Advantages of a *French* settlement on the coast of *Florida*.

sult to the *French* islands, which would receive from thence, at an easy price, all the different kinds of provisions to be had in any part of *America*, the dearth of which on the coast of *St Domingo* had once forced many of the Freebooters to retire to *Jamaica*, where they were much cheaper. And, lastly, such an establishment, he justly concluded, might, by means of a port to command the streights of *Babama*, render the *French* masters of the commerce of the *Spaniards*, and serve besides as a fence against the growing power of the *English*. But neither the court, nor the *West India* company, expressing any readiness to go to any great expence in *America*, *Ogeron* offered to carry his plan into execution, with the revenues of *Tortuga* alone, after that island was once put in a posture of defence, which was necessary to be immediately done. It was well for the *English* that this scheme of settling *Florida* did not take effect, since very probably they would not only by that means have lost some valuable settlement, but the possession of all the rest would have been rendered very precarious.

We have before observed that *Ogeron*, in order to engage the Adventurers to acknowledge him for governor, was obliged not to oppose openly the condition of not hindering them from trading with foreigners; but it was his resolution not to suffer it. Hence he had, by degrees, found means of establishing the exclusive trade of the *West India* company. But the Adventurers, who in the main acknowledged no superior, grew tired of so unjust a restraint, and, in 1670, publicly declared against it on the arrival of two *Dutch* vessels, which supplied them with all manner of *European* goods in exchange for their tobacco, three or four hundred *per cent* cheaper than the *West India* company would afford; a thing almost incredible, were we not told it by a *French* writer, in a work published at *Paris*, as an undoubted truth. No wonder the Adventurers should conceive the greatest prejudice against such blood-suckers, and even lose that respect for their instrument, *M. Ogeron*, tho' no way concerned in their iniquitous plan of commerce, which on many accounts he justly deserved. They not only made slight of his authority, but insulted him; and the *Dutch* captains failed not to support them in their proceedings, alledging to the governor, when he summoned them to withdraw, that they had dealt fairly and honestly with the Adventurers, and supplied them with arms, ammunition, and provisions at a moderate rate, when the *French* left them to starve, and in danger of having their throats cut by the *Spaniards*; and that after all they did not know what right an officer, commissioned by the court of *France*, had to oppose a trade managed with people living upon territories belonging to the court of *Spain*.

Extortion of the *French* *West India* company endangers a revolt.

Things were carried to such lengths, that *Ogeron*, being refused assistance by *Gabaret*, who commanded a *French* squadron in those seas, was upon the point of abandoning *Tortuga*, and retiring to some of the islands in the Bay of *Honduras*. But before he could execute his design, *Gabaret*, and another commodore who was to succeed him in the same station, received positive orders to take *Tortuga* and the coast of *St Domingo* in their way home, and take or destroy all the *Dutch* vessels they should find there, and give *Ogeron* all manner of assistance. Hence it was not long before *Gabaret* made his appearance, when the rebels, if they deserve so harsh a name, considering that it would be impracticable to maintain a trade with foreigners while any *French* men of war remained on the coast, thought it best, after some few unsuccessful hostilities, to submit on conditions, importing that matters past should be buried in oblivion, and that all *French* vessels should, have liberty to trade to *Tortuga*, or the coast of *St Domingo*, on paying the company five *per cent*. And the year following the promised amnesty came from *France*, and the inhabitants, who had been declared to have forfeited their privileges, were restored to them in the amplest manner. At this time the colony of *St Domingo* had no less than 2000 men fit to bear arms.

Mal contests submit on conditions.

About this time *France* declared war against *Holland*, and so afforded the Freebooters a plentiful harvest, as the *Dutch* carried on a very considerable trade in those seas. *M. de Baas*, however, governor general of the *French Antilles*, not satisfied with this advantage, resolved to attack *Curacao*, and sent two men of war to the coast of *St Domingo*, with orders to *Ogeron* to come to his assistance with as many of his Adventurers as he could assemble. Wherefore *Ogeron* put 100 Adventurers on board one of these vessels, and embarked himself on the other with 300 more. But they had not been long at sea when this last, through the ignorance or negligence of the pilot, was stranded in the night on one of the keys, or little low islands, on the Northern

Misfortune of the Adventurers.

thern coast of *Porto Rico*, where all of them, except *Ogeron* and two or three besides, who timely saved themselves in a canoe, and a few more whom the *Spaniards* protected out of mere compassion, were, after being kept a long time in misery and suspense, put to death in cold blood, in consequence of *Ogeron's* appearing to demand their enlargement in a hostile manner, when he saw that *de Baas* neglected the proper measures to obtain it by fair means.

In the mean time the King of *Spain* had, in favour of *Holland*, declared war against *France*. And *Ogeron*, on the news of this event, began seriously to think of executing the plan he had before formed of reducing what the *Spaniards* still held in the island of *St Domingo*, by seizing or blocking up all their havens, as the *English* had before done at *Jamaica*. With this view he sent a colony to the Southern coast towards *Cape Tiberon*, and some time after another to the Peninsula of *Samana*. And having, by these settlements, deprived the *Spaniards* of all communication with the sea, except by *San Domingo*, he studied on means for reducing this capital. But his first colony, which settled in a plain now called *le Fond de l'Isle Avacher*, was attacked by the *Spaniards* before it could fortify itself, and dispersed. This disappointment, however, did not dishearten him, but, as he could in some measure dispense with a Western settlement, served only to increase his attention to strengthen the Eastern at *Samana*.

Samana, as we said, is a Peninsula on the Eastern coast of *St Domingo*. Its isthmus is not above a quarter of a league broad, and so marshy as to be easily defended. The mean breadth of the Peninsula may be about five leagues, and its length between fifteen and sixteen. It helps to form a commodious bay fourteen leagues deep, where ships may be moored close to shore, or ride at anchor in fourteen fathom water. This bay is full of little islands, or keys, many of which are at its entrance, but may be easily avoided by keeping close in with the Western shore. The lands of the Peninsula are not very level, but extremely fertile, and the situation besides is very convenient for trade, with *Europe* especially.

The Adventurers had at first some thoughts of fixing at *Samana*, but as it is but twenty leagues from *San Domingo*, they were apprehensive of perpetual molestation from the *Spaniards*, and therefore chose *Tortuga* as more remote and tenable. However, as buccaneering flourished, it was the residence of Buccaneers, and the resort of Freebooters. All these reasons determined *M. Ogeron* to chuse that part of the Western coast for a colony. But as he knew that the Adventurers he sent thither must be mere soldiers for a time, he gave them no women. But soon after a ship from *St Maloes*, bound to *Tortuga*, with a cargo of girls, happening to put in at this port, the Adventurers took each of them a girl at the price demanded, to the great joy of *Ogeron*, who wished nothing more than to see the Adventurers bind themselves to a settled life, tho' a little sooner than he expected.

The year following the *French* king suppressed the *West India* company, and assumed all his rights to his islands in *America*, which he afterwards farmed, for 100,000 crowns yearly, to another company called the Company of Farmers of the Western department. On this *Ogeron* set out for *France*, to propose to the court the plan, before mentioned, of reducing, with his own forces, what the *Spaniards* still retained in the island of *St Domingo*, provided his majesty would assist him with a squadron strong enough to block up the capital; and another plan for rendering the colony much more flourishing. By this last he proposed to maintain three garrisons, pay the salaries of the governors, and remit annually 40,000 livres clear to the royal exchequer. But he died soon after his arrival, without obtaining audience of the king or minister. Though this wise governor had so many fair and honest opportunities of amassing immense sums, he died very poor, if you except some considerable sums due to him from the *West India* company, but of which we are assured his heirs never received a farthing.

Ogeron, on setting out from his government, had entrusted *Tortuga* and the Northern coast to the care of *M. de Cagy*, and the Western coast to *M. de Ponancy* his nephew. And not long after a *Dutch* squadron, of one ship of the line and some frigates, gave these officers an opportunity of exerting themselves. These ships first appeared on the Northern coast, and then sailed for *Petit Guave*, where they first met with a very warm reception from some small vessels that lay there. But bearing off at a distance sufficient to avail themselves of the superiority of their metal, they at length struck such a panic into the *French* Adventurers, that they were suffered to warp up very close

French colonies of *Cape Tiberon* and *Samana*.

Samana peninsula described.

Colony by accident stocked with girls.

Schemes and death of *Ogeron*.

to the shore some ships that had been sunk, for fear of falling into their hands, and 1673
burn them with all the other ships in the harbour without the least opposition. Another Dutch squadron appeared on the coast of St Domingo the next year, but, on false informations given it by a Swedish captain in the French interest, attempted nothing. Dutch burn French ships at Petit Guave.

Ponancy about this time was nominated to succeed his uncle, whom he resembled in all the qualities of a good governor. But instead of endeavouring to extend his colony, as his uncle had done, he confined all his views to the strengthening of it, and therefore recalled the Adventurers of Samana. But, these people asking leave to stay till they had consumed their provisions, thought fit, in the mean time, to plunder a little Spanish town called Cotrey, about ten leagues to the West of Samana, which so incensed the Spaniards, that, on information by a deserter that most of the men were out on hunting, they fell unexpectedly upon those who remained in the boucan, and put them all to the sword, except a few who escaped in a canoe. Colony of Samana destroyed.

This year Ponancy embarked with a good number of his Adventurers on board a French squadron commanded by M. d'Etrees, who intended to attack Curacoa. But 1678
their ships striking in the night on the Island of Aves, he was obliged to return without effect, after losing many of his men by this unhappy accident. And soon after his return a Dutch squadron appeared on the coasts of his government, where they carried off a number of vessels laden with tobacco, but bought much more of the inhabitants. They could not forbear expressing a desire to consider St Domingo as a neutral colony, which would have been very agreeable to the inhabitants, as the Dutch had always dealt very fairly and honestly with them, and were, for this reason, in spite of the animosity between the two nations, and the express orders of the French court, as often as they came to trade in a peaceable manner, received with open arms. Illicit trade of the Dutch with the colony.

In the mean time Ponancy sent eight hundred Freebooters against St Jago, the capital of Cuba, who, having lost their way at the foot of a mountain that lay in the road, wandered about it so long, that at last the vanguard came up with the rearguard, and taking it for a body of Spaniards, immediately attacked it. And, though the mistake was soon enough discovered to prevent much mischief, it was thought improper to attempt the place, as the Spaniards could in a few hours assemble four thousand men for their defence, and must have been sufficiently alarmed by the discharges made on both sides, while the confusion lasted. Expedition to St Jago miscarries.

The peace of Nimeguen suspended all hostilities, and the Spaniards of St Domingo finding that the French had at last got too great a footing on the island to be dispossessed by force, thought fit to visit their settlements in a friendly manner, and were visited in their turn. But, tho' this good understanding was attended with great advantages to both sides, the Spanish governor never approved it, at least openly, and it lasted but a very short time. Peace of Nimeguen suspends hostilities.

Some time after the peace had been declared in the island, a Black, who had been 1679
a slave among the Spaniards, and, after killing his master, had taken refuge among the French, who gave him his liberty, and even assigned him a piece of land to clear and cultivate, seduced some French Negroes, most of whom had been taken from the Spaniards, and longed to return to their former master. He intended, after cutting the throats of all the French in the neighbourhood, to throw himself again into the hands of the Spaniards, from whom, by this second crime, he expected to obtain pardon for the first. The first day he assembled twenty five, at the head of whom he murdered all that fell into his hands for several leagues along the coast. After this he retired to a very high, and almost inaccessible mountain, where he made a good intrenchment with felled trees, from whence he made daily excursions, seducing or carrying off by force all the Negroes he met with, and massacring without mercy all the French. Insurrection of the Negroes.

The governor was at a loss how to deal with them, few persons caring to engage in an expedition, which, besides being extremely dangerous, could not, as they falsely imagined, be attended with honour or advantage. In the mean time, the evil was getting to a very alarming height, not a day passing without desertion or carrying off slaves, and the murder of some inhabitants. At last a company of about twenty Buccaneers happening to pass that way, the governor acquainted them with his uneasiness, and implored their assistance, which those brave fellows immediately granted, and set out directly for the mountain. They began to climb it with such resolution, that the terrified slaves made but a faint resistance. However, seven or eight of them were killed, Suppressed by a few brave Buccaneers.

and among them their chief, the rest escaping to the *Spanish* settlements, where they were well received.

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Commotions
of the colony.

The insurrection of the slaves was scarce suppressed, when another broke out among the inhabitants. In consequence of some regulations made by the *French* court in the tobacco trade, the principal support of this infant colony, the inhabitants were often necessitated to sell it, at a low price, to those who had an exclusive right to deal in that commodity, and gave what they pleased. Hence many, to avoid so grievous a hardship, began to think of retiring to the *English* and *Dutch* settlements. And the discontent was greatly increased by an order of the *French* court to restrain the Freebooters in their hostilities against the *Spaniards*: A step which, tho' tending in the main to the peace and prosperity of the colony, was no way wished by the members of it, who thought of nothing but temporary advantages.

Prudent measures
of the governor for
pacifying
them.

The governor found means at first of pacifying the people by circulating a letter from the intendant of the *French* islands, importing, that as soon as the lease of the farmers was expired, tobacco would be no longer farmed, but subject only to a duty payable on its importation into *France*. But this calm was of short continuance; for, on the arrival of some ships with Negroes, on account of the *Senegal* company, a report was spread that this company intended to engross the island. This so exasperated the inhabitants, that they assembled in arms to the number of seven or eight hundred. The governor, however, by convincing them, as he imagined, of their mistake, made them promise to disperse. But he was soon after informed that, instead of separating, they had resolved to burn their huts, and retire to the woods. The governor wisely foreseeing that if they once took this step, they would afterwards stick at nothing, set out to agree the point with them a second time, and did it so effectually, that they threw down their arms, only desiring that what was past might be buried in oblivion. To this the governor replied, that it was not in his power to grant their request, and that he could by no means omit informing the court of their behaviour. "If this be the case," they said, there is no safety here for any of us." This was as much as to say that they might as well right themselves effectually, as be punished for barely attempting it. The governor, foreseeing the danger of driving them to such extremities, very prudently replied, that, tho' he could not pardon them, he would not prosecute any one till he had the king's direction; but, on the contrary, would write to the ministry in such terms that he could almost assure them of the king's mercy.

Peace and in-
crease of the
colony.

This engaged them to disperse; and the governor, according to his promise, faithfully laid open their grievances, in the strongest terms, representing besides his inability to manage them, if they were driven to extremities, or to want their assistance if any foreign power should make an attack upon his government*. The first of these representations must have had great weight, since it appeared, by a survey made the year before this, that the colony, in spite of all the losses, commotions, and distresses, abovementioned, contained seven thousand souls, one half of them fit for the most difficult enterprises; and, in two years more, the number was increased to about eight thousand, half of them able to bear arms.

French mani-
fest pretensions
to St Do-
mingo.

About this time the *French* court thought fit to take off the mask as to its pretensions upon *Hispaniola*, by declaring to the president of *San Domingo*, that it would consider any hostilities committed against the *French* on that island, as infractions of the treaty of *Nimeguen*. The president answered, that the court of *Spain* did not conceive that the *French* had any right to a single foot of land on the island itself, tho', as to *Tortuga*, he would take care that the governor of it as such should have no reason to complain of the *Spaniards*, provided he took care not to suffer any of his countrymen to pass over to *St Domingo*, either to trade or settle there. *Ponancy* regarded this declaration of the president as a mere formality, and therefore dexterously improved his peaceable dispositions to increase and strengthen the settlements of that part of his government.

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French colo-
ny under de-
cay.

It is no easy matter to account for the great increase of the *French* colony of *St Domingo*, as to the number of inhabitants, considering what they suffered from the clerks of the tobacco farmers, who, in spite of *Ponancy's* representations, were permitted to exhaust the people to such a degree, that at the time of his death, which happened at

* One of the greatest difficulties in suppressing this insurrection, arose from the refusal of the male-contents to appoint any of their body to discover their grievances, lest they should be selected as chief promoters of the disturbances, and punished for an example to the rest.

the latter end of 1682, the colony was not only in a most deplorable condition, but ^{1682 3} the government of it extremely weak and feeble.

The most antient class of the Adventurers, the Buccaneers, were dwindled to nothing; the two others, in consequence of their united interests, were still formidable. But this strength at the same time made them so ungovernable in their distress, that the officers thought they did a great deal in preventing an open rebellion. The Freebooters in particular did the colony very little service, tho' at the same time they were spreading terror and desolation throughout the *Spanish Indies*. On the contrary, they obstructed its trade, and procured it enemies, against whom they were seldom in the way to give it any assistance. And, though they acknowledged the governor of *Tortuga* for their superior, they made light of his orders when they any way clashed with their own private interests. For these reasons the *French* court, after tolerating them a long time, as a necessary evil, came at last to consider them as both unnecessary and intolerable, or at least a decayed limb of the body politic, from which there was more mischief to be feared than gain to be expected. And, in fact, the *Spaniards*, besides not allowing the *French* any right to settle at *St Domingo*, were entitled, from their entertainment and protection of the Freebooters, to consider the whole settlement rather as a nest of pirates, than a colony of honest people, and therefore renewed their hostilities with more than ordinary animosity. Nor were the *English* less alarmed at seeing the body of *French* Adventurers gradually assuming the form of a regular and policed society, which might in time become a powerful rival, by cultivating indigo, sugar, cotton, and other commodities, which *St Domingo* is capable of producing.

Freebooters obnoxious to *French*, *Spanish*, and *English*.

Discord between the *French* and *English* Freebooters.

English frigate taken.

Freebooters declared pirates.

Commissioned to cruise against the *Spaniards*.

Charlevoix tells us, that a letter was found on board a *Spanish* vessel, importing, that the governor of *Jamaica* had proposed to the governor of the *Havanna*, to unite their forces for the reduction or extirpation of those who gave them so much uneasiness. However, next year an *English* frigate of thirty guns was observed cruising in the channel between *Tortuga* and the great island, and the captain being summoned by the *French* commander to manifest his intentions, made answer, that the sea being free and open, no person had a right to call him to an account. The *Frenchman*, on this occasion, not considering his dealer, sent out an armed boat, with only thirty Freebooters in her to take the obstinate *Englishman*. But these Adventurers met with so warm a reception, that they were obliged to sheer off in great confusion. On this the governor requested Capt. *Grammont*, a *French* Freebooter, who happened to be at the Cape with a fifty gun ship, to vindicate the honour of his country. *Grammont* readily accepted the commission, and joined by three hundred Freebooters more, made directly for the *English* vessel, which waited for him with great resolution. But the *French* immediately grappled, and boarding the vessel put every man to the sword, except the captain. This rough treatment put an end to the good understanding which had hitherto subsisted between the *English* of *Jamaica* and the *French* of *St Domingo*, which had been already considerably weakened by the letter abovementioned, in consequence of which the *French* Freebooters had refused to admit the *English* to join them in an expedition, and had even confiscated their share of the plunder made in another enterprise. However, all this pretended zeal for the honour and interest of their country could not save many of them from being declared pirates by M. *de Franquesnay*, who acted as governor till the *French* court had named a successor to *Ponancy*, and treated as such, if they had not taken care to retire to other places, leaving the rest so much dissatisfied, that there was great reason to fear that their discontent would break out into open rebellion.

Such was the state of the colony when *Cuffy* arrived there as governor in 1684; but he soon found means to quiet the inhabitants without proceeding himself, or driving them to extremities. However, it was not long before *Grammont*, and other Freebooters, applied to him for commissions to cruise against the *Spaniards*, which, at last, he thought fit to grant, as the best method of uniting these irregulars for an expedition in which the *French* court wanted to employ them, and cause *Grammont*, who had a great influence over the Freebooters, to bring back to *St Domingo*, by a certain day, all those whom *Franquesnay* had obliged to retire by declaring them pirates.

All this time subsisted a truce between the *French* and *Spanish* courts, so that this step of the *French* governor must give a very strange opinion of him, as though it was consistent with justice to encourage such vermin in their unlawful practices, to secure their assistance in such as was lawful, for fear of driving them to despair, or making them

1684

Court of
France disap-
proves indul-
gence to the
Freebooters.

them desert to the *English* or *Dutch* colonies. But the *French* ministry considering the injury their depredations did to the trade carried on by the *French* merchants, in the names of those of *Spain*, with the *Spanish Netherlands*, highly disapproved those indulgencies, as they did others shewed them in the time of war, where they were suffered to pay no regard to the laws made in *France* for the regulation of privateers, though it was impossible to comply with some of them; such, for example, as taking in their stores, or careening their vessels in countries subject to the crown of *France*, whereas it often happened that no country subject to that crown, except *France* itself, could supply them with what they wanted on these occasions. And perhaps the ministry was more to blame upon the whole than the governor.

Colony re-
monstrates a-
gainst the to-
bacco farm.

Most of the Freebooters had by this time acquired a Plantation, or an interest in one, so that if they deserted the island, it would be rather because the restraints laid on the tobacco trade had rendered their labours ashore useless, than because they could not prey at sea upon the *Spaniards*. By this restraint, that article which used to pass as money in this colony was become such a drug, that persons who had nothing else to exchange for the necessaries of life, were in danger of starving. This distress moved the inhabitants to represent to the king, that if the tobacco farm was suppressed, and they had liberty to sell it by wholesale or retail, within or without his dominions, free of all duties, they were willing to give him, free of all charges, the fourth part of all they landed in any port of *France*, which would be worth more than the forty sols per hundred weight paid by the farmers, besides encouraging them to raise cotton, indigo, sugar, and other commodities, which would bring him considerable sums.

Cultivates in-
digo, sugar,
rocou and co-
coa to advan-
tage.

But this remonstrance, it seems, had no speedy effect, so that the colony was more than once on the point of dissolution, till at last indigo began to flourish, and brought much money into the country, and enabled the inhabitants to erect sugarworks. Rocou and cocoa also began to be raised in great quantities, and cocoa is said to have chiefly contributed to make the colony populous. As for cotton, the inhabitants neglected it, as an article that did not quit cost. Many of the inhabitants, however, even after these improvements were brought to some height, would have withdrawn themselves, were it not for the profits arising from the prizes made by the Freebooters.

Council and
courts of jus-
tice establish-
ed.

Neither *Ogeron* nor *Ponancy* would ever tolerate an attorney or lawyer in the country, for fear of encouraging a litigious spirit, which must be highly detrimental to an infant colony. And indeed there could be no occasion for them, when the judges understood little more than the parties. For ever since the Adventurers began to think of justice, it used to be administered by councils formed of the officers of militia in the several districts under the authority of the governor. But the colony was now grown too civilized and populous to remain in the hands of such illiterate justices. Wherefore a superior council was the year following established for the whole colony, and inferior courts for the four principal districts, namely *Leogane* and *Petit Guave*, for the Western, and *Port de Paix* and *Cape François* for the Northern coast, and upon these the adjoining districts of lesser note were made dependent. The council first sat at *Petit Guave*, but afterwards retired to *Leogane*; the four inferior courts were placed in the four towns, from whence the principal districts for which they were established took their names.

Fort at *Tor-
tuga* abandon-
ed.

The settlement at *Tortuga*, so flourishing at the beginning, was considerably decayed when *Ponancy* was named governor, and all his endeavours to restore it proved ineffectual. The settlement formed by the Buccaneers at *Bayaba* might possibly have contributed to this decrease, but the chief cause must have been the detrition or wearing away of the land. This at last determined *Cuffy* to abandon the fortress, and erect one at *Port de Paix* for the same purpose of commanding the channel between it and that island.

Freebooters
resolved on
an expedition
to the S Sea.

Though *Cuffy* did his utmost to reform the Freebooters, they continued still in many places to lead most shocking lives, especially at *Petit Guave*, the principal resort of them and the pirates. He prosecuted his design with such resolution, as convinced the Freebooters, that, if they were unwilling to do their duty, they must oppose him by force, or retire to some place out of his reach. The last seeming most eligible, they immediately resolved, to the number of above two thousand, on an expedition to the *South Sea*. About the same time, the like resolution was taken by a large gang of *English* Freebooters, and several smaller gangs of both nations. We shall not follow these pirates in their excursions, which lasted to 1688, and, from which the picture we have already given of their manner of making war was chiefly taken. Those belonging

to *St Domingo* alone went out to the number of 3000, of whom scarce 500 returned, and those with hardly enough to pay the cost of their equipment, to the great disappointment of the planters, who had advanced very considerable sums to fit them out.

It could not be expected that the *Spaniards*, molested by these pirates in the most cruel manner on both shores of their possessions in *America*, should consider as friends a colony that had produced them in such numbers, and many of whose inhabitants, they must know, or have just cause to suspect, were concerned in their enterprizes. Wherefore they renewed their hostilities on the coast of *St Domingo*, and in 1637, with only eighty five men in a brigantine and pirogue, surprised *Petite Guave*, which, from the great number of Freebooters it had furnished out for the *South Sea* expedition. and the severity of *Cussy* to the remainder, had scarce a man left to defend it. But those in the neighbourhood had soon assembled, and cutting off the retreat of the *Spaniards* to the sea, obliged them to shut themselves up in the fort, which was soon forced. On this occasion twenty-five of the *Spaniards* escaped by flight, the rest were put to the sword, except the officers, who were reserved for a more ignominious death, and hanged, in reprisal for some murders committed on their landing, and some treatment of the same kind lately given, though perhaps with great justice, to some Freebooters fallen into their hands.

1637.

Petite Guave
surprised by
the *Spaniards*

This year *Laurence de Graff*, a famous Freebooter, was created major of the colony. This man had first signalised himself among the *Spaniards*, till he fell into the hands of some Freebooters, whom, on invitation, he joined as brave men, and consequently better company, to make war upon his former employers. And he spread so much terror and desolation among them, that one of their public petitions was to be delivered from the fury of *Laurenville*, the name they had given him when he lived among them. He was not in fact so bad as represented, but the Freebooters had so often used his name to secure success to their cruel enterprizes, that they brought an odium on it greater than it deserved. The chief views of the *French* ministry in promoting this man, were to engage the Freebooters, over whom he had great influence, to abandon their evil courses, and to employ him in scouring the adjacent seas from pirates, for which purpose they appointed him governor of *Isle Avache*, and he executed his commission to the satisfaction of *French*, *English*, and *Spaniards*.

De Graff created
major of
the colony.

But all these measures were but palliative with regard to the disease that preyed upon the vitals of the colony. From the restraints upon trade in general, and the tobacco trade in particular, such of the planters as had not stock enough to plant indigo were ready to starve, and the difficulties of cultivating indigo were considerably increased by the want of Negroes as well as contract servants; so that many of the Freebooters, who were disposed to become planters, and had funds for that purpose, could do nothing for want of hands. This evil arose from the exclusive commerce of Negroes reserved by the *West India* company; for at first they poured so many slaves into the colony, that others were deterred from sending contract servants, and on their meeting with some disappointment, through their own mistake in glutting the market, they stopped their hands all at once. These reasons of complaint received new weight from a permission granted to another company, that of *St Malo*, to trade with the *Spaniards* in all these parts, by which means three or four hundred of the inhabitants, who heretofore lived comfortably by that commerce, were all at once reduced to the greatest distress.

1639.

Colony distressed
for
want of trade.

The inhabitants first complained of their grievances, but finding no redress, all those of the district of *Cape François* took up arms, headed by one *Chevalier*, and talked of naming a successor to *Cussy*, whom they accused of trading with the *Spaniards* on his own account, though in the name of the *St Malo* company. *Chevalier* first seized a ship trading with the *Spaniards* in a neighbouring port, then passed through the coasts sowing the seeds of rebellion, and at last took post on a hill that now makes part of the town of *Cape François*, planted cannon on it, and intrenched himself so as to make it difficult to force him. But soon after seeing an intrenchment thrown up opposite to his own, he sent word to the officer who commanded in it, that he had taken up arms only to hinder the correspondence of the governor with the enemies of *France*, to the great detriment of the colony, and that he was willing to lay them down on putting a stop to so scandalous a disorder. The officer, after deliberating whether he should hang the messenger, thought it better to send him back with an answer, importing, that he would not fail to inform the court of the causes of his complaint, not doubting that the king would pay due regard to them if well grounded. But in the mean time he

Rites in arms.

1689.

Disperſe.

Their leader
executed.

adviſed him and his followers to diſperſe, as the beſt way to avoid increaſing their guilt, on which he would venture to aſſure them that what was paſt ſhould be buried in oblivion. This answer had the deſired effect: The male-contents were ſo weary of their confinement in their trenches, that they immediately cried out, *nothing could be fairer*, and immediately retired. Whether the leader did not comply till his followers had deſerted him, or renewed his caballing, the officer thought fit to arreſt him, in preſence of the inhabitants of the ſame diſtrict, who never offered to interpoſe in his favour, ſo that the unhappy man was immediately put on board a ſhip for *Port de Paix*, where he was tried, ſentenced, and hanged; two more of his accomplices were treated in the ſame manner. This inſurrection was ſcarce appeaſed, when the governor received a letter from the *French* miniſtry about eſta bliſhing a poll tax, and an exciſe in the colony, but he ſo well repreſented the conſequences of ſuch a ſtep, that he heard no more of it.

In June 1689, a gang of 240 Freebooters, who had brought ſome *Engliſh* prizes into the *Cul de Sac*, having applied to *Cuſſy* for commiſſions to go upon a new cruize, he propoſed an attack upon *St Jago de los Cavalleros*, as more honourable and advantageous to themſelves, and more beneficial to their country, than any they could undertake by ſea, and promiſed to lead them himſelf, and to take with him all the inhabitants of the Cape and its neighbourhood fit to bear arms. They approved his advice, and he embarked with them for *Port de Paix*, where he muſtered his little army, conſiſting of four hundred horſe, and four hundred and fifty foot, beſides a hundred and fifty Negroes, to take care of the horſes and baggage. *Cuſſy* imagined he could eaſily reduce all the *Spaniſh* ſettlements, on account of great diſcontents, which, as he was fallily informed, prevailed among the *Spaniards* in general, and particularly in the gariſon of *San Domingo*. On this preſumption, he ſent a meſſage to the governor of *St Jago*, that he was come to decide by arms, with the preſident of *San Domingo*, the ſole poſſeſſion of the iſland, and would wait his arrival if he accepted the challenge. The governor of *St Jago* gallantly answered, that he needed not trouble the preſident, ſince he wanted not courage nor force to answer it himſelf. According to his word, *Cuſſy* was a day or two after attacked in paſſing a deſile formed by a torrent, but he repulſed the *Spaniards* with great loſs, which ſtruck them with ſuch a terror, that he found the town quite empty. But the inhabitants had carried off every thing moveable except proviſions, which *Cuſſy* gave orders not to touch. Some, however, unable to reſiſt the temptation, gratified their appetites, and as they ſoon found themſelves ſick, concluded they were poiſoned; which ſo enraged the army, that *Cuſſy* was obliged to permit them to burn the town, ſparing only the churches and chapels.

*St Jago de
los Cavalle-
ros burnt by
the French.*

1690.

The year following the colony of *St Domingo* was reinforced by a number of the moſt conſiderable families of *St Chriſtophers*, which the *Engliſh* had taken from the *French*. And ſoon after their arrival, *Cuſſy* had advice that the fleet which had diſlodged them, was ſailed for *Portorico*, to join the *Spaniards*, whom his late expedition to *St Jago* muſt have highly exaſperated. But the *Spaniards*, it ſeems, needed not aſſiſtance to execute their revenge; for two days after the governor had intelligence that they appeared both by ſea and land, and in five days more their fleet, conſiſting of ſix large ſhips and a frigate, carrying 2600 men, landed 1200 at *Bayaba*, and 500 more near *Jaguery*; and neither theſe forces, nor 1200 more, which croſſed the iſland from the capital, met with the leaſt reſiſtance. This inaction of the *French* proceeded from a difference in opinion, between the governor and his lieutenant; the former adviſing ambuſcades, and the other propoſing to meet them in an open plain, called *Savane de Limnade*, through which they muſt paſs in their way to the Cape. And, unfortunately for the *French*, this laſt propoſal was ſo univerſally approved, that the governor was obliged to yield to it, and ſecured to the *Spaniards* their advantage of ſuperiority in number. Wherefore, two days after they marched to the plain, which is a league ſquare, and perfectly level. The day after their arrival the *Spaniards* entered the plain, and the *French*, on their firſt appearance, fell upon them with the ſame precipitation and conſuſion which had before preſided at their counſels. However, the victory remained long dubious, owing to the extraordinary efforts of 300 Freebooters, whoſe fire had almoſt gained a ſuperiority over that of the *Spaniſh* ſuſeilers. But a *Spaniſh* officer, obſerving the diſparity, made a ſignal to 300 lancemen, who had all this time lain flat on their faces, and they made ſo furious a charge on the *French*, that they immediately broke through their center. On this the two wings, finding themſelves ſeparated, took their flight, except a few of the moſt reſolute, who ſtood by the governor and

*French routed
by the Spani-
ards.*

and lieutenant, till they were overpowered, and all slain. The *French* lost on this occasion, besides those two general officers, between four and five hundred of their bravest men. 1691.

Had the *Spaniards* made proper use of their advantage, they might have driven the *French* out of *St Domingo*, or at least obliged them to submit to the *Spanish* crown; but they contented themselves with burning the town of the Cape, and killing all the *Frenchmen* they found, and then retired with a great number of women, children, and slaves. Some of the inhabitants, who had retired into the woods with their families, had saved part of their effects and slaves, who, on this occasion, and many others since, gave surprising proofs of their fidelity and attachment to their masters, when they might have recovered their liberty, without any risk, by deserting them. Spaniards make not the best use of their victory. A plain demonstration that these poor despised people are susceptible of noble sentiments, and of gratitude in particular, since the only reason that can be given for their behaviour on these occasions, is the extraordinary mildness with which the *French* planters generally treat them, and their great care to make them good Christians. But though the *Spaniards* did not make the most of their victory, they recovered by it that superiority over the *French*, the loss of which had been so detrimental to them, and of which the *French* have never since been able to deprive them. Soon after their defeat, arrived 300 more of the late inhabitants of *St Christophers*, who had been refused entertainment by the people of *Santa Cruz*, but were more heartily welcome to *St Domingo*, where, besides filling the vacant plantations, they greatly contributed, with those already arrived from the same place, to introduce sentiments of religion, virtue, and politeness, with which, it seems, the inhabitants of *St Domingo* were not as yet too well acquainted.

The *English*, who were not early enough to assist the *Spaniards* in the attack of the *French* colony of *St Domingo*, thought fit to take the advantage of the consternation and weakness in which the *Spaniards* had left it. Wherefore, about three weeks after the retreat of the *Spaniards*, they appeared off the coast, with a fleet, consisting of four ships of 40 and 50 guns, eight smaller vessels, and some shallops. After some time cannonading to no purpose a place called *la Petite Riviere* on the Western coast, they attempted to land; but M. *Dumas*, who commanded in chief, till the court had appointed a successor to *Cussy*, had thrown up such good intrenchments there and at every other place, where there was reason to apprehend any attempt of that kind, that the *English* were obliged to desist. They then sent some smaller craft, full of men, to take a Freebooters ship, which had been stranded within 100 paces of an intrenchment at a place called *l'Esterre*, within two leagues of the former; But M. *des Landes*, who commanded in the absence of *Dumas*, having guessed their intentions, immediately dispatched his best mounted troopers, who got thither time enough to defeat their design. The next day the fleet weighed anchor, except two large ships, and one smaller, left to amuse the troops of the *Petite Riviere*; but *des Landes* had left there 150 men, who behaved so well that the *English*, for want of being covered by the cannon of their ships, which lay at too great a distance, could effect nothing. English attempt a descent in vain.

The ships left at *la Petite Riviere* were no sooner returned, than they all drew in nearer to the land, and the *English* commander sent two officers, and an old Freebooter on shore to propose a conference, and to serve as hostages, if the *French* commander thought fit to send deputies to treat with him. The *French* commander accepted the invitation, and sent two officers on board the commodore, but with express orders not to conclude any thing. The proposal made to the officers imported that the *French* of *St Domingo* should put themselves under the protection of his Britannic majesty, who would not abandon them as their king had done, but would take care to supply all their wants. The *French* officers answered, that this was not a proposal to be made to loyal subjects, that they wanted nothing, and expected in a short time to return their compliment at *Jamaica*. Their proposal rejected by the French.

The *English* commander finding by this resolute answer, that the *French* were as willing as he had reason to guess they were able to defend themselves, weighed anchor and put to sea again; but after taking in water and fresh provisions on the opposite side of the Bay of *Cul de Sac*, called *les Vages*, and at *Mont Bouy*, he appeared again before *la Petite Riviere*, where *des Landes*, who followed their fleet from place to place, got advice that his intention was to surprise, plunder, and burn *Petite Guave*. Wherefore he sent notice to the commanding officer of that place to be upon his guard, and that he would soon be with him. In fact, the fleet immediately made for *Petite Guave*, and *des Landes* followed by land, after putting some men in boats to follow Landmen, but are repulsed.

follow it by water. But the fleet, instead of stopping at *Petite Guave*, proceeded to *Nippes*, on which were but 50 men, and landed 500, who in less than two hours were attacked by the *French* commander, and not being strong enough to maintain their ground on shore, after a slight skirmish, retired on board their ships, which immediately disappeared.

Ducasse the new governor finds the colony in great decay.

Soon after this event, M. *Ducasse*, who had been nominated successor to *Cuffy*, arrived to take possession of his government. This gentleman, who had long resided in the colony, both as an inhabitant, and as an agent to the *West India* company, was greatly surprised to find it weaker by 400 men than it had been a few years before, when he left it, and without fortifications and military stores, the Freebooters, who had been its chief support, all dead, or in the hands of the *English*, and the coasts so ill guarded, that all the merchant ships which came this year from *Europe*, had fallen into the enemy's hands and, moreover, the settlement of the *Cul de Sac* threatened with a visit from a most powerful *Spanish* armament. But as this colony may justly be said to have something very uncommon and singular in its birth and growth, and to have wanted nothing but its *Romulus* and *Numa* to become a *Rome* to the New World, the reader, we imagine, will not be displeased to see a particular survey of it taken about this time by M. *Donon de Gulifet*, the king's lieutenant at *Santa Cruz*, and his method for retrieving it.

Particular survey of its territory. *Cape François*.

Cape François, says *Gulifet*, enjoys the best air of any place in the whole island, has a port excellent in itself, and very commodious for ships coming from *Europe*. Its lands are very good, and well watered, and sufficient to maintain 6000 planters, though at present there are but 1600, and not a single person of any consequence among them.

Port de Paix.

Port de Paix lies six leagues East of *Cape François*, and contains 80 planters, and its district will admit no more. It has no port, properly speaking, but only a road not very good; the air besides is unwholesome, and the soil barren. Here are, however, a multitude of Rangers, an indolent set of people, who subsist by hunting, and live in huts in the country. Including these hunters, this post may consist of 500 persons. The fort here is built on a rock of the hardest kind of freestone, which terminates at top in a flat of 450 fathoms in circumference, and well supplied with springs at two or three feet under the surface. The side facing the sea, which washes 190 fathoms of it, forms an amphitheatre, but the side towards the land is very steep to the height of between 45 and 50 feet. This advantage, however, is almost lost by the neighbourhood of some hills, which command it on every side by land, from 160 to 300 fathoms distance, and against which it is impossible to screen it but by very strong and extensive epaulments. It would be proper besides to reduce the curtains nearer to the center by cutting away the rock, so as to give it a still greater declivity.

Tortuga.

Tortuga lies opposite to *Port de Paix*; has but 100 inhabitants, and is but a wretched habitation, and therefore serves for nothing but to disperse the colony's forces.

Cul de Sac.

In the district of the *Cul de Sac*, 50 leagues South of *Port de Paix*, are 50 planters, and it may admit of twice as many more; but the air is unwholesome, water scarce, and even what is obtained by digging brackish.

Leogane.

The district of *Leogane* is six leagues further to the East. It is a plain four leagues long, and a league and half broad, bordered on one side by the sea, and by a ridge of mountains on the other. It has no ports to receive shipping, but only roads, which are all open. The soil, however, is excellent; and hence the planters, who may be about 200, are in the best circumstances of any in the whole colony.

La grande and la petite Guave.

La Grande Guave lies four leagues more to the West, and has but 30 planters, nor can it maintain a greater number. *La Petite Guave* lies two leagues from the other, and has too many planters, though but 60. The air of this quarter is unwholesome, and the soil good for nothing; but the town or village belonging to it is well built, and has an excellent port.

Nippes.

The district of *Nippes* lies six leagues West of *Petite Guave*, is of no greater extent, and contains the same number of planters, besides about 100 disciplined men, of whom all these Western districts may furnish 700. The communication between them by land is very indifferent.

District and isle *Avache*.

To conclude, the district which contains, and takes its name from the isle *Avache*, in the Southern side of the island near its Western point has no planters; but on the great

great island, where the country is level, and intersected by a multitude of rivers, the soil is wonderfully fruitful, and capable of very well maintaining 10,000 planters; at present it contains but twenty, besides eighty of the militia.

Now, *M. de Galifet* proposed the reduction of the whole colony to this last quarter, ¹⁶⁹¹ *Galifet* pro-
and that of the Cape; since, besides the goodness and conveniency of their harbours, they poses to re-
were the only districts capable of maintaining inhabitants enough to make head against duce the co-
an enemy, who, for the same reason, he said, could not acquire any solid footing in the lony to nar-
deserted quarters. rower bounds

But *Ducasse*, it seems, was of another opinion; for having received certain intelligence, ¹⁶⁹² *Spaniards* a-
that the *Spaniards* were preparing to give the colony another blow, he took the properest bandon their
measures to defend every post. And the report of those measures, joined to *de Graff's* enterprize a-
reputation for bravery, saved the colony from destruction. For the *Spaniards*, who were gainst it.
coming by sea, hearing of the governor's preparations to receive them, drew back when
within thirty leagues of Cape *François*; and, of 2000 and upwards, who were marching
by land, under the command of the governor of *St Jago*, so many deserted, when it was
known that the terrible *De Graff* waited for them, in an advantageous post, at the head
of the militia of the Cape, that the governor was obliged to march back, for fear of being
entirely abandoned.

While the storm hung over the colony, *Ducasse* had, tho' with much difficulty, pre- ^{Freebooters}
vailed on the Freebooters to remain in the posts where he judged their assistance most refractory.
necessary; but it was no sooner blown over, than he found it impossible to restrain them, and
five or six of their vessels immediately put to sea. The discipline, however moderate, to
which the late governor had held them, had so exasperated them, that they were never
known to be more wicked and untractable. And, what was worst of all, their examples
were so contagious, that most of the young fellows of the colony, from a spirit of liber-
tinism, took such a liking to the same profession, that the best formed plantations were
deserted, and the country stript at once of men, arms, and ammunition.

The new governor, however, did not conclude from hence, like many others, that it ^{Wisely ma-}
was absolutely necessary to exirpate this restless and ungovernable body, but rather naged by the
considered them as a necessary evil. They had lately taken a good number of ships from the governor.
Spaniards, and hindered both them and the *English* from undertaking any thing against the
colony, without considerable succours from *Europe*, which they rarely received. Upon
the whole he concluded, that it was best to observe some measures with a body of men,
which his colony could not spare, tho' it had so much to suffer and fear from them.

But the governor had another cause of uneasiness. All the inhabitants of the colony ^{Loss of the}
who fell into the hands of the *English* or *Spaniards* were generally lost to it for ever. The colony by de-
Spaniards treated them so cruelly, that most of them perished with famine, fatigue, or tention of
despair, considering them, no doubt, as little better than pirates. And though the *French* prisoners.
governor threatened to retaliate this usage, by giving no quarter, the *Spanish* governors still
persisted in their behaviour to the *French* prisoners. As to the *English*, the *French* wri-
ters only charge them with sending the prisoners to *England* as fast as they took them,
till *Ducasse* bethought himself of a cartel, which he concluded with the governor of *Jamaica*,
Jamaica, who, as the *French* do him the justice to acknowledge, religiously observed it. ^{Prevented in}
Tho' the *English* and *Spaniards* carried off many *French* merchant ships from the coast part by a
of *St Domingo*, the Freebooters made the colony some amends by their frequent descents cartel.

Upon *Jamaica*, from whence they daily brought so many Negroes, that this island was ^{Jamaicawhy}
no longer known at *St Domingo*, by any other name than that of *Little Guinea*. named *Little*
Guinea.

But the *English* having intercepted some letters containing an enumeration of the *French* ^{English inva-}
on the western coasts of *St Domingo*, agreeable to that of *Galifet* above related, resolved to sion of *St*
bear no longer a thorn so easy to be extracted. With this view therefore, they fitted out *Domingo* pre-
two men of war, a *Spanish* barcolongo of 24 guns, and seven or eight merchantmen, vented by an
on board of which they embarked 3000 land forces. But when just on the point of sail- earthquake.
ing, they received advice that a descent had been made on their own coast, which demand-
ed their first attention, as the most pressing evil. Wherefore they hastily dispatched two sail
of their own armament and the barcolongo, in quest of the vessel which had landed the
men, and a frigate with two boats to watch the motions of the Freebooters, who might
be ashore. But though the first of these measures succeeded, the vessel that had made
the descent blowing up in the engagement with those sent against her, and the last proved
unnecessary, the men, who had landed, being disconcerted by the memorable earthquake

of *Jamaica*, yet they delayed the undertaking against *St Domingo* so long, that the same earthquake intervened to render it inexpedient, and perhaps impossible.

1693.

An English
fleet hovers
on the coast.

It was some time, before *Ducasse* had advice of the great damage done by the earthquake at *Jamaica*, the *English* purposely detaining the Freebooters, who had landed in the expedition abovementioned, and surrendered upon condition of being sent back to *St Domingo*. Nor, when the news of it reached his ears, did he think his colony quite out of danger, since the expedition cost it two hundred Freebooters, and the *English* and *Spaniards* were continually receiving reinforcements from *Europe*, which he had little reason to expect he should be able to resist. And his apprehensions were not groundless, for in *April*, 1693, a large *English* Squadron appeared several times on the coasts of his government, but made no attempt. *Ducasse*, having made the best preparations he could to receive them, sent out the man of war, which had brought him over, to get intelligence of their motions. But the captain could meet with nothing; which made the governor conclude, that though the *English* at *Jamaica* might have retrieved their affairs by the succours, which the fleet, that had alarmed him so much, had brought them from *England*, they were not as yet in a condition to give him any disturbance.

Design of the
English and
Spaniards a-
gainst the co-
lony abortive.

Ducasse, about this time, intercepted letters from the Archbishop of *San Domingo* to the president of the council of the *Indies*, importing, that the *Spaniards* of that colony were in the utmost distress, and particularly in such want of clothes, that the women were obliged to go to church before daylight, and that the whole island must soon fall into the hands of the *French*, if the king did not grant a settlement to the *Flemings*, of whom, he said, it was unreasonable to be apprehensive that they would carry on a contraband trade along the coasts of *America*, as if the *English* and *Dutch* did not constantly carry on the same trade, and defraud the king of his duties, whereas the *Flemings* offered, both going and coming, to register their effects, and pay the duties at any port his majesty should order. These conjectures and discoveries made *Ducasse* press his court more than ever for succours, to enable him to attack both the *English* of *Jamaica*, and the *Spaniards* of his own island, especially the latter, justly imagining, that they would be glad to change masters, if only to obtain the necessaries of life. But had not the *English* miscarried in their attempt on *Martinico*, and been thus disabled from fulfilling their agreement, and joining the *Spaniards*, who on their side also lost three ships in the *Bahama* channel, with all their crews, and a great sum of money designed to defray the charges of the expedition, *Ducasse*, instead of proposing new conquests, would have thought himself very happy in keeping his own possessions.

Governor of
Jamaica too
cautious.

However, while this storm hung over his head, he sent a ship with all his Freebooters, now reduced to one hundred and fifty, to make a descent on *Jamaica*, and they were so fortunate as to bring back three hundred and fifty Negroes. But the *French* would probably have paid very dear for this visit, had not the governor of *Jamaica* taken too many precautions in the measures he took to return it. For having got intelligence by intercepted letters, that *Petite Guave* was without troops, he fitted out some vessels to burn it, and ravage the coast. But, fearing his little squadron was not sufficient, he sent to engage the assistance of five *Dutch* ships trading on the coast of *Cuba*; but, as the captains insisted that the governor should purchase their cargoes, and allow them very advantageous conditions in regard to the distribution of the plunder, so much time was lost in the negotiation, that the governor thought fit to defer the undertaking to another opportunity.

1694.
Colony in a
thriving state.

All these hostilities did not prevent *Ducasse* from attending to the improvement of his colony, by the cultivation of sugar, indigo, and the many other commodities it is capable of producing. Of these indigo was got to the greatest head, since the planters had not only enough to supply their neighbours, who frequented those parts of the island, not thinking it inferior to that of *Guatemala*, but flattered themselves, that they should be able to furnish *France* itself with all it wanted. The governor promised the ministry to raise silk also, provided they would send some of the useless hands that crowded the hospitals of *France*, and above all, a good number of children from twelve to fifteen years of age, whom, he said, he could set all at work the minute they landed. As to cotton and tobacco, the inhabitants alledged that neither of them would quit cost. If so, the decay of the latter must have been owing to the restraints put on the commerce of it, or else the planters spoke comparatively in regard to the profitable cultivation of indigo. *Ducasse* concludes the letter, from whence this account is taken, with asserting, that if the whole island belonged to the *French*, as they could then make settlements in the inland parts, and would be no longer under apprehensions of losing their slaves, who were always well received

received by the *Spaniards*, it might be made to maintain as many souls as the kingdom of *France* actually contained.

Ducasse, no longer apprehensive of a visit from the forces sent from *England* and *Old Spain*, resolved upon another descent on *Jamaica*. For this purpose he sent out six small vessels with four hundred Freebooters, and followed them himself a few days after, with one hundred and fifty more on board a man of war. But the Freebooters sent before, meeting an *English* man of war that guarded the coast of *Jamaica*, retreated, some to go on another course, and the rest to return to *St Domingo*. As nothing therefore could be done, till this obstacle was removed, *Ducasse* returned to his island for the man of war he had left behind him, which with the other overpowered and took the *English* ship. This success, with the arrival of 200 Freebooters, who had been absent about a year, out of a multitude of those who had lately deserted from *Beauregard*, put *Ducasse* on striking a greater blow than that which had miscarried, and for this purpose he assembled about 1400 men of the coast, and 21 sail of ships, including the two *French* men of war and their prize.

Ducasse prepares to invade *Jamaica*

Makes a descent on that island.

This armament arrived in *Cow Bay*, 5 leagues from *Port Royal*, June 27, 1694, and landed 800 men under *Beauregard* without opposition. They marched 14 or 15 leagues as far as *Port Morant*, burning and plundering all before them, and took 1000 negroes, and some *English* prisoners, who informed them that the inhabitants, forewarned by some deserters of the *French* preparations, had abandoned all their posts except *Port Morant*, *Ovatiron* in *Cow Bay*, and *Port Royal*, where they were strongly intrenched. And indeed *Beauregard* found the two forts of *Port Morant* evacuated, and 18 pieces of cannon nailed, but great plenty of provisions. Here he remained four weeks, in which time he finished the demolition of the forts, shipped off one eighteen pounder, burst the rest of the cannon, and sent to *Port Mary* a detachment of 200 men in four bodies, which ravaged all the northern coast.

Ducasse stayed at *Cow Bay* till about July 6, when, after taking some ships laden with provisions, he sailed for *Port Morant*, with all the troops that remained with him, and all the ships, except the *English* prize, which he sent to *St Domingo* with about 1200 taken, or deserted slaves, and a man of war, that had driven, and could never afterwards rejoin the fleet. Here he took aboard all the troops, which had been landed under *Beauregard*, and returned with them on the 20th to *Cow Bay*, where all the Freebooters and men of the coast were put ashore, and marched directly, with colours flying, to *Port Royal*, before which they remained three hours in order of battle. But this was done merely to give a false alarm, and it was afterwards resolved that Major *de Graff* should march with all the Freebooters and men of the coast to attack *Ovatiron*, 17 leagues east of *Cow Bay*, where the principal force of the *English* was posted. *De Graff* set out that very evening after nightfall in 14 boats, and anchored the next day at three in the afternoon at *Ovatiron*. Here he found a slave-ship of 30 guns; but on his advancing to board her, the captain, who had already landed his negroes, set her on fire, and escaped ashore. In the mean time, the cannon of the place played on the ships at anchor, but without doing them any damage. The troops, to the amount of 1000 men, began to land at two the next morning, but were not all ashore till day-break, because the boats could carry but 50 at a time. However, they were no sooner landed than they marched up to the *English*, who were strongly posted, to the number 13 or 1400, behind three intrenchments mounted with 12 pieces of cannon. *Beauregard* led the vanguard composed of the Freebooters, and was seconded by *de Graff* with the men of the coast. After receiving the fire of the cannon and small arms, as soon as they got within musket-shot of the trenches, they poured their fire into them, and then attacked them sword in hand, and after an obstinate resistance of an hour and a half they forced them; the *English*, on this occasion, had 360 men killed and wounded, among the former two colonels, two lieutenant colonels, and six captains. The *French* had but 22 men killed and wounded, and took nine pair of colours, seven drums, and 150 horses bridled and saddled. *De Graff* afterwards repulsed 200 horse sent from *Spanish Town* to reinforce those in the intrenchments, after a smart skirmish of two hours, and this was the last resistance he met. The next day *de Graff* sent out a detachment of 500 men to bring in cattle, make prisoners, and plunder and destroy the plantations and sugar works. *Ducasse* arrived the 5th with the men of war, and sent out other detachments for the same purpose. But we find by some memoirs that these detachments were very far from meeting the success they expected, because

Forces the *English* intrenchments,

and ravages the island.

many

many of the inhabitants, in the neighbourhood of *Ovatiron*, had built each a fort in his plantation, and shut himself up in it with his family, slaves, and all his most precious moveables; and the walls being too high to scale, and the bringing cannon to batter them being judged impracticable, the *French* could get nothing by attacking them; they even tell us, that the first of these little garrisons, which the *French* endeavoured to force, cost them a captain and 50 men. However the troops, after ruining the intrenchments, bursting the cannon, and setting fire to the town, embarked the 3d of *August* for *St Domingo*, where they arrived the 14th. The plunder consisted of about 3000 negroes, a good quantity of indigo and other valuable goods, with a great number of pans and other utensils belonging to the sugarworks. Great part of the booty, some say, was destroyed by fire, whether accidentally or on purpose is not mentioned. However there remained enough to procure *Ducasse*, by the manner in which he distributed it, the ill will of his Freebooters, who accused him, though in every respect like *Ogeron* the father of the colony, of taking the best share to himself; but it is more credible, that he gave it to the officers and crews of the men of war employed in this expedition. At this time there were upwards of 7000 Negroes in the mountains of *Jamaica*, all desirous of living with the *French*; and for this purpose they sent deputies to them while they lay in *Cow Bay*, though not timely enough to deliver their proposals, as the report of the march of a great body of troops from *Port Royal* obliged them to hasten their retreat.

It was not doubted that the *English* would take the first opportunity of returning *Ducasse* the compliment he had paid them; wherefore, immediately on his return, he set about putting all his posts in the best condition of defence. And though he did not expect to be attacked before they had received succours from *England*, yet in less than six weeks three *English* men of war, a fireship, and two barks, anchored in the road of *Leogane*, opposite to *Esserre*, which they battered nine hours, and in the mean time attacked two little vessels, one of which they set on fire. After this they weighed anchor, and instead of attacking *Petite Guave*, as the *French* expected, just stopped a league above it, to land some prisoners, and proceeded to *Isle Avache*, where the inhabitants just gave them time to burn two or three houses.

This attempt could scarce be considered in any other light than a bravado. But *Ducasse* soon after received certain notice that a considerable armament was preparing against him in *England*, and speedily expected at *Jamaica*. This intelligence gave him great uneasiness, as all his Freebooters were gone upon a cruise. Besides, the *English* had two frigates cruising between *Port de Paix* and *Petite Guave*, which entirely ruined the trade of his colony; and to complete his misfortune, the first of *May* a *Danish* vessel, dispatched from the island of *St Thomas*, arrived at *Leogane* with advice, that five large *Spanish* ships, full of people, were arrived at their island; that two others had failed by in sight of it without stopping; and that six men of war, 15 merchant ships, and two bomb ketches had been seen to put to sea from *St Christopher's*.

So powerful a confederacy was not however the thing that gave *Ducasse* the most uneasiness. He was at a loss to know, if the forces would join to act together, or if the two nations would attack him separately; and in case they united, where the cloud would break. In this uncertainty, he at last resolved to remain at the *Cul de Sac*, and though he had but 500 men to defend an extent of 20 leagues, he detached 100 under the command of *Bernanos* to reinforce the garrison of *Port de Paix*, of which this officer was Major, and sent orders by him to *de Graff* and *de la Boulaye*, the first, governor of *Cape François*, and the other, of *Port de Paix*, that if *Cape François* should be attacked, *Bernanos* should repair to it with his detachment; and if the *Spaniards* appeared by sea and land at once, Captain *Girardin* should march out to oppose their landing, while his Lieutenant, the Chevalier *du Lion*, remained in the fort to command the batteries; and that *de Graff* should oppose them by land, prepare ambuscades every where to receive them, dispute the ground inch by inch, by means of good intrenchments, and thus make a fighting retreat to the town, where it was thought he could not be forced; that in case however this misfortune happened, he should nail up or burst his cannon, set fire to his powder, and repair with as many men as he could to *Port de Paix*. The orders given to *Boulaye* were to the same purpose; and as these two officers had under them most of the forces of the colony, *Ducasse*, whom the *English* kept in constant awe on the side of the *Cul de Sac*, flattered himself, that these two important posts would make a vigorous resistance, from the situation of the roads, the inundations of the adjacent rivers, and the resoluteness of the inhabitants, who came

very

1695.
English and
Spaniards
prepare to at-
tack the
French colo-
ny of *St Do-*
mingo.

Ducasse pro-
vides for his
defence.

very ready and well prepared to defend the intrenchments and batteries to the last extremity.

At length, on the fifteenth of *July*, the allied fleet, composed of twenty two sail, eight of them *Spanish* men of war, with 4000 land forces on board, entered the bay of *Manzanille*, and were joined by 2000 men, sent by the president of *St Domingo*. *De Graff* gave immediate notice of their appearance to *Boulaye*, who dispatched *Bernanos* to him with 130 men, which detachment set out the 18th and arrived the 21st. Some parties had also taken the field to observe the enemy's motions, and on the 27th one of these parties came to inform *De Graff*, that they had made their appearance in the *Savannah of Limonade*. On this, he immediately detached four troopers to reconnoitre them, who finding them encamped on the same spot, where *De Cussy* had been so lately defeated, stayed a full half hour to observe them. The enemy's advanced guard perceiving the troopers, gave notice to the main body, now within cannon shot of the first intrenchment, which *De Graff* had thrown up in a place called *le Fosse de Limonade*, and probably intended to take time enough to reconnoitre it thoroughly.

Allied fleet arrives with land forces.

But *de Graff*, who had already lost eight days in the most unaccountable inaction, tho' he knew the enemy were so near an intrenchment, in the attack of which the greatest part of them might have been killed, idly spent the remainder of the day in deliberating on choice of measures, as if he could do any thing better than wait for their coming; and at last, hearing that two large bodies of *Spaniards* lay hid in the woods, in order to cut off those who might be sent out a second time to gain intelligence, he resolved to withdraw his troops from this first intrenchment, and accordingly marched them that very evening into another intrenchment, that he had thrown up at the source of the river, called *du haut du Cap*, which defended the only road, by which the enemy could advance.

Ill conduct of *de Graff*.

The enemy's fleet had approached the point of the Cape, at the same time that the land forces appeared in the plain, and kept a constant firing all the afternoon of the 27th. But the cannon of the place being better served than those of the ships put a stop to their proceedings; and, as soon as night set in, the fleet weighed and came to anchor again without the harbour. *De Graff* repaired very early, in the morning of the 28th, to the intrenchment, just now mentioned, with all the men he could assemble, being at most 300, and set about fortifying himself there, and for that purpose sent to the Cape for four one and two pounders.

Fleet cannonades *Cape Francois*.

The *Spaniards*, in the mean time, took possession of the post he had abandoned, and were quite astonished to find themselves so easily masters of it. *De Graffe*, by his unaccountable indolence and want of spirit, on this important occasion, lost the confidence of his troops, so that he was no longer obeyed, and nothing could be observed but a predominant and universal terror. The enemy no longer meeting with opposition in the plain, set fire to the nearest plantations, and then advancing to the sea side, burnt a parcel of huts they had observed there. The flames serving for a signal pre-concerted with the commanders of the fleet, eighteen long boats approached the spot, where the huts had stood, while two others made their appearance in the port, where they took soundings, and landed some men in spite of the batteries.

Spaniards possess an abandoned intrenchment.

The Cape was garrisoned by 250 militia, a company of infantry, and one of Negroes. Captain *Girardin*, who commanded there, had disposed his intrenchments along the shore judiciously enough to obstruct the enemy's landing, and *de Graff* had for that purpose detached a company of militia to support him. As for himself, he considered his security in his intrenchment at the source of the river *du haut du Cap*, so much the greater, as the enemy was under a necessity of forcing two other intrenchments, before they could approach him. But the troops in these intrenchments did not give the enemy the trouble of attacking them, but abandoned them without orders, and marched to reinforce *de Graff's*, where they did less good, by increasing the number of his forces, than mischief by their bad example, and the panick they brought with them; their retreat besides laid open to the enemy all the *Morin* quarter.

Fleet lands men.

Two other intrenchments quitted

The afternoon of the same day, their long boats joined the ships already under sail, and the whole fleet came to an anchor at the *Bande du Nord*, on the shelves of the *Petite passe du Port*, from whence it detached four vessels to cannonade the battery, but the *Chevalier du Lion* soon obliged them to retire, and two of them were greatly damaged in the undertaking. Next morning, the rising sun discovered six long boats running along shore, in order to make a descent. *Girardin* upon this sent out twenty men

Proceedings of the fleet.

to oppose their landing, in which they succeeded the more easily, as the place, where it was attempted, was full of rocks.

De Graff's measures for opposing the land forces.

Bravery of an officer.

The land forces were all this time marching forward, and had already reached the *Petite Anse*, on which *de Graff*, who no longer doubted of the conjunction of the forces, which the fleet had put ashore, with those that came by land, with a design to attack him, resolved to unite his own likewise in a body to receive them. With this view, on *Saturday* the 28th, about ten in the evening, he sent an express to *Girardin*, with orders in writing for him and the *Chevalier du Lion*, to abandon the town and batteries, leave the cannon under the care of the officer who commanded the Negroes, and repair immediately to his quarters, with the whole force under their command. *Girardin* immediately obeyed, but *du Lion* answered, that the king's batteries were not to be deserted in that manner. *De Graff* replied, that he approved his reason, and ordered him to defend the passes to the utmost, and if he found himself under a necessity of retreating, to nail up the cannon, and blow up every thing. Thus *du Lion* remained with thirty three men, firmly resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, though without hopes of being able to make a long resistance, after the retreat of *Girardin*, and the evacuation of the town.

Fleet lands men.

French retire after blowing up and abandon the forts and batteries.

Intrenchment at the source of the river abandoned.

Sunday the 29th, about ten in the forenoon, the enemy's fleet approached the batteries, in order to cannonade them, and about four in the afternoon, taking the advantage of a great storm, detached their long boats to make a descent at the same place, where the evening before they had attempted it in vain. There was now nothing to oppose them, and they put on shore 300 men, who took their march by the hills to seize upon the batteries. *Du Lion*, discovering their motions, sent out six men to meet them, and fire upon them from behind the trees. But all he intended by this, was to amuse them a while, and so gain time to burst his cannon, and set fire to his powder. He then made his men file off, and remained alone in the batteries, where he had made proper dispositions, by trains of powder, to blow up every thing the moment the enemy should appear, on his side of the hills. But unhappily a small rain intervened, which threatened to break all his measures; however, as soon as he discovered the hostile troops within musket shot, he set fire to his trains. The powder magazine and the cannon blew up, but no more than three pieces were burst; the rest were only dismounted and buried in the earth, where he nailed them up. He then set fire to the magazine in the town, and about ten in the evening set out to join *de Graff*. Though pursued in his march, he arrived at the intrenchment without losing a single man. *De Graff* then told him, that he had held a council, before he left orders for abandoning the fort and batteries, and that the loss was only of 20 cannon.

Sunday morning, two hours before daybreak, advice being received that the *English*, who had landed at the Cape, were advancing with a view of putting the *French* between two fires, a resolution was taken to abandon also the intrenchment at the source of the river *du haut du Cap*, though very strong, and, in consequence of the junction of different bodies, actually defended by 900 men, well provided with every thing for making a vigorous resistance. The commander's intention was to march and post himself at the *Morne rouge*, but most of his forces having deserted him, he retreated with the rest to the *Salt river*, about a league and half distant from the *Morne rouge*; and immediately gave orders to *Girardin* and *du Lion*, to repair with their company to *Port de Paix*, where Major *Bernanos* was already arrived.

A descent made with 500 men.

Saturday, *June 4*, *Girardin* and *du Lion* arrived at *Port de Paix* in a canoe which they had found at *Port Margot*, and the enemy's fleet, reinforced by a ship and two barks, anchored in *St Louis's* quarter, three leagues and a half to the west of *Port de Paix*, in a road which had hitherto been looked upon as impracticable, and to this their boldness, *Ducasse* in some measure ascribed the success of all their future attempts. About two, all the ships began to fire to facilitate the descent, and about four, eight long boats, carrying 500 men, struck off a small cannon shot higher to land them. *Bernanos*, who commanded in this quarter, had posted an officer with six or seven men at the place where the descent was expected; and this officer with his little detachment behaved so well, that all the attempts made by the boats, during the space of 24 hours, proved ineffectual, till at last he happened to receive a wound, which so disheartened his men, that he was obliged to retreat. *Bernanos*, who had set out to support him, was likewise deserted by all his men, and therefore obliged to make the best of his way to a height in order to rally them; but in the mean time the 500 men landed without any further opposition.

The

The 18th, two *English* and one *Spanish* ship got under sail, with two barks, and ran along the creeks, to find some spot proper to make another descent, and put *Bernanos* between two fires; but *Paty*, lieutenant of the *Niceville* company, though he had but 30 Negroes under his command, used his small arms to such good purpose till the 20th, that the enemy, after firing upwards of 1200 cannon shot, were obliged to return to *St Louis* without their errand. In the mean time, the 500 men, who had landed near *St Louis*, made themselves masters of the town, and then dispersed themselves over the neighbouring country to pillage the plantations. After this they marched in quest of *Bernanos*, who had rallied some of his men, and taken post by a little river within half a league of *St Louis*; but he defended himself so well, that they were at last obliged to retire with loss.

The *Spaniards*, who were come by land from *San Domingo*, and the *English*, who had landed at the Cape, did not meet with the least resistance in that quarter. *De Graff* disappeared, as soon as the intrenchment at the head of the Cape had been deserted, nor did a single man oppose the enemy in a country, where, at every step, ambuscades might have been thrown in their way, so that now they had it in their power to ravage and plunder every where at discretion. The Cape and all the neighbouring plantations were reduced to ashes; some of the inhabitants, who happened to be surprised, were put to the sword; and a few Negroes, and some women, were made captives. Among the latter was a *French* lady, whom *de Graff*, then a widower, had married some time after he left the Freebooters; and he had two children by her, who fell into the enemy's hands with their mother. Her name was *Anne Dieu-le-veut*, and she was one of those heroines, whom the colony of *St Domingo*, in its infancy, used, as I said, to produce in great numbers. One day, pretending to have received an affront from *de Graff*, she came up to him with a loaded pistol to bring him to an account for it; and this action had so much merit in his eyes, that he thought the amazon worthy of him, and immediately married her.

Land forces
burn and
plunder at
discretion.

A *French* heroine.

The enemy seeing no more of this officer, whose name alone had for a long time been a bulwark to *Cape François*, resolved to push their conquests as far as possible, and set out for *Port de Paix*, where their fleet was already arrived. There are two roads from *Cape François* to *Port de Paix*, one about 20 leagues, and the other 27, and both very bad, but the longest is the easier. In both are many situations, where it was very easy to destroy an army of ten thousand men. The enemy divided themselves into two bodies, thinking by such a separation to facilitate their march. The *English*, it seems, marched along the sea coast, which was the shortest road, and plundered *Port Margot*, which lay in their way. The *Spaniards* took to the inland road, called the road of *Plaisance*, from a steep mountain of that name, over which it passes. Both armies had no obstacles to contend with, but such as nature threw in their way, though even these were much greater than they had foreseen, and multitudes died of mere fatigue, especially of the *English*, who were not so well used to marches of this kind. 'Tis even pretended, that many of them perished by the malice of the *Spaniards*, who had contracted a mortal aversion to them.

Forces march
for *Port de*
Paix.

The enemy's fleet had been six or seven days before *St Louis*, when the *Spaniards*, who marched by *Plaisance*, were discovered at seven or eight leagues distance from *Port du Paix*. The news of their approach was immediately brought to the fort, where *Boulaye* was no longer to be found. Hence the command in chief devolved upon Captain *de Niceville*, who immediately held a council to deliberate, if it was not proper to send *Dantze*, judge of the place, who now acted in the capacity of Aid Major, to take possession of an intrenchment thrown up at a place, called *the three Rivers*, three leagues from the fort, where the enemy must be obliged to pass. In the mean time *Boulaye* arrived from his plantation, where he had been at more pains to put every thing in proper order, than at his fort. This gentleman was a mere novice in the art of war, and had conceived, that the woods were the best fortifications against the enemy; wherefore it was much against his inclination he shut himself up in his fort, which he accordingly deserted the very first opportunity. He approved however of *Niceville's* opinion, upon which *Dantze* set out with 50 or 60 pick'd men. *De Paty* was detached at the same time with an equal number of whites and blacks, to defend another intrenchment, which lay in the way of the *English*. These orders were given the 20th.

Ill conduct of
Boulaye.

The next day however, before daybreak, the allies landed a body of men without the

Allies land
troops.

Losses thro'
Boulaye's, ill
management.

the least resistance. These troops immediately set out by land, while the long boats continued their route along the coast, both with a view of forcing the intrenchment defended by *de Paty*. But the cannon of the fort having obliged them to fall back, they contented themselves with committing some ravages, and afterwards encamped almost within ordinary cannon shot of the intrenchment. *Boulaye*, on notice of this, immediately sent to recal *Dantze*; and this odd step was resolved and taken without deliberating on its expediency. *Paty*, on his side, still continued to make a good show of defending himself, and even detached four brave fellows to attack the enemy's advanced guard, which they forced, though it consisted of 20 men. Major *Bernanos* having joined him after this, with as many of his men as he could rally, these two officers began to flatter themselves with preventing the junction of the *English* and *Spaniards*, when, on *Thursday* the 24th, they had also the mortification of being recalled by *Boulaye*, whose incomprehensible behaviour was a bad omen of preserving the place; and accordingly, three fourths of the inhabitants, who had taken shelter there, immediately retired. The very next day, the enemies effected their junction, the *Spaniards* having, immediately after *Dantze's* retreat, passed the intrenchment, which they never could have forced, because the river had overflowed its banks, and the scarcity of provisions they had suffered five days together, would not have permitted them to stay till it had abated. But the same infatuation, which had induced *de Graff* to abandon the Cape, the batteries, and the intrenchments, had at this time taken possession of *Boulaye*; whence, had these two commanders conspired to deliver to the enemies the posts committed to their care, they could not have done it in any other manner.

Allies arrive
before *Port de*
Paix.

The 23d, the combined fleet anchored at *la Caye Vinaigre*, two leagues from the fort, and the long boats having attempted to land some forces at a place called *l'Anse des Peres*, where an intrenchment had been thrown up, were obliged to draw off without effect. *Dantze* had been detached at the head of 100 men to defend this post, which was of great importance. But the night following, almost all his men having deserted him, he was under a necessity of abandoning it to the enemy, who immediately took possession of it, and retired to the fort. The 25th, the *Chevalier du Lion* received orders to burn the town, which he executed, and the 26th, at ten in the morning, two drums, an *English* and a *Spanish*, came to summon the commander to deliver up the fort, threatening, if he refused, immediately to surround it with batteries, and give no quarter, if he waited to be forced. The commander answered the summons as became him, and the messengers withdrew. In the evening an *English* carpenter deserted to the fort, and reported that the enemy was resolved to remain there six months rather than renounce their designs against it. It is however probable, that they would have miscarried in spite of all their resolution, had they to deal with a brave and experienced officer. We have already given a description of this place. It was now garrison'd with 500 men, and well supplied with every thing necessary to make a vigorous defence; but the King's authority was unluckily fallen into hands without either skill or courage sufficient to make the proper use of these advantages, on so important an occasion.

Ducasse prevented from
marching to
the relief of
Port de Paix.

Ducasse received the disagreeable news of these transactions at the *Cul de Sac*, where he was himself under continual apprehensions of being attacked by all the forces of *Jamaica*, for it was reported that a powerful reinforcement was already arrived there from *England* for that very purpose. He thought proper, however, to express a desire of setting out immediately with 20 men, in order to throw himself into *Port de Paix*, or endeavour to rally such of the inhabitants, as had retired to places, which they believed inaccessible. But having assembled a council of war to acquaint them with his intentions, there was not a single man in it that did not oppose them. They made him sensible, that in all appearance he never would be able to succeed in either of his designs; that it would be an easy matter for the enemies to cut off his retreat, in which case he must infallibly perish or surrender, considering how small his force was; and that, though he escaped death or captivity, he would at least run the hazard of seeing all his quarters attacked at once, without power to assist any of them with his presence. And, in the last place, that in the present state of affairs, *Leogane*, which might be regarded as the most important quarter of the colony, was his proper station. He had himself foreseen all these inconveniencies before he made the said proposal, but he thought it his duty, by making it, to prevent or silence the clamours of the ignorant; and deprive such, as would have been glad of a handle to accuse him, of every pretext
for

for saying that he had abandoned any part of his colony. He had lately been joined by 200 Freebooters, and had besides 1000 *Frenchmen* with him, and 100 Negroes, who all promised to defend themselves to the last extremity. All the posts were secured by good intrenchments; but as he had no experienced officers left to second him, except *Deslandes* and *Beauregard*, the first of whom he sent to the *Petite Riviere*, and the second to *Petit Guave*; after he had divided his forces with them, he remained himself between both with a detachment of 100 horse.

1694.

In the mean time, the enemy, not meeting at *Port de Paix* with any obstacle to their approaches, seized upon all the rising grounds, that commanded the fort. The 29th they erected a battery of three eight pounders on the *Pointe des Pierres*. The 3d of July, another of three six pounders on the *Morne de St Ouen*. The 4th, another of three eighteen and twenty-four pounders on the *Morne de St Bernard*. The 6th, another of six eight and twelve pounders, on the *Morne de St Ouen*, nearer to the fort than the first, by 200 paces. The 6th, one of three eighteen and twenty-four pounders, on the point of the same *Morne*, and still nearer to the fort by 300 paces. The 8th they erected a battery of three mortars for throwing grenadoes; and the 9th, began to play three bomb mortars, which they had placed in a bottom behind the town. As they were constantly employed in cutting down wood for their batteries, and the noise of their axes was heard distinctly enough by the besieged, to let them know where they worked, the garrison at first fired some pieces towards the place, till *Boulaye* made them desist, with a view of saving the powder, which, he said, would be more useful another way. But unluckily the besiegers had no thoughts of saving gunpowder, for they never ceased firing from the minute their first battery was erected; yet, after all, they had not, at the end of fifteen days, made so much as a single breach, by which they could mount to the assault. They had indeed ruined a work, against which they had chiefly directed their fire; but the besiegers had time enough to repair every night, with earth and wood, the damage done to it in the day time, so as to prevent the besiegers from taking any advantage of it.

Siege of Port de Paix.

The fleet had passed before the fort the 30th of June, and had anchored above the *Riviere Salée*, in a place which had been before sounded by the long boats. Some *French* writers pretend, that the ships of the allies never dared to enter the port, and that having once advanced within point-blank of the fort, they were so roughly handled by the batteries of the besieged, that they were obliged to desist and retire. The same writers add, that the *French* made no use of their artillery, but on this occasion, and give two reasons for it, both which appear false to other writers. The first is, that powder was very scarce; the second, that it would have been to no purpose to expend it, the enemy's camp lying under cover of the very eminences, upon which their batteries were erected. But surely the destruction of these batteries was an object well worth the attention of the besieged. One thing, though equally unaccountable, appears certain, which is, that the besieged made no sallies, and, by this inaction, left the besiegers at liberty to send out parties which ravaged the country. The *Spaniards*, especially, better accustomed than the *English* to this kind of warfare, used to find out the most hidden retreats, and seldom returned to the camp without slaves or prisoners.

Singular circumstances relating to the besieged.

We are also told, that, after an uninterrupted firing for many days, the commanders of the combined forces besieging the place, concluding that the fort must be reduced to a very ruinous condition, sent, each of them, not only without joint consultation, but even knowledge, a herald to *Boulaye*, with offers of very advantageous terms, if he would consent to deliver up the fort to them; and that his answer was, that, rather than occasion any jealousy between the two monarchs, their masters, he would keep the place for the king of *France*, to whom it belonged. This resolution, they say, greatly perplexed the besiegers, who did not think proper to venture upon an assault, though they were every day losing great numbers by the excessive heats which then prevailed; that, in short, the misunderstanding between the two nations increased to such a degree, that the *Spaniards* began to treat the *English* with great haughtiness, and offered them a thousand insults and affronts; that the *English*, after having for some time endured this injurious behaviour, with an insensibility seldom discovered by them on such occasions, lost at last all manner of patience, and sought favourable opportunities of revenging themselves; that the two nations were even one day on the point of engaging each other, and were already drawn up in order of battle for

Governor's resolute answer.

Quarrel between the two nations of the besiegers.

1695
Resolution to
abandon the
fort.

that purpose, when the most sensible men of both parties at last opened their eyes in regard to the fatal consequences of a quarrel, that would put them all in the power of their common enemy, but found it a difficult matter to inspire the rest with the same sentiments, and suspend for a time their mutual animosity; that, in spite of all their care, this natural and invincible antipathy continued to show itself very visibly, and proved, in the end, the safety of the colony; that the *English* treated the *Spaniards* as a parcel of poltrons, whom they had always beat in the *Indies*; that the *Spaniards* abated nothing of that haughtiness which always sticks to them; that the diversity of religions, added to the little esteem they entertained one for the other, contributed to make the breach irreconcilable; that the *English* could not endure the hypocrisy of the *Spaniards*, whose religion they charged with all the odium of it; and that the *Spaniards*, on their side, considered as a duty of religion, and as something very meritorious, their aversion for persons, whom they never called by any other name, than that of heretical dogs.

Inhabitants
petition for
leave to re-
tire.

But this great animosity, upon which *Ducasse* had always depended, and perhaps a little more than he ought to have done, did not save the fort, in which there was still less good understanding than in the enemy's camp. So early as the 8th of *July*, all the inhabitants, in number 150, being so little used to be cooped up in a fort, and there exposed to a continual discharge of bombs and bullets, presented a petition to *Boulaye*, signed by every man of them, except their officers, for leave to retire; adding that, if leave was refused, they would quit the place in the night, without any farther ceremony. The commander's opinion of such a measure was well known; he did not scruple to declare publicly, that it was the colony's interest, that the forts and intrenchments should be abandoned, and every one left at liberty to provide for his own safety. We have already seen, that he was still at his plantation after the enemy had made themselves masters of *St Louis*, and were got within a day's march of the fort; and had not *M. de Paty*, though but a lieutenant, taken upon him to have an eye to every thing, no preparations had been made to receive the allies, when they appeared before it; ever since *Boulaye* had returned to the fort, he had scarce manifested his presence, but by the orders he had preposterously given; and every thing there must have been in the greatest confusion, had not *Bernanos* and *Niceville* taken the command into their own hands.

Renew their
instances.

Soldiers want
to capitulate.

Inhabitants
more clamo-
rous and mu-
tinious.

The inhabitants were all persuaded, that these two officers would never suffer the fort to be abandoned, and *Niceville* in particular had declared his resolution in the strongest terms. *Boulaye*, however, answered them in a manner, that left no room to doubt of his readiness to grant them their request; but as he did not explain himself clearly enough to be understood by them, their reply was, that they insisted upon retiring, and would retire that very evening. Upon this declaration, the commander caused all those who were of a different way of thinking to be put under arms, to favour the retreat of the others; but they immediately altered their resolution. The 11th they resumed it, as hastily as they had quitted it the day before, and the soldiers on their side desired to capitulate, threatening to do it without their officers, as the garrison of *St Christopher's* had done. To all this the commander said not a single word, and his silence served greatly to increase the insolence of both. *Niceville* was not so patient, but spoke in very high terms; however, it is said, he made no impression upon them, and that some of the mutineers had even resolved to assassinate him the day following; but a cannon ball, which carried off his thigh that very day, and of which he died in 48 hours, saved them the trouble of committing that crime. The 13th, several of the inhabitants happened to be killed, upon which all the rest, with their officers at their head, renewed their complaints, declaring, that the governor had formed a design to make them all perish in a fort commanded on every side, and where they could get no rest day or night; and that while they were thus cooped up in a place, where they could be of no service, the enemy was carrying off their wives and children; in short, that if the governor persisted in a resolution to detain them, they would all of them desert, one by one in the best manner they could. So much confusion, indeed had, perhaps, never appeared in any garrison, nor a more striking instance of the disorder to which want of spirit and capacity in a commander exposes his troops, when once they have perceived it.

Upon this the council was assembled on the 14th, where it was unanimously determined, that, since neither soldiers, or inhabitants, listened any longer to the command of their officers, it was proper to abandon the fort that very evening, sword in hand, after

nailling

nailed up the cannon, and taking proper measures for blowing up the magazines, where the powder and stores were lodged, and the fort itself, soon after their departure. In consequence of this resolution, every thing was given up to plunder, and *Boulaye* ordered the liquors to be spilt. Such a resolution as this, would have greatly mortified any other commander, for, as yet, he had but seven men of his garrison killed and eleven wounded. He had 530 left, including 150 armed Negroes, 8000 weight of powder, more than a proportionable quantity of musket balls and cannon shot, and provisions for three weeks.

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In the mean time, *Paty* assembled the company, late *Niceville's*, and *Lion* that of *Girardin*; and as these two officers had, in concert with *Bernanos*, resolved to attack the enemy's batteries, in order to besiege in their turn those, who should enter the fort, they immediately prepared to distribute provisions and ammunition to their soldiers. But these troops refused to accept of any, saying they did not want to abandon the fort in that manner, but only to capitulate. *Paty* provoked to the last degree by this mutiny, and seeing his serjeant at the head of the mutineers, immediately shot him through the head; *Lion*, at the same time, with his sabre, cut to pieces one of his soldiers, who had spoken intolently to him; and perceiving that his serjeant, at the head of the guard, had taken to a canoe, in order to pass over to *Tortuga*, he commanded to fire at him, and the serjeant was killed. The rest returned to their duty; but one of them, who had hid himself by the sea side, found an opportunity of deserting to the enemy, whom he informed of what was doing in the fort.

Mutiny of the garrison quelled with blood.

The besiegers had too much sense not to take advantage of this intelligence; and as they were besides informed, by what roads the besieged intended to attempt their escape, they speedily dispatched some forces to form ambuscades, and cast up intrenchments in the properest places to oppose their passage. These troops amounted to 1500 men, who, to avoid weakening the camp, were replaced by all the soldiers who had remained on board the fleet. These measures were all taken with the greatest diligence, and without the least suspicion of the *French*, since it was not known in the fort, that any of the soldiers had deserted. Hence no alterations were made in the plan already concerted, except that of wetting the powder instead of setting fire to it, on account of the wounded, whom it was not thought proper to remove.

Besiegers lay ambuscaded.

At eight in the evening the governor began to let out the garrison, without giving the word, naming any place of rendezvous, or even so much as marking out the road they were to take. By one the next morning they had intirely evacuated the fort, and the governor placed himself at their head, and began his march in the most irregular manner. The enemy had all this time directed their bomb batteries to the place at which the garrison was to issue, but without doing any other mischief, than wounding one soldier.

The fort abandoned.

The *French* had scarce advanced a few paces, when they heard the enemy hard at work on an intrenchment. Upon this they put themselves in order; *Boulaye*, *Bernanos*, and *Girardin*, placed themselves at the head of the garrison, with *Girardin's* company. Next followed 100 negroes, carrying the baggage. *Paty*, *Lion*, and *Dantzé*, with the *Niceville* company, closed the march; and 25 negroes, of those called *Mines*, were sent forward as a vanguard. After they had marched in this order about 300 paces, those at the head were fired upon by the *English*, and by that means had light enough to discover the lances of the *Spaniards*. At the same time a great many voices were heard, crying out, "Face about, let us gain the scarp of the fort." In vain did the officers represent, that the powder had been spoiled, the cannon nailed up, and that they were hastening to certain destruction; too many of them returned to the fort.

Garrison harassed in their retreat.

Boulaye and *Girardin* immediately vanished, and the day following, the former, who had slipped through a narrow road in the corner of a wood leading to the mountain, was safe in his plantation with all his slaves. *Bernanos*, left alone at the head of those that remained together, did nothing but run to and fro, encouraging his men to do their duty, crying aloud, "They are but a mob, we shall easily tread them under foot." Then, finding the officers, who commanded in the rear, firmly resolved to continue the march at all events, and having agreed on a rendezvous in case of separation, he returned to the front, where he performed prodigies of valour. The negroes, called *Mines*, fought likewise with great bravery, and the intrenchment was forced without any considerable loss. A little after this, the *French* found themselves surrounded on every side with lances and muskets; but the lancemen mixing with the *French*, could no longer make

use

1695.
Struggle thro'
an inrench-
ment and am-
bucade.

Bernanos, a
brave officer,
killed.

Fine retreat
of the *French*.

Archambault's pass.
La Crete des
Ramiers
mountain.

Alarm and
skirmish to
the disadvan-
tage of the
French.

Paty is
wounded and
puts himself
into the hands
of the *Spani-*
ards.

Distresses and
death of *Lion*.

Reflections on
this event.

use of their arms, or, rather, did not think proper to make use of them for fear of wounding each other in the dark, so that the engagement ended in a general struggle between man and man, and of course few suffered but some negroes, who, discovering themselves by their cries, were run through with lances. The *French* were but a quarter of an hour in getting clear of this ambucade, but their escape cost them very dear, for some of the officers of the rear, finding the front had halted, and hastening to know the reason of it, found *Bernanos* run through the body with three lances. As soon as he perceived them, he gave his hand to *Paty*, saying, "I am a dead man," and immediately expired. He was the bravest man the colony could boast, of and would alone have preserved the Cape and *Port de Paix*, had he been entrusted with the chief command.

After this sad event, *Paty*, *Lion*, and *Dantzé*, commanded by turns, and renewed the march in the most admirable order. Every man was armed with a good musket, and provided with powder for forty discharges, and many had besides a pair of pistols, and a bayonet. They marched four abreast, presenting their arms to the right and to the left, and making a continual fire. In this manner they passed through a third ambucade, and at last reached the banks of a river, where a detachment of the allies, to the number of 700, some armed with muskets, and others with lances, and all concealed among the reeds, intended to make their utmost efforts to cut off their retreat. But, probably, they discovered themselves too soon, since the *French*, to avoid them, filed off, and took their march along the strand; on this occasion they had for a guide one *Archambault*, who, at some distance, showed them a ford, where the water was but navel deep. The front first waded over under favour of a smart fire made by the rear, and in its turn covered the passage of the rest; and the loss upon this occasion was very insignificant. This ford preserves to this day the name of *Passé d'Archambault*, or *Archambault's pass*. Their conductor afterwards led them to the top of a mountain, called *la Crete des Ramiers*, or the *crest of wood pigeons*, where the rendezvous had been appointed, after they had passed the first ambucade.

They arrived here before daybreak, and a moment after their arrival, hearing something like a skirmish on the banks of the river, they imagined it to proceed from *Boulaye* and *Girardin*; but it proved to be the voices of some negroes, who were crying out, as loud as they could scream, *lancemen, lancemen*. These cries spread such a terror among the *French*, that they all immediately took to their heels; even the wounded, who were actually under the hands of the surgeons, collected strength enough to use their legs, and were followed by the surgeons themselves. *Dantzé*, who was one of the number, fled with the rest. But *Paty* and *Lion* after rallying about 50 men, *French* and negroes, marched up to the place whence the noise came, and routed the detachment, which, after all, lost but 8 men, whereas the *French* had 12 killed, and 3 wounded, and among the latter the brave *Paty*. What made the allies quit their hold so readily, was the baggage they had found upon the negroes, and which they had no mind to lose. As soon as they were retired, *Lion* ordered *Paty* to be removed to the post at *la Crete des Ramiers*. This officer had been shot through the body, and bled greatly at the mouth. *Lion* tore his shirt to pieces, and dressed him as well as he could, after which, at his own request, he had him removed to a little eminence near the *Spanish* camp, that had been discovered before daylight, where he left a man to take care of him. *Paty* immediately dispatched this man with a note to the *Spanish* general, to beg he would send, without delay, proper persons to bring him to his camp. The *Spanish* general no sooner received the note, than he dispatched his major to *Paty's* assistance. This officer, however, did not remain long in the hands of the *Spaniards*, but was six months a prisoner at *Jamaica*.

Lion, on his side, found himself almost entirely deserted, and in the most perplexing circumstances; and thus he wandered about a long time, without well knowing whither he went. At last he arrived, August 1, at *Leogane*, in a canoe, attended by no more than four soldiers and four negroes, with whom for many days he had subsisted upon nothing but roots. He died soon after, captain of the company lately commanded by *Girardin*, whom his infirmities had obliged to return to *France*. The death of so brave an officer must have been a real loss to the colony.

Such was, with respect to the besieged, the issue of this evacuation, which, however shameful in itself and in its motives, was attended with happy consequences to the colony. For, in the first place, had the castle been forced, the *French* and

1695.

and negroes, who might have fallen to the lot of the *Spaniards*, would have been entirely lost to the colony, whereas many of them were preserved to it by flight. Secondly, the allies lost a great many men by this step. And, lastly, it advanced the reputation of the *French*, by one of the finest retreats that could possibly be made, 200 *French*, (for there remained no more after the first ambuscade), having cut their way through 1500 *English* and *Spaniards*, intrenched behind rivers, which of course it was absolutely necessary to pass, and that, without losing more than twenty men.

To return to those who retired back to the fort, they were soon made prisoners in it by the *English*, who, the minute they had received notice of the garrison's intentions, concerted measures among themselves to take possession of the place, to the exclusion of the *Spaniards*. To conceal their design, they prepared to attack the *French* with joint forces; but, after the first discharge, on hearing a gun fired as a signal from one of the batteries, they detached themselves, and marched up to the fort with all possible diligence, and took possession of it without resistance. They then threw off the masks, and the *Spaniards* presenting themselves at the gates, were refused admittance. It could not be expected that, after so signal a breach of faith, the two nations should act in concert, or think of making new conquests. They agreed, however, well enough to lay waste all the neighbouring districts, where nothing escaped them. Neither was there any dispute in regard to the prisoners; the men were all delivered up to the *English*; the *Spaniards* were contented with the women and children, part of whom they sent to the *Havanna*, and afterwards to *San Domingo*. Among these last were *du Grassi's* lady and her children, who served to grace the triumphant entry of the conquerors into this capital, of which her husband had been so long the terror. She continued there many years, in spite of an agreement made at the peace for the release of prisoners on both sides; and it was only in consequence of reiterated applications, in the name of the court of *France*, that she at last obtained her liberty.

English take possession of the fort, to the exclusion of the *Spaniards*.

The allies retire; causes of their retreat.

The 7th of *July* the allies separated, to return each to their own settlements, to the great surprise of the *French*, who knew little or nothing, it seems, of the misunderstanding between them, and were otherwise persuaded, that they were not people likely to stop in so fine a career. But time has since discovered two reasons more for their not turning their victorious arms against *Leogane*, and the neighbouring posts: The first was, that all the prisoners had assured them, that a powerful squadron was every day expected there, under the command of *d'Amblimont*; secondly, they apprehended the Freebooters were returned, and that *Ducasse* was well intrenched, and in a condition to oppose them with 3000 men, whereas they had scarce 3500 left themselves, and of this number 1500 were *English*, who, besides being extremely harassed, as less accustomed to the inclemency of the weather, and the fatigue of marches than the *Spaniards*, were greatly disgusted at the pride and haughtiness of their allies, who, on their side, could no longer endure the *English*. Hence, had the *French* been able to assemble but a body of a thousand or twelve hundred men to oppose them, in these circumstances, in the Northern settlements, they might have easily taken, on the spot, their revenge for all the mischief their colony had suffered.

It was not known, at the *Cul de Sac*, what became of *Boulaye*, till the 28th of *August*; and nothing was heard of *Paty*, till a long time after. *Ducasse*, in a letter he wrote to court, the 30th of the same month, to inform the ministry of the transactions of this unhappy campaign, greatly extols this officer's behaviour, and protests, that he would with pleasure undergo three years labour, and even spill the last drop of his blood, to recover him. He fought like a hero, he says, and the good condition of the fort, when the enemies sat down before it, was entirely owing to his care and attention. It is hard to decide, whether these sentiments, and this testimony, do more honour to *Ducasse* or to *Paty*.

Ducasse's encomium of *Paty*.

One would be apt at first to imagine, that the *French* colony of *St Domingo* must have required many years to get the better of so rude a shock, whereas, if we may believe *Charlevoix*, the whole damage sustained, on this occasion, amounted to little more than the burning a parcel of huts, or two towns, whose houses were scarce better, the killing of some cattle and poultry, and the loss of about six hundred slaves of both sexes, whom the *English* and *Spaniards* carried off with them; for the *French* had but 200 men, in all, killed or wounded. This irruption, therefore, is compared, by the same writer, to those black clouds, which, breaking with a dreadful noise against the tops of mountains, form torrents, which, with all their foaming and impetuosity, leave

Loss of the *French* extenuated, by their writers.

1795.
Ducasse pro-
jects the con-
quest of the
whole island.

things much in the same condition they found them. Nay *Ducasse*, was so far from being either disabled or disheartened by this stroke, that he immediately proposed to the *French* ministry a scheme for driving the *Spaniards* out of the island, or, at least, totally subduing them, if they would send him but ten ships. And he spoke of this attempt, with as much assurance of success, as he could have done, when he brought home his victorious troops, laden with spoils, from the *Jamaica* expedition. "The principal strength of the *Spaniards* of *St Domingo*, he says, in one of his letters on this occasion, consists in our fugitive negroes, who, after they have been trained up by us to the use of arms, and become acquainted with all the secret recesses of the island, fly over to our enemies on the least discontent. Of this we had a proof at the siege of *Port de Paix*, where four hundred of them appeared in arms against us. Now the only method of putting a stop to this great evil, is, to take *San Domingo*, and this I engage to do with ten ships only, as the inhabitants of the colony are willing to risk their lives, and half what they are worth, to forward the enterprise."

English medi-
tate another
enterprise.

But while *Ducasse* was thus forming the project of a conquest, which, perhaps, appeared easy to him, merely because he judged it necessary, the *English* of *Jamaica* were meditating another blow against his colony. The inhabitants of that island, it seems, were greatly disgusted with the commander of the *English* troops on board the combined fleet, for not consenting, that the *Spaniards* should attack the Northern settlements, and likewise for not repairing to *Leogane*, where his allies proposed to join him with 1200 men; and they wanted to repair these mistakes.

Ducasse or-
dered to re-
move the co-
lony of *Santa*
Cruz to *St*
Domingo.

Ducasse gave himself so little uneasiness about their designs, which, in fact, were never put in execution, that he very calmly proceeded to obey some orders he soon after received from court, concerning the removal of all the inhabitants of *Santa Cruz*, to *St Domingo*, with a view of strengthening the colony of the latter. This, no doubt, had been a very good scheme, were the colony of *Santa Cruz* in a condition to subsist by itself, whereas nothing could be more wretched; and how was it possible for one ruinous colony to receive another equally ruinous? However, the king's orders were so positive, that the governors had nothing left to their discretion, but the means of executing them. Nay, the *French* king had so much at heart the total degradation of *Santa Cruz*, that the commander of the squadron, sent from *France* for that purpose, had orders to burn all the houses in town and country, ruin the harbour, and carry off, by force, such of the inhabitants, as would not come away by fair means.

State of the
colony of
Santa Cruz;
and effects of
its removal to
St Domingo.

This colony consisted of 147 men, with women and children in proportion, and 623 negroes. As they had little to remove with them, and the quarters to which they were to be transported had been lately laid waste by the *English* and *Spaniards*, they suffered not a little for some time after their arrival, in spite of *Ducasse's* early orders to the old inhabitants, to prepare as much provisions as they could of every kind, against their coming. And they had scarce mended their condition by the most assiduous labour, when such of them, as had been settled at *Port de Paix*, were obliged to abandon their new plantations, and to remove to the *Plaine du Cap François*, which, by this union, however, was, in process of time, restored to a very flourishing condition.

French settle-
ments in *St*
Domingo re-
duced.

This second transmigration was, in consequence of the king's giving *Ducasse* leave to put in execution, a scheme he had presented his majesty, as we have already seen, for uniting all the inhabitants of the *French* colony of *St Domingo*, in the *Plaine du Cap François*, and the *Ile Avache*. But as *Port du Paix*, on account of the neighbourhood of *Tortuga*, or *Tortoise Island*, lay so convenient to shelter the pirates, who then infested these seas, it was thought proper to leave a garrison there, sufficient to hinder them from making any use of it.

State of *De*
Graff and
Boulaye.

The reader may be curious to know, what became of *De Graff* and *Boulaye*, who behaved so shamefully during the last enterprise of the *English* and *Spaniards*; of the former especially, whose reputation alone had often proved one of the best bulwarks for the *French* colony of *St Domingo*. It was not, it seems, in *Ducasse's* power to displace them, so that they still continued to fill the posts, of which they had rendered themselves so unworthy. However, he sent to court an account of their behaviour, to which he added the suspicions the inhabitants entertained, of their having sold the colony to the enemy; which, however, he said, he did not believe, but rather imputed all their misbehaviour to their cowardice, though this alone, he thought

thought, deserved the severest punishment. But the *French* court, it seems, was of another opinion; for *Boulaye* was only deprived of his places; and *de Graff's* command by land, a service for which he was in the main but little qualified, exchanged for one at sea, which he perfectly understood. *Boulaye's* misbehaviour was thought to proceed as much from ignorance as cowardice, and *de Graff's* to be the result of absolute madness; and no wonder he should lose his senses, considering what he had to expect from the *Spaniards*, had he fallen into their hands.

The *English* of *Jamaica* still threatened the *French* colony of *St Domingo* with a new attack, and *Ducasse* received orders to be, if possible, before hand with them. But he had some time before so weakened himself, by the assistance he had given in men, and otherwise, to a squadron sent from *France* to distress them, though not in the way he proposed, that it was impossible for him to attempt any thing; and, what was still worse, few of the men he parted with on this occasion ever returned, on account of the havock made by sickness on board the squadron, which, after all, miscarried in the attempt upon which it was sent.

Few people, I believe, would imagine, that, amidst the flames of so furious and obstinate a war, as raged at this time between the *French* and *Spaniards*, the former should think of establishing a trade with the other in *America*. Yet the *French* ministry had resolved upon a plan for that purpose, and *Ducasse* had orders not to neglect any thing in his power to secure the success of it. The ministry, at the same time, desired *Ducasse's* opinion in forming a settlement upon some of the islands near the continent, where the *French* might carry on the same trade the *Dutch* did at *Curacao*. The governor's answer was, that, after having maturely considered the best methods of introducing the commodities of *France* among the *Spaniards*, he could think of no place better for that purpose, than the *Isle Avache*, which had an excellent port, very good roads for shipping, coasts well stored with fish, a fertile soil, good pasturage, and an extent of country capable of maintaining a numerous colony; but that, after all, it would not be so easy a matter to accomplish what was desired, considering the want of practice in the *French*, and the great aversion the *Spaniards* had conceived against them.

Ducasse was the more persuaded, that this last obstacle could never be surmounted, as he had received intelligence, that a design, which had been for a long time in agitation against the *Spaniards*, was soon to be put in execution, and, when effected, could not fail of making them implacable. This was the celebrated *Pointi's* armament against *Carthagena*, of which we think it not our business to say any more in this place, than that it was reinforced by *Ducasse* at the head of 1200 men of his colony, part Freebooters, and part inhabitants and negroes, who being cheated (according to *Charlevoix*) of their part of the great booty made on this occasion, returned to the city to do themselves justice on the wretched inhabitants, though after all they behaved much better to them, considering what they were, than *Pointi* had done. No good could be expected from acquisitions of this kind, but rather a great deal of mischief. And accordingly the *French* colony of *St Domingo* paid very dear, in the end, for the success of this armament; for besides what Freebooters, inhabitants, and Negroes were killed, or otherwise perished in the expedition, by sickness and famine, a great number were taken at their return by a combined squadron of *English* and *Dutch*, and never lived to return to *St Domingo*.

While *Ducasse* was out on this expedition, *M. du Boissy Raymé*, who was, by his absence, become supreme commander of the colony, having received advice that 300 Negroes were assembled at the *Quartier Morin de le petite anse*, he immediately set out with his major, at the head of only six troopers and two foot soldiers, and surprised the Negroes, 30 of whom, men and women, were secured. These wretches informed him, that the chief of this rebellion was a fellow, who four months before had murdered his master, and had now persuaded them to make a bold push, in order to rid themselves once for all of the *French*. The number of the guilty was too great to punish them all, which, besides, would have ruined several of the inhabitants. *Boissy* therefore thought proper to reserve all his indignation for the chief, whom the rest promised to give up; but when they came to look for him, he was not to be found, having taken shelter among the *Spaniards*.

The *English*, having separated from the *Dutch*, after their joint attack of the Freebooters, returning from the spoil of *Carthagena*, made what sail they could after the runaways; and, since they could not come up with them, resolved

1696.

weakened.

French ministry project a trade with the *Spaniards*.

Isle Avache fit for that purpose.

1697.
Pointi's famous expedition against *Carthagena*.

Revolt of the Negroes at *Cap Francois*
English surprised *Petite Guave*.

1697

to make themselves some amends by plundering *Petite Guave*, and had the fortune to surprize it July 8. They entered the town half an hour before daybreak; and *Ducasse*, who was in bed asleep, being soon awakened by the firing of a small guard, immediately ran to the fore windows of his apartment, and seeing the streets full of *English*, who were firing furiously against the doors and windows, he threw himself out of a back window, and by favour of some hedges gained a mountain a quarter of a mile distant; from thence he repaired to a house, that had been always appointed for a place of rendezvous on such occasions. Here he was soon joined by about 60 men, with whom, after they had armed themselves with what came first to hand, he marched down to the foot of the mountain, in order to unite his forces with those under *Beauregard*, who, on his side, had the good fortune of assembling more than one hundred, and had reconnoitred the enemy with 25 of them. The account he gave *Ducasse* was, that they were already intrenched; upon which it was resolved to attack them directly in their intrenchment. These two gentlemen, therefore, having put themselves at the head of near two hundred men, marched unobserved by favour of some hedges to the church, near which the intrenchment had been made. The forces landed by the *English* amounted to 950 men, but part of them only defended the intrenchment, which was soon carried. *Ducasse* forced the centre, while *Beauregard* was busy in attacking the head, which alone made any resistance. After this success, they both penetrated into the town, where their men were so terrified at the numbers of the enemy, that they soon deserted them. *Beauregard*, however, extricated himself with great bravery, and *Ducasse*, to avoid being taken, retreated with six or seven men, who stood by him, to a garden, and from thence back to the church; but soon sallied out again, in order to attack the other head of the intrenchment, and there post himself, if possible, till the arrival of the reinforcement he had sent for to *Leogane*. On his arrival at the intrenchment, instead of meeting any resistance, he discovered a great number of the *English* running towards the sea-side, with captain *Godefroi*, who had likewise saved himself in his shirt; but at their heels, with about 25 Freebooters. Upon this, *Ducasse* gave his men orders to fire upon the *English*, but to very little purpose, for they made such haste to their boats that they all escaped, except about 50, who, not having been so expeditious as the rest, found themselves between two fires, and were therefore all killed, or obliged to surrender.

Retreat with precipitation.

This precipitate retreat of the *English*, was owing chiefly to the misinformation of some *French* prisoners, their guides, who assured them they would not find forty men to oppose them at *Petite Guave*, whereas, when they saw themselves attacked on every side, and with so much resolution, they took it into their heads, that, if they remained ashore a little longer, they should have the whole colony upon their hands. And this suspicion was confirmed by the alarm-gun of *Leogane*, which was fired just at the moment they began to re-embark. The loss of the *English*, on this occasion, amounted, according to the *French* writers, to 49 men killed, 8 wounded, and 17 or 18 made prisoners; and the *French*, by the same accounts, had but 5 men killed, and 3 wounded; but the *English* burned in the town 42 houses, and carried off about 120000 livres in gold and silver. Of four ships, that happened to be in the port at the same time, they had not time to take one. Nay one of these ships sent *Ducasse* a reinforcement of 30 men, very well armed, and besides fired on the *English*, who, however, returned the compliment from the shore, and would have infallibly sunk her, had they been allowed a longer stay there. The *English* were scarce got half a league from *Petite Guave*, when *Page* arrived there from *Leogane*, at the head of 50 or 60 men, having, in less than three hours, marched six or seven very long leagues, through a difficult road, over hills and mountains; and, besides, the Freebooters dispersed all over the neighbouring plantations, were up in arms in order to repair to *Ducasse*'s assistance. But considering the weak condition by which the colony had been reduced by draining it of the 1200 fighting men, inhabitants and Negroes, besides regular forces, for the expedition to *Carthage-na*, none of whom were as yet returned, *Ducasse* would have found it very difficult to defend himself, had the *English* attacked him with more conduct and prudence.

Loss and damage on both sides.

1698st
French of St
Domingo com-
 plain without
 reason of the
Spaniards.

The *Spaniards*, on their side, continued their hostilities against the *French*, and treated all those who fell into their hands, with a severity and rigour unknown, as *Ducasse* in one of his letters complains, to the greatest barbarians. They parted hus-

bands

1698.

bands from wives, parents from children, and carried things to such extremities, that most of the *French* inhabitants of *St Domingo*, began to think seriously of retiring elsewhere. But, to examine things coolly, the *French* had no such reason to complain of the *Spaniards*, on this occasion, considering the treatment the latter received from the former at *Carthagena*. The *French* king, indeed, as soon as he heard of the misbehaviour of his subjects, dispatched one of his ships to *Carthagena*, with the spoils of the churches they had plundered there. But this restitution was not made, till some time after the complaints abovementioned; and, had it been made before, these complaints would still have been quite groundless, considering that none of the private effects taken from the inhabitants of that unfortunate town, contrary to the capitulation, and rules of war observed amongst all christian states, were ever restored to them, nor any of the authors of the shocking enormities committed there punished at all, at least in the manner they deserved.

While the *Spaniards* were thus harassing the colony by sea, the *English* thought proper to make another attempt against it ashore. For this purpose, they equipped four ships of fifty guns each at *Jamaica*, with orders to complete the demolition of *Port de Paix*; but, as the ships were preparing to land some forces for that purpose, a sudden gust of wind obliged them to desist. Three of them, however, got abreast of the town, or village, called *de la petite riviere*, and sent six long boats with orders to nail up the cannon in the intrenchment there, and carry off what vessels they might find in the road. But though the *English* had chosen the night for landing, two troopers, who were on duty, happened to discover them, when they were got within pistol shot of the shore, and, after firing twice at them, galloped as fast as they could to give the governor notice of their approach. Upon this the alarm-gun was fired, and the *English*, finding the place was not to be surpris'd, thought fit to retire without their errand.

The *English* attempt in vain another descent on *St Domingo*.

Early the next morning, *Ducasse*, having received advice, that a peace had been signed at *Ryswick*, wrote to the governor of *Sant Jago*, to give him an account of so important an event. And perhaps no letter was ever more seasonable, as five hundred and fifty *Spaniards* were already marched, by the mountains, into the plain of the Cape, and were just on the point of committing ravages, which the *French* colony was little able to prevent, when they were recalled in consequence of this letter. A month after this, some *English* and *Dutch* came to the governor of *St Domingo* with heavy complaints against the Freebooters, who, in spite of the peace, still continued to cruise upon them; and *Ducasse* thought fit to grant the sufferers the indemnification they required.

Peace of *Ryswick* puts an end to hostilities.

About this time, proper measures were taken by the *French* ministry, to make a solid establishment on the *Ile Avache*, not only because they regarded it as a place, fittest in itself for that purpose of any belonging to the whole island, but because they flattered themselves, that the people settled there might be able to carry on a trade with the *Spaniards* of the continent, as did the *English* of *Jamaica*, and the *Dutch* of *Curacao*. For the aversion of the *Spaniards*, to every thing which came from *St Domingo*, was greatly abated by the *French* king's sending back to *Carthagena*, as we have already mentioned, the spoils of the churches which had been plundered there; and the *French* hoped they should be able to efface entirely all that remained, by forcing the Freebooters, if persuasion failed, to turn their thoughts to merchandise or planting, and thereby putting a stop to their depredations. At the same time, an edict made to hinder the sending of indented servants to the *French* colonies was repealed, as tending to deprive them of inhabitants, without which it was impossible they should flourish. Another step taken to settle the *Ile Avache*, was the establishment of a company, called the company of *St Lewis*, or of *Ile Avache*, which undertook to clear and people that island, in consideration of their being allowed an exclusive trade to it for thirty years. This company fulfilled its engagements perfectly well, made grants of land, and advanced all the sums necessary on such occasions, by which, and especially by building a fort on a little island called *la Caye St Louis*, that perfectly secures its harbour, which is extremely commodious in other respects, this district became, in process of time, one of the most flourishing of the whole colony, though without any advantage to the company; on the contrary, this useful body found itself, at the end of twenty years of labour and expence, so far behind hand, that it thought proper to remit all its rights to the king,

French settlement on the *isle Avache* formed by a company.

1699. as though it was decreed, that all the *French* companies of this kind should ruin themselves, or ruin others. These rights were afterwards made over to the *India* company.

Ducasse's letter on the establishment of the company.

Ducasse had foreseen the downfall of this company, and his letter on this occasion to the *French* ministry, seems to deserve our notice. His words are "The company you have thought proper to form, for establishing a colony on the South side of the island, cannot but prove very advantageous to the state, by the expectations it raises of extending the cultivation of this island, and being able at the same time to carry on a trade with the *Spaniards*. But, after all, I very much doubt, if those who engage in this enterprize, are sufficiently aware of its importance, and of the immense disbursements requisite to make it succeed. The objects of it are more considerable than they imagine; nothing can be now expected in twenty years, whereas formerly, when the new settlers could begin with the cultivation of tobacco, they soon acquired a solid footing, on account of the facility of raising that plant, and the good price it bore. But at present they cannot turn their hand that way, and to make sugar, people must be rich, and have some stock to undertake indigo. Besides, where will the company find inhabitants? For contract servants soon die away, and it very seldom happens that any of them think of forming a plantation themselves, and, when they venture on it, they are soon disgusted by hard labour and indigence. In short, we are not to judge of the present by what is past; the prices of most things are greatly altered; the trade to be carried on with the *Spaniards* is not attended with all the advantages people imagine, but, on the contrary, with greater difficulties." By this time a great number of contract servants were arrived at *St Domingo*, but the colony was very far from deriving from them all the advantages the ministry proposed. For as the new comers could not put their hands to tobacco, of which the island was not permitted to export above a certain quantity, for which there were already sufficient hands, there was nothing for them to do. Besides most of them were vagabonds, picked up in the streets of *Paris*, who were sent off by force, and having never done any thing but beg, were utterly unfit for, and unwilling to do, any thing else. These people were therefore a dead weight upon the old inhabitants, many of whom were at a loss which way to turn themselves, while those, whose fortunes were made, began to think seriously of quitting the island.

Colony of *St Domingo* in-
commoded by
new comers.

Ducasse's representation
in behalf of
the colony.

To remedy these disorders, *Ducasse* wrote to the ministry, that it would be proper to let the inhabitants export all the tobacco they could raise, instead of leaving them at the discretion of the farmers of the revenue beyond a limited quantity; and likewise to grant them an exemption from taxes of every kind. And he made use of very strong arguments, to shew the good policy, as well as the justice of treating them in this manner. He urged, that as the colony lay at so great a distance from the mother country, and amidst such powerful enemies, the inhabitants were liable to great losses; that if they were not allowed some extraordinary favours, to make amends for such risks, and for having no trade open to them but to their mother country, they might be tempted to throw themselves into the hands of the *Spaniards*, or of the *English*, in hopes of both better usage and better protection. He added, that these favours needed not cost the king any thing, upon the whole, as he could lay in *France* what duties he pleased on goods exported to, or imported from, *St Domingo*, without being at any extraordinary expence, or giving room to any murmurs, by proceeding in that manner.

Instructions
to commis-
sioners re-
lating to its
trade and for-
tifications.

In consequence of these representations, and of others concerning the fortifications of the island, which were now in a very ruinous condition, two commissaries, sent this year by the *French* king to examine the fortifications, and every thing relating to trade, and the administration of justice in his *American* colonies, received particular instructions in regard to the *French* colony of *St Domingo*. They were instructed to acquaint the principal manufacturers of tobacco, that, in case they conformed to a memorial for its improvement, drawn up by the farmers of the revenue, and it could thereby be brought into request, proper care would be taken to promote the sale of it, and thereby create a greater demand for it. The growers of indigo were to be told, that the reduction in the call for that article was owing to the peace; and those of sugar, the cultivation of which was as yet in its infancy, were desired to take care, lest, by any neglect in the manufacturing of it, they

1699.

they should let it fall into the same disrepute with the *Martinico* sugar. But all this was but empty words, whereas the measures proposed by *Ducasse* were evidently to the purpose. As to the fortifications, the commissaries had orders to confine themselves to three places, and neglect, or rather demolish all the rest. These three places were, *Cape François*, the most exposed of any post in the island to insults from the *Spaniards*, on account of the neighbourhood of *Sant Jago*; *Leogane*, which included *Petite Guave*, subject to constant alarms from the *English*; and the Isle *Avache*, which the king, as we have seen, had granted to a company. A small garrison indeed was to be left at *Port de Paix*, to hinder pirates from taking shelter there; but, in process of time, new inhabitants resorted thither in such numbers, in spite of the king's former orders to the contrary, that it is now as populous in proportion, as any other quarter of the island.

About this time, the *Scotch* made their famous attempt to settle at *Darien*, to the no small uneasiness of the *French*, whose commerce and power in *America* it could not but greatly affect. Hence *Ducasse* bestirred himself with more than ordinary diligence, to prevent their getting any footing there. Among other things he wrote letters, and sent presents to the *Indians* inhabiting that isthmus, with many assurances of friendship and protection against the *Spaniards*, if they would use their endeavours to defeat the designs of the *Scotch*. He also wrote to the *Spanish* governors, that they might depend on his assistance to distress the new settlers, and make them sick of their undertaking. The *Spaniards* expressed great shyness at these offers, being probably as jealous of the *French*, as of any other power; but the *Indians* readily took the bait, as it may very well be called, since the *French* court, on the accession of *Philip V.* to the crown of *Spain*, left them to the discretion of the *Spaniards*, with only some promises to engage his Catholic Majesty to order, that they should be kindly treated. When war was afterwards declared between the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, and that of *Great Britain*, several of the *French* Freebooters, who formerly belonged to *St Domingo*, but had been settled at *Jamaica*, rather than be exposed to the necessity of carrying arms against their country, as they could not return to it, retired amongst these *Indians*, and are since become one people with them.

French alarmed at the attempt of the Scotch to settle at Darien.

The *French* and *Spaniards* were now joined against the *English*, in consequence of the settlement of a grandson to *Lewis XIV.* on the throne of *Spain*, as we just now mentioned, and the *English* attempting to place on it a branch of the *Austrian* family. The *French* pretend on this occasion, that, if the *Spaniards* had assisted them, as they ought to have done, all the *English* settlements in *America*, must have fallen a prey to their united forces. But the *Spaniards*, it seems, had not as yet lost all their aversion to the *French*, and imagined besides, that their new allies might in time become as formidable neighbours as their old friends the *English*; whereas the *French*, being persuaded that they should always have much less to fear from the *Spaniards* than from the *English*, never omitted any opportunity of assisting the former against the other. This year a superior council, or court of justice, was erected at *Cape François*.

1702.
French and Spaniards united against the English.

Before the inhabitants of *Jamaica* received any account of the declaration of war, Admiral *Benbow* was sailed from *England* with a fleet to ravage the coasts of *St Domingo*, or rather attack *Ducasse*, who was lately arrived here with a squadron from *France* in his way to *Carthagena*. The *English* fleet came in sight of the island *July 14*, but did not attack any place till *August 7*, following, and by this delay, gave the *French* an opportunity of making preparations to receive them. Hence, as the admiral for want of land forces could attempt nothing ashore, but by way of surprise, and the early notice the *French* had of his arrival, rendered a surprise impracticable, he thought proper to retire, after exchanging a few shot with their batteries at *Leogane*, and burning a man of war, and some merchant ships he found there.

Admiral *Benbow* destroys *French* ships at *Leogane*.

Admiral *Benbow* had reason to expect better success in attacking *Ducasse's* squadron, and therefore made it his business to find him out. He accordingly came up with him 12 leagues from *Santa Martha*, but was not fortunate enough to do him any great mischief; at last both fleets separated at the end of five days, without the loss of any ship on either side. Admiral *Benbow* steered for *Jamaica*, where he died soon after his arrival, in consequence of his having lost a leg during the engagement, and *Ducasse* made the best of his way to *Carthagena*.

Engages *Ducasse*, and dies of a wound.

In *December* following, the *English* squadron, now commanded by Vice-Admiral *Whetstone*,

1702. *Whetstone*, made its appearance a second time on the coast of *St Domingo*, and, after plying backwards and forwards for some days in small divisions, the better to amuse and surprize the *French*, on finding that all these motions answered no purpose, at last formed itself into two grand divisions, one of which, consisting of six ships, sent some long boats in the night to cut out or destroy a few vessels, that lay under the batteries of *Petite Guave*. But the *French*, having discovered them, when within a little way of their booty, plied their cannon and small arms so furiously upon them, that they had but just time enough to carry off one of the ships, and set fire to another. The other division, consisting of eight sail, had little better success; for having entered the canal of *St Mark*, it found nothing worth its while but three Freebooters, which were just come out of the *Artibonite* quarter; one of these vessels it took, and drove the others ashore, where the crews saved themselves. After this the two divisions joined, but came no more within sight or hearing.

A new governor of *St Domingo*. This year the *French* king, having appointed *Ducasse* commodore, gave the command of the colony of *St Domingo* to M. *Auger*, who had merited promotion by the noble defence he had lately made against the *English* at *Guadaloupe*, where M. *de Galijet*, who had commanded at *St Domingo* during *Ducasse's* absence, was named to succeed him, with liberty, however, to retain his present post, if his concerns at *St Domingo* should render his stay there more agreeable. The ministry at the same time intimated to this gentleman, that the government of *St Domingo* had been intended for him, as a recompence for the services he had done the colony there, while he commanded it in chief; but that his majesty thought proper to alter his resolution on that head, on account of the many complaints he had received of his behaviour to the inhabitants, which he ascribed to his great love of regularity and order, that hindered him from reflecting on the indulgence proper to be shewn to young settlers, who were to be taught their duty, before they could reasonably be punished for failing in it.

Indulgence due to young settlers. *Auger* was perfectly qualified for the trust reposed in him. He was born in *America*, and had lived there long enough to know what behaviour was fittest for an *American* governor. Nature had, besides, bestowed upon him the happiest talents for so important a trust, and he had early improved them by a pretty long slavery among the *Salletines*. In this school he learned meekness, humanity, compassion, and a constant readiness to serve those who stood in need of his assistance.

Qualifications of the new governor. The colony, however, was now become of such consequence, that the *French* ministry did not think proper to leave any longer all power, both civil and military, in the hands of any one particular person, and therefore named *Deslandes* chief justice, and, at the same time invested him with the power of intendant. This gentleman was as well qualified for this new place, as *Auger* was for that of governor; and, besides, they both agreed so well, that, though they died not many months after their arrival, they left the colony in a most flourishing condition.

A chief justice and intendant appointed. Some time before these gentlemen arrived at *St Domingo*, the colony had been considerably reinforced by the *French*, that had been drove a second time out of *St Christopher's*. These new comers were not only, for the most part, born in *America*, and therefore inured to the climate, but very sober and regular in their conduct, so that their example contributed, to polish this colony, more perhaps than even the prudence and activity of its new superiors; and this was one of the points which the *French* court had most at heart. *Auger*, however, after his arrival, recalled all the *French* Freebooters that were dispersed in other places, and received orders from court to engage, if possible, the inhabitants of *St Domingo* to imitate the *English* of *Jamaica*, who, for some time past, made only use of barks in their armaments. But probably the Freebooters, who were most of them settled among the *Indians* of the *Sambres* and *Bocator*, as above-mentioned, were, by living so long ashore, come to a sober way of thinking. And as to the armaments the *French* court seemed to encourage, they were intended to employ usefully, in keeping the enemy at a distance from the coasts, the vagabonds, and young people, whose laziness or levity might make it very difficult to employ them ashore to as good purpose.

Ecclesiastic regulations. About this time too happened some alterations in the spiritual government of the *French* settlements on this island. In the beginning, as soon as a parish was formed, the first approved priest, whether regular or secular, that presented himself, was put into possession of it. But, in process of time, most of the parishes of the northern districts fell into the hands of the Capuchins, and those of the western districts into the

the hands of the Dominicans. The Capuchins at last, finding that the climate did not suit their way of life, and that they buried a great number of their brethren, applied to the king for leave to retire; and his majesty having granted their request, the Jesuits were put in their places. The company of *St Lewis* had obtained leave to name curates to the parishes within their concessions; but, since that body thought proper to resign its rights into the king's hands, the Dominicans have taken possession of all the parishes on the south side of the island.

1706.

In 1706 M. *d'Iberville* arrived at *St Domingo*, and, having formed a design upon *Jamaica*, thought proper to enquire, what assistance the colony could give him for that purpose, and found 1500 men, capable of any land service. But death put an end to his projects, and gave the *English* an opportunity of ruining the trade of the *French*, by confining themselves to the capture of their ships, against which the land forces of the island could be of no service. For this reason, the Count *de Choiseul*, who succeeded *Auger*, no sooner arrived at *St Domingo*, than he began to think seriously of pursuing the project formed by his predecessor, to revive Freebooting, and represented it to the court, as the only means of retrieving the commerce of the island. The ministry having approved his views, sent him proper powers to execute them; and he no sooner received these powers, than he dispatched a gentleman to *Carthage*, with orders to publish an amnesty for such of the Freebooters, as had retired to the *Spanish* territories; meaning, it is probable, those who still remained at the *Sambres*, and at *Bocator*. The like was done in regard to those, who had taken shelter among the *English*, most of whom returned home, and as many as did, were punctually paid their share of the plunder of *Carthage*, and reinstated in all their privileges. Hence, nothing was now wanting to the *French* of *St Domingo*, to take revenge of the *English*, but some frigates to protect their own coasts, while the Freebooters, animated by their good treatment, ravaged the coasts of *Jamaica*. But the death of their governor, who was soon after mortally wounded in his passage to *France*, in an engagement with some *English* vessels, rendered all their expectations abortive; and, before any measures could be taken to put his views in execution, most of the Freebooters, who had been gathered from all quarters, commenced inhabitants, and thereby proved of infinitely greater advantage to the colony, than what was at first expected from their return.

Measures taken to prevent Freebooting.

1711.

Freebooters commence inhabitants.

Peace seemed to be the only thing now wanting, to the *French* of *St Domingo*, to become, in a short time, a rich and flourishing people; and this blessing they soon enjoyed, in consequence of the treaty signed at *Utrecht* in 1714; but their joy was soon greatly allayed by a terrible misfortune. The year following, all their coco-trees, whose fruit formed one of the richest branches of their commerce, died away, except a few, which only survived one year longer; so that now there are no trees of that species to be seen, but such as are cultivated with great care in private gardens, where they are shewn as a great curiosity. These trees were first planted here in the year 1666, and were thought to yield as good fruit, as any that grew on the continent; besides, they multiplied so fast, that coco used to be sold, at the time this disaster happened, at 5 sols a pound. One inhabitant alone had 20000 trees, and his plantation was one of the first that perished. Not only this island agreed well with the coco-tree, but several tracts of land in the possession of the *French*, the mountains especially, are fit for little else. This amazing event has occasioned much speculation, but the cause of it seems to be as little known now as ever. There are many persons, whom it would be very difficult to persuade, that it did not happen in consequence of some incantations of the inhabitants of *Martinico*, who, not having stock enough to make sugar, nor land fit for indigo, bethought themselves of this, as the only method to put an effectual stop to the too powerful rivalry of the *St Domingo* plantations.

1714. Sudden decay of all the coco trees on the island of *St Domingo*.

1715.

The *French* in *Europe*, having declared war against the *Spaniards*, the governor of *St Domingo* thought himself the properest person to declare it in his island. For this purpose, he advanced halfway into the river, called *Du Massacre*, which was considered as the boundary of the *French* possessions on that side, and discharged a pistol. This new, or at least antiquated, kind of ceremony, served only to put the *Spaniards* upon their guard, for, as yet, they had heard nothing from *Europe* of the event that had given occasion to it, and desired nothing more than to live in peace with their neighbours. Some of them, in hopes of inspiring the *French* with more peaceable sentiments, had even brought back the negroes, whom the governor's denunciation of war had prompted to desert, in hopes of a kind reception, and who had fallen into their hands; but their example was

1718.

French negroes desert.

1718. not followed; and, at last, the president of the royal audience of *San Domingo* issued out his orders, for bringing in all the unrestored negroes, as confiscated to his Catholic Majesty, in consequence of the declaration of war made by the *French* governor. Many of these poor wretches he sent to the *Terra Firma*, others he kept in prison till they perished, and to the rest he granted their freedom. Some time after this, on the conclusion of a peace between the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, he received orders to restore all the *French* slaves that were to be found in the *Spanish* territories; in pursuance of which, he assembled a great number; but as they were shipping them, the populace rose, and set them at liberty. These negroes are, since that time, become very numerous; whence, if a war should ever break out between the *French* and *Spaniards* of *St Domingo*, they must prove dangerous enemies to the former, to whom, in the mean time, their establishment is prejudicial, as it is a strong incentive to their slaves to desert, and affords them a sure asylum when they have deserted. A long time before the war, of which we have been just speaking, broke out, the *Spaniards* had agreed with the *French*, to bring them back all the run-away negroes, for a reward of 25 piastras per head; but they observed this convention so ill, that the *French* had resolved, if the war continued, to use their utmost efforts to drive them out of the island.

Ordered to be restored.

Set at liberty, and become numerous and dangerous.

1722. Colony suffers by an exclusive privilege of the *India* company for furnishing it with Negroes

From the conclusion of this peace, nothing happened worth notice till the year 1722, when the *French* inhabitants of *St Domingo*, at all times enemies to any restraints upon their trade, saw themselves, in a great measure, at the mercy of the *French India* company. This body had obtained an exclusive privilege of furnishing the colony with slaves, which obliged them no farther than to a yearly supply of 2000, whereas the planters, about *Cape Francois* alone, required 3 or 4000 every year; so that many of the planters, had this privilege taken place, might soon have been obliged to desert their plantations for want of hands to cultivate them. Besides, as the inhabitants were not, as yet, acquainted with the nature of this new company, they had just room to apprehend, from their experience of most of the former companies, that, should it fail in its engagements, unequal as they were to the demands of the colony, it would be impossible for the sufferers to obtain an action for damages against it, on any of its members.

Another injurious privilege granted the same company.

About the same time, this company obtained another privilege, not less detrimental to the colony, than that just now mentioned. This was, a licence for exporting from the island all the goods it thought proper, free from duty: A privilege, which, at first sight, may appear to have been for the interest of the colony in general, by enabling the company to afford the inhabitants a better price for their commodities than they used to get heretofore, and even sell them the commodities of *Europe* at an easier rate than they used to give. But, as these duties were applied to defray the expences of the island, the inhabitants had all the reason to fear they should be saddled with some, more disagreeable taxes, to answer the same purpose. Besides, when the company had once ruined the importers and exporters of goods, or beat them out of trade, by overbuying them on the one hand, and underselling them on the other, and thus freed themselves from rivals, they would have it in their power to buy and sell at what prices they thought proper. And who could warrant, that they would not abuse so tempting a power, and so odious withal, let it be ever so moderately exercised?

Intolerable insolence of the company's officers.

These general and well-grounded apprehensions were greatly strengthened by the insolent behaviour of the persons deputed and sent by the *India* company to manage its commerce. They not only spoke of the inhabitants as subjects, or rather slaves to the company, but even failed in the respect due to the King's officers: A circumstance, which probably conducted not a little to their expulsion, since it can scarce be expected, that those in power should act vigorously in favour of other persons, invested with the sovereign's authority, who had not respected it properly in themselves.

The company charged with two other ruinous events.

Besides the abovesaid real causes of complaint, against the *India* company and its servants, the *French* of *St Domingo* had imagined to themselves two others. A good number of the oldest inhabitants of the colony had lately, it seems, been in *France* with vast quantities of goods, from which they promised themselves, not only to pay their debts, but also to enjoy a state of ease and quietness for the remainder of their days. But they had the misfortune to sell their effects for bank notes, and the sudden diminution of that imaginary treasure, impoverished them to such a degree, that most of them, after toiling 20 or 30 years in a scorching climate, instead of enjoying the fruits of their honest labours, found themselves, at the age of 60, under the sad necessity

cessity of becoming overseers and stewards to others. And this event was charged on the *India* company, which was supposed to have been the main spring of the iniquitous transactions that gave occasion to it. The other event was, the publication of an order received from *France*, some time before, to reduce the *Spanish* coins, and weigh them; which could not be done without loss to multitudes, and occasioning, for the present at least, some extraordinary confusion in trade; wherefore, the governor, intendant, and council of the island, very wisely deferred publishing it on its arrival, for fear of its occasioning a shock, which the colony was not deem'd strong enough to bear. But a new intendant, who arrived much about the same time with the *India* company's directors and clerks, happening to be of another way of thinking, brought over the governor to his opinion, and, unluckily, one of the letters to some of the subaltern officers of the island, enjoining them to proclaim the king's will, was written by a man, who was not only well known to be zealously attached to the *India* company, but, by having a post elsewhere, might be supposed to have gone to the place where the letter was wrote, merely with a view of soliciting it.

Things however remained quiet for some time, till the arrival of a Negro ship belonging to the *India* company, which, with others that followed it, occasioned such a ferment among the people, that the governor and intendant, after many violent commotions, in which the women had a principal share, and the sober inhabitants more than they cared to own, found themselves at last under a necessity of giving way to the storm, and granting the people all the concessions they required.

Insurrection
pacified by
concessions.

On such occasions, the inhabitants were generally called together by circular letters, without any names, but only the words *Liberty*, and sometimes *Colony*, under pain of having their houses burnt down about their ears. And these threats were so often executed, that none, who had assembled in consequence of them, could be deemed guilty; and as for the writers of the letters, and the incendiaries, they kept themselves so private, that it was impossible to discover them. These circumstances concurring with those of the *French* King's being declared of age about this time, and his receiving an account of these motions, made him resolve to put a stop to them, by merciful, rather than severe methods, but in such a manner, however, as to let the seditious see, it was not for want of power that fair means were employed. Wherefore, two gentlemen, commissioned to signify his majesty's intentions to the colony, were attended by a number of ships sufficient to reduce the rebels, and had orders not to grant any favours, till the people, by a perfect submission, had rendered themselves worthy of them. These prudent measures were crowned with the success they deserved. The people received the commissioners with the greatest testimonies of love and respect for their sovereign, and, knowing they were invested with a power to redress such grievances as should be complained of, in a decent manner, cheerfully suffered the edicts in favour of the *India* company, and concerning *Spanish* money, which they had heretofore so violently opposed, to be received as laws by the courts of justice. Upon this the commissioners published the King's pardon, out of which but four persons were exempted; two of whom were banished to *Old France*, and the other two, who had taken care to withdraw themselves, were hanged in effigy. They then proceeded to examine into the grievances of the colony, and finding their objections to the privileges granted to the *India* company, and to the edict for reducing and weighing *Spanish* coins, no ways exaggerated, very wisely abolished some, and mollified the rest, in such a manner, as could not but be very agreeable to the inhabitants. Of the persons banished, one was a lady, who, with sword and pistol in hand, and at the head of a number of Amazons armed in like manner, was the first to fall upon the company's servants, who were reported to have reflected, in a particular manner, on what they called insolence and pride, in the female part of the colony.

Manner in
which the se-
ditionary pro-
ceeded, toge-
ther with the
prudent mea-
sures taken to
suppress them

Since these commotions, no attacks have been made on the *French* of *St Domingo* by any other nation but the *English*; and as to what may have passed among themselves, neither their own authors, nor the travellers of other countries, furnish us with any thing worth the reader's attention. We shall therefore put an end to the account of this famous colony, by a survey taken of it in the year 1726, (being the latest we can find.)

The inhabitants, at this time, consisted of thirty thousand free persons, and one hundred thousand black, or mulatto, slaves. Of the first, there might be ten thousand capable

1726.
Number and
constitution of
the inhabi-
tants.

capable of bearing arms; and of the latter, twenty thousand could be brought into the field, without any great prejudice to their plantations or commerce. Some people pretend, that few persons in *St Domingo*, of those born in *France*, are ever free from an internal fever, which insensibly undermines their strength, and shows itself, less by any disorder in the pulse, than by a lividness of complexion, which they all acquire by degrees, some more and some less, according to the strength of their several constitutions, and their moderation in work and in their pleasures. In the beginning, none of those born in *France* lived to any great age, and there are very few very old men to be found among them, even at present. But the *Creolians*, in proportion to the removes from their *European* origin, become more and more healthy, vigorous, and long-lived. This proves, that the air is not, absolutely speaking, bad in itself, and that, to find it wholesome, nothing more is requisite than to be inured to it.

Character of
the *French*
Creolians.

The minds of the *French Creolians* begin to lose all marks of that mixture of provinces, which produced the first founders of this colony. It is even expected, that in a few years more there will remain no traces of the peculiar dispositions of those old adventurers, from whom most of the present inhabitants are descended. These are, in general, of a pretty good stature, and an easy temper, but somewhat airy and inconstant; open, hasty, proud, haughty, daring, and intrepid. They are said to be very dull of apprehension, and very indolent in affairs of religion; but it has been observed, that all their natural defects readily give way to a good education, which meets in them a very fertile and promising soil to exercise itself. The quality they inherit most entire from their fore-fathers, is hospitality. One would imagine, that this great virtue is to be acquired merely by breathing the air of *St Domingo*. We have already seen to what height it was carried by the *Indians*. Their conquerors, who were no way disposed to make patterns of them, immediately excelled in the practice of it. And it would be as absurd to think, that the *French* borrowed it from the *Spaniards*, since these were settled in the island, a long time before the *French* had any communication with them; besides, their mutual antipathy was too strong to suffer either to copy after the other. In short, the *St Domingo* Negroes themselves are remarkable for carrying this virtue to a degree, that is quite amazing in slaves, who are scarce allowed wherewithal to keep soul and body together. To say no more, hospitality prevails throughout all ranks of people in the *French* colony, in a surprising manner. A man may make the tour of it, without spending a farthing; he is not only very well received every where, but has money given him, if he wants it, to continue his journey. A man of any family is no sooner known to be in any distress, than you see a struggle between the inhabitants for the pleasure of entertaining him. They wait not for his taking those steps, that are so irksome to a man of any birth. As soon as they hear of his being upon the road, they set out to meet him; he needs not be under any apprehensions of growing troublesome, the longer he stays in a house, the more his company is liked by all the family. From the moment he has reached the first plantation on his road, he may make himself easy about every thing; Negroes, horses, carriages, all are at his service, and he is not permitted to set out again, till he has promised to return, if his affairs will permit him. The charity of the *Creolians* of *St Domingo*, for poor children who have no parents to take care of them, is no less worthy of praise and admiration. They are never left to the care of the publick; it is deemed a privilege, instead of a burthen, to provide for them. Their nearest relations claim the preference, and next their godfathers and godmothers; if all these fail, then the first family that can lay hold of the poor children, take them home, and behave to them, in every respect, as if they had been their own.

Hospitality
their grand
virtue.

Their charity
to orphans.

Great de-
mand for han-
dicraft work
at *St Domingo*.
Surgeons here
readily make
fortunes.

Money here is very plentiful, *Spanish* especially, for which reason most people keep their accounts in pieces of eight and rials. All sorts of handicraft or mechanic works are here held up at a vast price. Surgeons grow rich here sooner than any other sort of people; they are paid at a very extravagant rate, and set what price they please on their drugs; yet they are, for the most part, extremely ignorant. One of them having killed a lady whom it was thought expedient to purge, to prove his skill, and acquit himself of an intention to poison her, for of such he was accused, begged to be permitted to take the remainder of the medicine himself; the request was quickly granted, and the surgeon took his leave of this world in a few hours. This was a proof of his innocence, and perhaps a happy accident for the inhabitants, who are much troubled with putrid fevers,

fevers, which, if not fatal, end in dropfies or dysenteries fcarcely curable. The hunters enjoy the beft health, becaufe of their exercife, and change of air. The many maladies generated here are owing to feveral caufes; as, the heat of the climate, the ftagnant pools, the running ftreams corrupted with the waters let off from the indigo works, and the indolence and luxury of the people, who give themfelves up to intemperance.

1726.

This colony, fhould the inhabitants of it continue to multiply in the fame proportion as they have done for fome time paff, efpecially for the laft thirty years, may fuffer greatly by the cuftom, that now obtains there, of dividing eftates equally among children. In confequence of this practice, when all the lands have been once cleared and cultivated, the plantations will be fo divided and fubdivided, that they muft at laft vanifh to nothing, and all the inhabitants become poor and miferable; whereas, if the plantations were to remain entire in the hands of the eldeft fons, the younger would be obliged to take new ones; a thing they might eafily do with the ftock their parents could give them; and when no more wafte land remained at *St Domingo*, they could fpread themfelves over the neighbouring iflands, and even fuch parts of the continent as belong to *France*, or are as yet free to the firft occupier. In this manner, colonies would ftart up of themfelves, without any expence to the mother country. But the *French* have more lands in *St Domingo*, than they can expect to be able to clear in a hundred years; and, in the mean time, care might be taken to vary the commerce of it in fuch a manner, as to prevent its fuffering by too great a plenty of the fame commodities.

Imprudent
cuftom of di-
viding eftates.

Mifchiefs to
be apprehend-
ed from fuch
a cuftom.

Of all the places poffeffed by the *French* in the ifland of *St Domingo*, *Cape François*, which the *French* moft commonly call barely *the Cape*, by way of excellence, and the *Spaniards*, *Guarico*, is, without any manner of doubt, that where trade has always been moft flourifhing and extenfive. And this advantage it owes, as much to its happy fiteuation, as to the extent and fertility of its plain. This plain lies at the weftern extremity of the *Vega Real*, of which three fourths now remain uncultivated in the hands of the *Spaniards*. People are not agreed as to the boundaries of this plain; fome confine it to the five parifhes neareft to the town, called *Limonade*, *le Quartier Morin*, *la Petite Anfe*, *l'Acul*, and *le Morne rouge*; others give it for boundaries *la riviere du Maffacre*, or *Maffacre river*, to the eaft, and *la riviere Salée*, or *Salt river*, a little above *Port Margot*, to the weft. According to this opinion, which feems to be better grounded than the firft, it muft be about 20 leagues long; and, as to its breadth, it cannot be more than four leagues, being the diftance between the fea, the only limits it has to the north, and a chain of mountains, with which it is bounded, to the fouth. Thefe mountains, which are no where lefs than four leagues over, and in fome places eight, form the moft beautiful vallies in the world, watered by a thoufand little rivulets, that render them equally fertile and delightful. Nor are the mountains themfelves any way dreadful or difagreeable; few of them are very high, moft very habitable, and capable withal of being cultivated to the very top.

Description of
Cape François

The town of *Cape François* ftands almoft in the middle of the fhore, that borders the plain, and its port has been, for many years, the moft frequented of any in the whole ifland, as well on account of its fafety, as its advantageous fiteuation to receive fhips coming from *France*. It is open to no wind but a north-eaft, from which, however, fhips can receive no damage, its entrance being covered by rocks, which break the fury of the waves, and between which a fhip muft wear with great caution, not to ftrike upon them.

Port of *Cape François*.

The town of *Cape François* was twice burned by the *Spaniards* and *Engliſh*, but quickly rebuilt, the houfes being little more than ftakes drove into the ground, thatched with palm leaves, and palifadoed, amounting to about 300, divided into feven or eight ftreets, if they may deferve the name, being neither paved nor kept in any order, fo that they are always knee-deep either in duft or dirt. Nor is the parifh church kept in much better decorum; the people, in general, feeming to know little or nothing, but the name, of religion. The town has neither walls nor palifadoes, nor, from its fiteuation, is it worth fortifying, being commanded by eminences on the weft and fouth. The town and the harbour are each defended by a battery, badly placed, and worfe kept. However, here is generally maintained a fmall garrifon, on which the inhabitants place but little reliance, being moftly of themfelves ftout fellows, inured to blows. Here are two hofpitals, and a houfe built

Description of
the town of
Cape François

1726. by the Cordeliers, well situated, and commanding a delicious prospect. The country about is extremely pleasant, and abounds with plantations of indigo and sugar.

Road from *Cape François* to *Leogane*. There is a road lately opened from the Cape to *Leogane*, but few people chuse to travel through it, being very incommodious, and exposed to the insults of the *Spaniards*, on whose possessions, in some places, it touches. The safest passage is by sea.

Bayaba Port. Nine leagues to the east of *Cape François*, lies that of *Bayaba*, the largest in the whole island; it is eight leagues in circumference, and within it, opposite to its entrance, which is not above a pistol shot over, lies a little island, along side of which ships may ride close enough to touch it with their bowsprits. The *French* had already begun to fortify this port, and build a town convenient to it, and had placed a grand guard at it.

Port Margot. *Port Margot*, so famous in the time of the Freebooters, has likewise a little town, though it is no more than a simple road, where ships may anchor in about 12 or 14 fathom water, between the main land and a little island a league in circumference. Between *Cape François* and *Port Margot*, at no more than a league from the last, is *Port François*, which, though very deep, is but little frequented, as it lies at the foot of a very high mountain, and the lands about it are very barren.

Can de Louise, or *Port de l'Acul*. This mountain extends along the coast for four leagues, and has, at its western extremity, a very capacious and very deep port, to which the *Spaniards* gave the name of *Ancon de Luyfa*, and the *French*, by corruption, *le Can de Louise*; but it is more generally called *Port de l'Acul*, from the name of a parish in its neighbourhood. Ships may anchor here in about three fathoms and half, and the mouth of it is bordered by ledges of rocks. This port, and *Port Margot*, were called after two *Spanish* ladies, who had settlements there.

Port de Paix. From *Port Margot* it is but five leagues to *Tortuga*, opposite to which is *Port de Paix*, of which we have elsewhere given a plan, by which it appears, that this port forms a crescent, covered on the north, at about two leagues distance, by the island of *Tortuga*. The anchorage is good; but the west side of the bay is something dangerous in a north or north-west wind.

The town was not rebuilt, when seen by the author, from whom we have taken this extract, there not being then above twenty houses standing; however, from the ruins it appeared to be considerable before the war. Here is a much more commodious church than that of the Cape; the fort, which yet lies in ruins, having been destroyed in 1688, was built on an eminence, that overlooked the town; it had been about 450 feet long, and perhaps near 200 broad; on the north, it was, from its situation, inaccessible, being washed by the sea; on the east, it had a view of the town, was covered by a bastion, a semi-bastion, a ditch, a covered way, and palisadoes; on the west and south-west, it had redoubts and platforms, and the angle joining these sides was defended by a bastion, which the enemy's cannon had demolished; the whole fort, as well as the governor's house, on the left of the entrance of the fort, appear, from the remains, to have been well built, the masonry being very strong, and the work of the famous *de Cussy*. The enemy was obliged to undermine it, but it might be easily repaired; the offices and magazines, some of which are in ruins, and a few still standing, shew its magnificence, extent, and consequence; between these and the house, there was a place of arms; neither the guard on each side, nor the draw-bridge, were destroyed. Our author tells us, that there was a garden on the west, which, though long neglected, was yet the best and most beautiful he had seen in *America*. Near these ruins is an extensive plain, capable of being finely settled, and admirably improved, the country being well watered, and the earth bountiful, especially in bearing sugar, which requires not an over rich soil.

Port des Mousiques. The next port is *Port des Mousiques*, between two points, that streighten it greatly. Twelve ships may anchor here, in ten or twelve fathom water. A league farther

Port de l'Ecu. is *Port de l'Ecu*, or *Crown Port*, nearly of the same depth and capacity. From hence it is but six or seven leagues to *Mole St Nicolas*, or *St Nicolas's Mole*, at one side of which there is a haven of the same name, where vessels of any burthen may every where safely anchor, in twelve fathom water; but the country about it is poor and dry, though said to contain some mines of gold and silver, which is not impro-

The great bay of Cul de Sac. bable, the surface covering these metals being seldom very rich. Here begins a very large bay, more than 40 leagues over, and 200 in circumference; in it are many desert

1726.

desert islands, the largest of which is *Guanavas*, which has a good soil, better air than that of *St Domingo*, and, were it not for want of sweet water, is every way habitable. It is necessary for those who cruise hereabout, to know the road well, for it is interspersed with dangerous shoals.

Between *Cape François* and *Bayaba* is the *Baye de Caracol*, which, as we already said, is the *Puerto Real*, where *Columbus* settled his first colony. It belongs to the district called de *Limonade*, two or three leagues from the Cape. Three leagues to the east of *Bayaba*, is *Baye de Mancenille*, in which ships may anchor in four or five fathom water. *La Grange*, or the *Granary*, is three leagues further on, and three leagues beyond *la Grange* is *Monte Cristo*, at the other side of which there is a road, where ships may anchor in any depth of water from 7 to 30 fathoms; the *Spaniards* had once a town here of the same name. The ancient *Isabella*, which the *French* of *St Domingo* commonly call *Isabelique*, stood 12 leagues to the east of *Monte Cristo*; ships may anchor there in four fathom water. *Puerto de Plata*, or, as it is called in the *French* colony, *Portoplate*, is nine or ten leagues from *Isabelique*; and about thirteen or fourteen leagues farther is a point, which runs a great way into the sea, and to which *Columbus*, they say, gave the name of *Cabo Frances*. This point helps to form a bay, called *Baye de Cosbec*, in the center of which is a port, formed by a little island, where ships may ride in 14 fathom water. *Samana* lies ten leagues beyond this point. Let us now return to the plain of *Cape François*.

Puerto Real, or *Baye de Caracol*.

Baye de Mancenille.

La Grange, or *Monte Cristo*.

Isabella, or *Isabelique*.

Puerto de Plata, or *Porto Plate*.

Cabo Frances, *Baye de Cosbec*, *Samana*.

Parishes of the plain of *Cape François*.

This plain, if we consider it according to the greatest extent allowed it, contains twelve parochial churches, one for every district, and all lying within a league or two of the sea, for the greater conveniency of the inhabitants. The districts are, *Guanaminte*, *Bayaba*, *le Grand Bassin*, or *Great Basin*, *le Terrier Rouge*, or *Red Burrow*, *le Trou*, or the *Hole*, *Limonade*, *le Quartier Morin*, *la Petite Anse*, or *Little Creek*, *le Morne rouge*, *l'Acul*, *le Limbé*, and *le Port Margot*.* Some of them have already, and the rest will soon have, parochial churches in the adjoining mountains. To *Guanaminte* answers the new parish of *Jeannante*; to *le Grand Bassin*, *le Four*, or the *Oven*, whose church is to be built near *la Grande Riviere*, or *Great River*; to *le Terrier Rouge*, *les Perches*; to *le Trou*, *Sainte Suzanne*; to *Limonade*, *Baon*; to *Quartier Morin*, *Sainte Rose*; to *la Petite Anse*, *le Donjon*; to *le Morne Rouge*, *Jean Pierre*; to *l'Acul*, *la Marmelade*; to *Limbé*, *Plaisance*; and *Pilate* to *Port Margot*.

Few countries on the whole globe are better watered than this, yet it has not a single river, where midling boats may go up a league, or the tide rises above three feet. They are all fordable, not excepting even the river called *la Grande Riviere*, or *Great River*, which is 15 or 16 leagues long, and separates the *Quartier de Limonade* from the *Quartier Morin*. The most considerable rivers, next to this, are *la Riviere Marion*, which waters the district called *du Grand Bassin*, and that of *Bayaba*; the river *Jaguazi*, which runs through the quarter called *le Trou*; that of the top of the Cape, which divides the districts called *du Morne Rouge*, and *l'Acul*; that which runs through the district of *Limbé*, whose name it likewise bears; and that which empties itself into *Port Margot*. But this plain is more valuable on account of its fertility, than any other advantage, though some people pretend that it contains several kinds of minerals. We have already taken notice of *le Morne Rouge*, and mentioned the reasons for believing, that it contains a copper mine; at least, there is one of that metal at *Sainte Rose*, and another of loadstones at *Limonade*. It is likewise thought, that there is a gold mine at the *Grand Bassin*, near the source of the river *Marion*. To conclude, there are some little hills at the *Quartier Morin*, called *les Mornes Pelés*, or *Bald Hills*, because they produce nothing but grass and shrubs, though all the lands in the neighbourhood are covered with stately trees, and this baldness of theirs is looked upon as an infallible sign of their containing mines of iron. But the cultivation of sugar and indigo is attended with more advantages to private persons, and perhaps to the state itself, than the working of the richest mines of gold and silver. This plain, no doubt, yields a prodigious quantity of these two valuable commodities.

Its rivers and mines.

There are 200 sugar mills on this plain, and they are building more every day. Every mill makes 400 hogheads, or 200,000 pounds of sugar a year, for every hoghead contains 500 pounds nett. This sugar sells on the spot for 13 livres the

Quantity of sugar and indigo made in the plain of *Cape François*.

* They lie in the order, in which we have given their names, beginning with the most easterly.

1726. hundred weight, on an average; so that every mill must produce a revenue of 26,000 livres, exclusive of molasses and rum, which cannot amount to less than a thousand crowns more. Now 26,000 livres, multiplied by 200, the number of mills on the plain, make 5,200,000, and consequently the sugar annually produced by this district alone, must amount to above 5,000,000 of livres, and in a little time it will amount to one third more. The indigo may be valued at 3,000,000. There are two sorts of it; one sort, which grows wild in many parts of the island, is called bastard indigo. This kind was neglected for a long time, as good for nothing; but about twenty years ago, one of the planters took it into his head to try it; it succeeded so well that he enriched himself by it, and his success induced others to follow his example. At present, this indigo is as much valued as the other sort, which was originally brought from the *East Indies*, and, before the discovery we have mentioned, used to be cultivated. It must be owned, however, that the exotic indigo has a much finer gloss than that which is natural to the island; but this last makes amends for what it wants in colour, by thriving in several soils which agree not with the first. Attempts have also been made to cultivate several sorts of indigo brought from *Guinea*, but without success. When we say, that the ancient indigo was originally brought from the *East Indies*, we follow the opinion of the greatest number of authors, who have wrote on this subject; for some pretend it came from the continent of *America*, and the province of *Guatemala* in particular.

Of coco, coffee, and tobacco.

Many of the inhabitants are, as yet, cautious of cultivating any thing but indigo in the mountains, where some, however, begin to replant coco trees, which, if they succeed, will soon render the mountainous districts the most populous of the whole island. Tobacco alone would have the same effect, if that of *St Domingo* had admittance into all the ports of *France*, instead of being confined to the port of *Dunkirk*. The *French* flatter themselves, that coffee may soon prove another source of wealth to this island; the tree which produces it, already grows as fast, and looks as well, as if it were natural to the island. It flowers in eighteen months, and its stem is strong and vigorous; but it must be longer accustomed to the soil, to yield perfect fruit. Some are of opinion, that cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, and pepper, would thrive very well in *St Domingo*; it would, in all appearance, be an easy matter to try them; but these trials require patience and constancy, with which the *French* are not overstocked. Cotton, ginger, silk, and cassia, were formerly the chief riches of the *Spanish* colony of *St Domingo*. What should hinder their proving of equal advantage to the *French*?

Number of inhabitants of the plain of Cape François

The parishes of the plain of *Cape François* consist, one with another, of 3000 souls at least; but, for one free person, there are ten slaves. It is not so with the town, where there are 4000 souls, and almost as many whites as blacks. In the mountains, there are at most but three slaves for every free person. If coco and coffee succeed, or the tobacco of this island comes into favour again, all these quarters will soon have three times the number of inhabitants they have at present, and the whites will multiply, in proportion, more than the blacks. After all, the plain of the Cape, even including its mountains, is scarce more than the tenth part of the lands the *French* possess in this island. And those of *Leogane*, *Artibonite*, and the *Fond de l'Île Avache*, are little inferior to those of the plain of *Cape François*. The first and last of these districts are very famous for the number of their sugar works, and the second for the great quantity of indigo it produces. But in all these places, as well indeed as throughout the whole island, there is so great a variety of soils, that one can hardly travel a league without getting, as it were, into a new country. The soil of the plain of the Cape is, however, somewhat more uniform, though there be variety enough to amuse those who are but lately arrived from *France*. For instance, the eastern districts, *Guanamite*, *Bayaba*, *le Grand Bassin*, *le Terrier Rouge*, and *le Trou*, though of a much greater extent than the rest, are inferior to them in produce. They have here and there natural *Savanna's*, not unlike some heaths in *France*, and which can scarce be brought to yield any thing. On the contrary, there is not in the whole districts of *Limonade*, *le Quartier Morin*, *la Petite Anse*, *le Morne rouge*, and *l'Acul*, an inch of ordinary ground, the *Savanna* of *Limonade* only excepted.

Difference in the soils of the lands belonging to the French in St Domingo.

Roads of the plain of the Cape.

All the plain of the Cape is intersected by direct and cross roads, laid out by the line, and commonly bordered by hedges of lemon trees, which are thick enough to serve



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1726.

serve as fences for cattle; and, at the same time, are carefully trimmed for the sake of ornament. Numbers of planters have also long vistas of full and stately trees, leading to their houses, and it is to be wished, that such trees were made use of to support the hedges, as they would besides, yield a shade to travellers, and in time, prevent a scarcity of timber, which is already felt in a very sensible manner. Trees grow much faster here than in *France*, yet much too slow for people who think of nothing but the present; a sailing, whose origin is of the same date with the discovery of the new world, where it too much prevails. *Oviedo* used to reproach the *Spaniards* of his own time, those of *St Domingo* especially, with this narrowness of spirit, and selfish views, to which alone, in a manner, he ascribes the declension of their affairs in those parts.

State of Cape François in 1745.

Such was the state of *Cape François* and its neighbourhood in the year 1726; but *Don George Juan*, who put in there in the year 1745, describes it thus: The town is, says he, about one third of a league in length, and contains between thirteen and fifteen hundred inhabitants, who are a mixture of *Europeans*, white Creoles, Negroes, Mulattoes, and Casts, which last derive their origin from a coalition of the others, and are most numerous. Some few years since all the houses were of wood, but most of them being consumed by fire, have been rebuilt of stone; they have only a ground-floor, except here and there one with a story. The parochial church is a handsome building, and an ornament to the square in which it stands. The college of Jesuits, though not large, is a most elegant structure. There is also a nunnery of Ursulines of greater extent, but, by the King's order, no young women are allowed to take the veil, that the increase of the town may not be obstructed, so that it can only be considered as a place of regular and genteel education for girls till they are of age to enter on another state. Besides these, you observe also a convent of religious of *St Jean de Dieu*, and about three quarters of a league from the town, a spacious and beautiful hospital, which receives all patients applying for admittance. The town has no other defence than a single rampart, two batteries on the sea side, and a small fort on *Paulet Point* for defending the entrance of the harbour at about two thirds of a league from the town. The regular garrison of the fort and town consists of *French* and *Swiss*, besides the militia formed of all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms, who are disciplined, and on the same footing with the regulars. The port, though exposed to the East and North winds, is very secure, being inclosed by a ridge of rocks, which breaks the violence of the waves. The chief inconvenience is, that when the breeze blows strong it is extremely difficult for boats to approach the shore, for these winds, especially at E.N.E. sweep along the whole harbour. The lands in the neighbourhood are extremely well cultivated, and produce sugar, indigo, tobacco, and coffee in such vast quantities that 30,000 tons are yearly exported to *France*, whereby we may judge how immense the product would be were all the country which the *French* possess in this island cultivated.

The vast commerce carried on by *France* through the channel of this colony appears from the number of ships which annually come to its different ports, no less than 160 from 150 to 4 or 500 tons, resorting only to *Cape François*, besides those bound to *Leogane*, *Petite Goave*, and other ports of less note. All these ships come loaded with goods and provisions, and every one returns with at least 30 or 40,000 dollars in silver or gold. Those only which go to *Cape François* carry to *France* yearly half a million of dollars, and the same computation, which is not in the least improbable, being made for each of the other two chief ports, and as much for all the other smaller ones, the total will be two millions of dollars every year. Not a quarter of the cargoes of so many ships can be consumed in the colony and its dependencies, and therefore must find vent among the *Spanish* settlements of the *Havanna*, *Curaccas*, *Santa Martha*, *Cartagena*, *Terra Firma*, *Nicaragua*, and the *Honduras*. Hence *Spanish* barks put into the little bays and creeks near *Cape François*, and carry on this clandestine commerce, when by register they are authorized to go to none but ports expressly permitted.

The climate of *Cape François*, from the mountainous situation of the country, and its nearness to the line, is extremely hot, whence strangers, from the least excess in diet and other circumstances, seldom escape a distemper which carry them off in three or four days; particularly the crews of ships are swept off in great numbers after violent pains, the continual labour they are obliged to undergo in unloading and loading the

the ship, taking in water, and other necessary services, exposing them to the sudden and rude attacks of those disorders. The customs, genius and manners of the people are as different, my *Spanish* author says, from the *European French*, as those of the *Spanish Creoles* in this part of *America* from the natives of *Old Spain*. There are people of very great fortune acquired by cultivation and improvement of their lands, and all live in peace and happiness. Besides, the people settled here are of themselves laborious, frugal, inventive, and forever making new improvements, and capable, which I wish, says our author, of raising an emulation in the *Spaniards* their neighbours, of that labour and industry which have raised them to such a degree of wealth and prosperity.

We find recorded no other material event relating to this island till near the end of the late war, under the conduct of Adm. *Knowles*, which was the last act of hostility during that period, and related thus :

1748

Port Louis
taken by the
English.

In 1748, Feb. 13, O. S. Rear-Admiral *Knowles*, accompanied by governor *Trelawney*, sailed from *Port Royal* in *Jamaica*, with eight ships of the line, strengthened with a detachment of 240 men from the governor's regiment, in order to attack *St Jago de Cuba*. But the winds proving contrary, it was agreed to make an attempt on *Port Louis* on the side of *Hispaniola*. The attack began March 8, about one o'clock, with-in almost pistol shot of the walls, and after a brisk cannonade of about three hours, by which the *French* were drove from their guns and silenced, the governor, after making some propositions which were rejected, agreed to surrender on condition, that the garrison should march out with their arms, colours flying, and drums beating, but without cannon or ammunition, and not to serve against his *Britannick* majesty or his allies for a year and a day next ensuing. The admiral found 78 guns mounted in the fort, mostly 42, 36, and 28 pounders, and 5 mortars, with great quantities of all kinds of ammunition and stores, most of the guns and carriages new, and many of the guns weighing from 6900 to 8400 weight; he took possession also of three ships, a snow, and three privateer sloops in the harbour. This service was performed with the loss of Captain *Bentink*, of the *Stafford*, and Captain *Cust*, a volunteer, and 17 others killed, and 60 wounded; but the besieged had 160 killed and wounded, among them five captains killed. The fort was all of stone, the merlons seven feet thick on their top, and stood on an island about a mile from the town of *St Louis*, and though a good harbour, had no fresh water, and therefore was not worth the trouble of keeping, for which reason the admiral, after shipping off the guns and stores, blew it up, and sailed away for *St Jago de Cuba*, which by this time he found too well fortified to attempt.

In 1756, after manifold and repeated acts of hostility for above a year, in the capture of two *French* men of war, the defeat of General *Braddock*, and especially the invasion of *Minorca*, war was declared afresh between *France* and *England*, which produced the next year an action off this island, thus related :

Engagement
between an
English and
French fleet.

On the 21st of *October* the *Dreadnought*, at day-break, made a signal of discovering the enemy off the *Cape*; when standing towards them, he discovered them to be nine sail, she, with her consorts, immediately formed a line of battle a-head, and waited the enemy's coming up, under an easy sail, who had likewise formed themselves in an extensive line, and came up very fast; but we thinking they did not approach fast enough, shorten'd sail, having now secured the wind.

A consultation being called, Capt. *Forrest* observed, "That the squadron in view certainly came out from the *Cape* on purpose to give battle," Capt. *Suckling*, as next senior officer, returned for answer, "It was a pity they should be disappointed," on which they immediately repaired each on board his own ship, and bore down on the Enemy.

Some time after the fire became general on all sides, and the *Dreadnought* getting on the *Intrepid's* bow, kept the helm a-starboard to rake her, or, if she proceeded, to fall on board in the most advantageous situation possible; but she chose to bear up, and continued doing so till she fell disabled a-stern.

By this bearing upon her own ship, those a-stern were thrown into fresh disorder, which they never thoroughly recovered; and when the *Intrepid* dropt (relieved by the *Opiniatre*) the *Greenwich*, still in confusion, got on board her, while the *Sceptre* pressing on these, the whole heap were furiously pelted by the *Augusta* and *Edinburgh*, especially the *Intrepid*, having then abroad a signal for relief, lying muzzled in a shattered condition.

tion. The *Outarde* before this had got into the action, and played very briskly upon the *Edinburgh* both upper and lower deckers.

Capt. *Forest* finding that the enemy retreated, satisfied with the damage they had suffered, and perceiving it impossible for our ships, in the shattered condition they were, to take any of the enemy's, and that if ours followed, and should lose a lower mast, we might lay ourselves at the mercy of the frigates; and the *Greenwich* appearing less damaged than the rest, Capt. *Forest* thought fit to collect our force, and leave off the pursuit. This took up some time, as two of our ships were then warmly engaged; so that glorious action ended with the day.

ENGLISH *Line of Battle*.

FRENCH *Line of Battle*.

	Wt. of Metal.			Men.		Weight of Metal.			Men.
	Guns.	upper.	lower.			Guns.	upper.	lower.	
* Dreadnought	60	9	24	375	Sauvage	30	10	00	200
† Augusta	60	9	24	390	Intrepid	74	22	36	900
‡ Edinburgh	64	18	52	467	Greenwich	50	12	24	400
					L'Unicorn	30	10	00	200
	184			1232	Sceptre	74	22	{ ²² ₃₂ }	750
					L'Outarde	44	12	18	350
					Opiniatre	64	18	32	640
						366			3440

* Capt. *Forest*.

† Capt. *Suckling*.

‡ Capt. *Langdon*.

But to return to the survey taken of this colony in the year 1726, the heat would be intolerable in this, as in most other plains of the island, for six months of the year, were it not for the breezes which temper the air; the nights, in general, are pretty cool. But it may be affirmed, with great truth, of the vallies formed by the adjacent mountains, that they enjoy a perpetual spring. Here, more than any where else, the earth is constantly loaded with fruits, and clothed with flowers, thus uniting the riches and charms of the most agreeable seasons of the year. The rivulets, that are to be met with at every step, either creeping in silent meanders through the fields, or falling with gentle murmurs from the rocks, contain waters of a most reviving freshness. The air of these happy places is, at all times, most refreshing, and the eyes cannot turn any where, without being charmed with a variety of new and agreeable objects. In short, the nights here are rather cold than warm, for a good part of the year, and at this season, it is necessary to wear as many clothes here, as in *France*. Hence the inhabitants of the plain find in the air and waters of these mountains, the best remedy against those languors, or faintnesses, which the excessive heat often brings upon them.

Temperature of the air.

These waters are very wholesome, and are more particularly esteemed for their opening and detensive qualities. One thing is certain, that among those who drink them, there is no complaint of stone, gravel, or stoppage of urine. Water is the common drink of the Negroes and poor inhabitants, but they may easily change it into lemonade, since citrons and lemons are to be found every where on the high roads, sugar to be had for three sols a pound, and molasses for a great deal less. As to water, such as cannot always conveniently take it up at the spring, may keep it cool for a very long time in certain *Spanish* vessels, called *Canaris*, which constantly sweat, and afford the air a passage through their pores: The calabashes of this country have the same effect, and some of them are large enough to hold nine gallons. The poor have another great resource in rum, which is both wholesomer and cheaper than brandy; nor would it be a difficult matter to free it from the disagreeable taste of the sugar canes, since *Barbadoes* water, which is made of it, is quite free from any such flavour. The *English* make a kind of lemonade of it, which they call punch, and it may be varied a thousand ways, by adding such ingredients as are either most wholesome, or most agreeable to the palate.

Waters, and artificial drinks.

Persons in tolerable circumstances have yards, well stocked with poultry, gardens with fruit, and every thing that can make life easy and agreeable. The fruits most cultivated are the mamey, or *St Domingo* apricot, avocat, sapote, sapotille, caimite, a kind of papaye, called *mamocra*, jeaque, grenadille, cherry, coco-nut, *African* dates, ananas,

Domestic fruits and animals.

ananas, or pine-apple, and banane, which is thought to be the same with the *musa* of the ancients. Of all the fruit trees of *Europe* scarce any have succeeded here, except the vine, pomegranate, and orange-tree; and, among the smaller plants, the strawberry, and every species of melons. Wheat would thrive very well in most places, but the rich inhabitants find it more to their interest to buy *French* or *Canadian* flour, and the poor make use of potatoes, and other garden stuff, of which I have elsewhere made mention. The fowls bred in their poultry yards, are turkeys, pintadas, peacocks, and pigeons; it is a wonder they should neglect to have pheasants. Many have breeds of horses, mules, black cattle, and hogs, feeding them in great herds at very little expence in their savanas, where they live upon the grass they find there, and on the tops of canes thrown to them. Horses are numerous in the woods, and appear to have been originally of a *Spanish* breed; as the hunters never meddle with them, you may get them very cheap. They are less than the common *European* horses, but strong, well made, brisk, and never tire. Some that share in all these good qualities, and yet are no bigger than asses, are found near that part of the island called *Nippes*. The colts are easily taken and tamed, and you may buy the handsomest in the market for five or six pieces of eight; but it will cost you double that price to have them properly broke. It is very hard to break them of being frightened in the water, which they splash about, and disturb with their feet; perhaps nature teaches them thus to discover and drive away the crocodiles.

Horses.

Even dogs have the same instinct, for they will bark with all their might when they come to the banks of a river, and if they see the least thing stir, they run away; and there is no making them go forward, unless their masters carry them. The dogs run wild in the woods, where they do a great deal of mischief, running down and devouring the young cattle; they are small and slender, with long flat heads, sharp snouts, and a wild look; they are very swift, and excellent for the chase. To conclude, all things multiply here in an extraordinary manner, since every season must be favourable to growth and increase, under so warm and fruitful a climate.

Dogs.

Description
of the western
and southern
coasts.
Plain of *Leogane*.

The districts on the western coast have not the same extent or advantages with those on the northern; but yet they have some benefits of nature, which the latter want. The delicious plain, called *Leogane*, is more even, and consequently more favourable to the carriage of goods from one place to another, than that of the Cape. It begins at the mountains of *Grand Goaves*, and extends from east to west about twelve or thirteen leagues; from north to south the breadth is between three and four. The whole is plentifully watered, and the soil, which is rich and deep, very fit for sugar, coco, indigo, rice, tobacco, and other commodities; also for variety of fruits, grain, greens, roots, peas, millet, potatoes, &c. sugar canes here grow to great perfection, being equally sweet, high, and thick; and the plants at the end of thirty years, yield as good a crop of sugar as at first. The sugar is so strong at first, occasioned by the fatness of the soil, that it is very hard to whiten; however, in time it arrives to a state of more perfection; and the refiners in *Europe* have been known to value *St Domingo* sugar from *Leogane* three or four *per cent.* above any other.

Here are vast quantities of fine coco trees, as well as lemon, citron, and the service tree; the place also abounds with hard white stones, of which good lime may be made. The indigo of *St Domingo*, rightly prepared, yields to no other, not even to that of *Guatemala*. The tobacco also is excellent, but the people rather chuse to cultivate sugar, as yielding larger profit. Potatoes, figs, and bananas, are here larger, better tasted, and more substantial and nourishing, than those of the windward islands. This may be ascribed, partly to the soil, and partly to the heat, which is greater here than at *Martinico* or *Guadaloupe*, though in a colder latitude. The reason is obvious; for this plain is on the west side of a very large island, and shaded by high mountains from the north-east winds, which continually refresh the other islands before named. Hence the solar heat is so very powerful, that the kitchen gardens would be quite scorched, if care was not taken to cover young shoots, and vegetables just transplanted, or tender, with bushes, so as to keep it off.

Project of
Ducasse.

Ducasse was seriously bent upon rebuilding an ancient *Indian* town, called *Yagua-na*, that formerly stood here, upon its own ruins, and in the year 1710 had even concerted proper measures for that purpose with an engineer; but his recall to *France* put an end to the project.

Before we speak of the town, now called *Leogane*, we shall make an end of the description of the coast, beginning from *Port St Nicolas*, where we left off. At the distance of seven or eight leagues from *Port St Nicolas* lies *Port Piment*, where we meet with the salt pits of *Coridon*. Somewhat less than three leagues farther the *Gonaives* form a great bay, in which there is from three to one hundred fathom water; and about two leagues beyond the bay runs the *Artibonite* river.

1726.

Piment Port.
Coridon salt
pits.
Gonaives.
Artibonite
river.

It is advanced by some people, that all that space of ground, extending from the river *Artibonite* to the plain of *Jaquemel* on the south, was erected into a principality under the name of *Leogane*, in favour of a natural daughter of King *Philip III.* of *Spain*, who here ended her days in a castle, the ruins of which still remain, and shew it to have been very considerable. It lies in a meadow, extremely pleasant and commodious, not far from the river, the water of which was conveyed to it through a grand aqueduct, and the ruins are still visible. The workmanship appears to have been very strong, but the inhabitants daily waste it more and more, to employ the bricks and other materials in their respective buildings.

About two leagues from *Artibonite* lies *St Marc*, which is a bay that all merchantmen may anchor in with safety. From *St Marc* to *Leogane* they reckon twenty five leagues, and in this interval of coast are *les Vazes*, a very bad road, opposite to which, within land, are situated the districts of *Mirbalais*, *Mont Roui*, *l'Arcabais*, *le Port du Prince*, *le Cul de Sac*, *le Trou Bordet*, and *la Petite Riviere*. The districts of *Gonaives*, *Artibonite*, *Mirbalais*, and *St Marc*, are of late grown very considerable, and have some very rich inhabitants. *Le Cul de Sac* runs the deepest into the land of all the bays on the western coast, which is in itself a kind of *Cul de Sac* between *Mole St Nicolas* and *Cape Tiberon*.

St Marc bay.

Les Vazes
road.

You cannot see the town of *la Petite Riviere* from the road, on account of the trees which hide it; whence the natives imagine themselves, in a good measure, secured from the rovers. But this advantage is certainly overbalanced by the inconveniencies they occasion, contributing from their closeness to stagnate the air, preventing the effects of the freshes conveyed by the rolling of the ocean, at the same time that they breed vermin, and procreate diseases. The town consists of about 60 houses, such as we have before described, some of them two stories high, and covered with boards instead of leaves, some inhabited, and others serving for magazines to contain sugar and such other sorts of merchandize as are here vended. The church lies about two hundred paces from the town, in a wood, through which you must grub your way to reach it. It is built of the same materials as the houses, but has neither doors nor windows, and is miserably neglected.

Petite Riviere
town.

From hence you may pass to *L'Eslerre*, distant three leagues by land, through a flat country, and fine roads planted with citrons three or four feet thick, and comfortable habitations on each side, before which are pleasant avenues lined with oaks and elms. *L'Eslerre* was much more considerable and wealthy than the town of *la Petite Riviere*, till it was demolished to oblige the inhabitants to remove to *Leogane*; the houses were better built, mostly two stories high, and covered with planks; and here the governor lived, and held his councils. The parish church was better than any of those before described, being eighty feet long and thirty broad, well built, and palisadoed, with a great altar, a pulpit, and a vestry. Adjoining to it, there was a house for the priest, two stories high, each story containing two rooms, besides a separate kitchen, a dove-house, and a small lodge for the domesticks, a negro and his wife, each about 45 years old, with two children; and behind the house was a pleasant and convenient garden, which, with the house and its appurtenances, were all contained in a savannah inclosed by citrons. Justice was here administered, as at the Cape, *Port Paix*, and *Petite Guaves*, by a judge royal; here was also a sovereign council, which determined appeals from these judges, and most of the counsellors lived in the neighbourhood.

L'Eslerre
town.

Next to *L'Eslerre* is *le Grand Guave*, at about four leagues distance, and a league farther lies *le Petit Guave*. A little village called *l'Acul* stands but half a league from *Petite Guave*, which is the best port on all this coast. That of *Nippes* is four leagues from it, and four leagues farther is a great bay called the *Baraderes*, in which are a great number of little islands. *Les Caymites* come next at three leagues distance. This port cannot receive any ships above 100 or 150 tons burthen. Three leagues more bring us to the *Grande Anse*, which is neither fit for ships or boats. *Cape Dame Marie* lies seven leagues farther. Vessels may ride under this Cape in water

Le Grand
Guave.
Le Petite
Guave.
L'Acul vil-
lage.
Nippes port.
Baraderes
bay.
Grande Anse
port.
Dame Marie
from
cape.

^{1726.} from six to thirty fathoms. From hence to *Cape Tiberon* it is seven leagues. This *Tiberon* cape. Cape is round and high, and cleft near the top; it appears black, and communicates the same tinge to the sea, which is hereabouts very deep. There are two pretty rivers at this Cape, with seven or eight fathom water at their mouths.

Avache isle. Here, to pursue our survey, we must turn to the south. The *Isle Avache* lies twelve leagues from *Cape Tiberon*: This island is four leagues long, one broad, and eight or nine in circumference.

It was formerly a famous rendezvous for pirates of all nations, who came hither to divide their booty. It had for a time some inhabitants, but they were removed to *St Domingo*, so that at present it is quite desert, and serves only to feed some hogs and other beasts, set ashore to multiply for the use of the company's ships. There is a rapid current, and often a high wind, off the western point of this island, which are dangerous to navigation, and particularly to vessels bound to *Jamaica*.

St Louis caye
or isle.

The Isle or Caye of *St Louis* is separated from *St Domingo* by a channel about 800 paces broad; the anchorage is good, and small vessels may moor quite close with the land, so as to form a communication by a plank. The elevation is not a great deal above the water, the length of not above 500 paces, and the breadth 160. The ground is a white chalky rock, and it lies at the bottom of a large bay, the entrance to which is covered with three or four little islands. Nothing can be more convenient for fortification than this place, at which now (in 1726) an engineer and a number of workmen, were about to erect a fort, though the ground is bad, yielding no fresh water, and the air close, sultry, and unwholesome.

The houses of the governor, and director, were of stakes driven into the ground, and covered with palm leaves. The magazine and the director's lodge formed one side of an oblong, in the rest of which the officers of the customs and of the company were quartered; the governor's house and some other buildings were scattered up and down. The number of customhouse and other officers here is astonishing; they eat at the director's table, which is plentifully served, hunters and dogs, with a train of fishermen, being kept for that purpose. The air, after sun-set, is full of musketoes and other troublesome flies, that sting intolerably. In the day time they hide themselves under cover of the rocks, and crannies, and roofs of the houses, which are only of palm leaves; but on the opposite shore of *St Domingo* they swarm all day long, as having some shelter, so that were not the arms and legs of the slaves covered, they must be eaten up alive, or else neglect their day's work, to drive away these insects. Their bite is as sharp as the prick of a lancet, and they even get at one's flesh through the strongest linen; this pest is almost remediless.

Le fond de
l'Isle Avache.

Opposite to the isle of *St Lewis*, on the land of *St Domingo*, is a large plain, called the backside of *Cow-Island*, (*le fond de l'Isle Avache*) the borders of which, to the sea, form a harbour in the shape of a crescent; but the anchoring is bad, and the landing difficult.

The *French*, as they dig the ground hereabout, often throw up *Spanish* horse-shoes, and many *Indian* kettles, drinking vessels and other utensils, some of them inscribed curiously with the figures of idols. In the mountains are said to be many deep caverns, filled with human bones, repositories perhaps of their dead, and of their wealth, for such was the custom of all nations; but the latter, very probably, the vigilant *Spaniards* have carefully removed.

Messe bay.

Cornuel bay.

Les Cayes

d'Aquin bay.

Jaquemel bay

North of *Isle Avache* is the bay called *Baye de Messe*, which will admit of no ships of more than 150 tons burthen. The bay, called *la Baye de Cornuel*, is a league further off; this bay is no better than *Baye de Messe*. Next comes what the *French* call *les Cayes d'Aquin*, which contributes to form a bay that will admit ships of two or three hundred tons. The *Spaniards* formerly called it *Yaquims*, or the port of *Brazil*. The bay called *la Baye de Jaquemel* is ten or twelve leagues from this last. It is, next to that of *St Louis*, the best settlement the *French* have on this southern coast, and there has been an ordinary court of justice settled here for some years past.

Leogane de-
scribed.

To return to the town of *Leogane*, it is pretty obvious that it is not very advantageously situated. It stands but two leagues from the ancient *Yaguana*, between *l'Estre* and *la Petite Riviere*, which are, in a manner, its two suburbs. This town is half a league from the sea, the land about it very marshy, and consequently its air not very wholesome; besides, it lies very inconvenient for the landing and shipping of goods, has no port but a simple road, and that none of the best. The choice of a spot so very unfit, one would imagine, for a town that was to be the ordinary resi-

resi-

residence of the governor general and superior council, is yet the result of many serious deliberations, and the work of two of the wisest heads that ever governed the colony. It cannot indeed be denied but that all the disadvantages of it plainly appeared from the very beginning; and the commotions that happened in 1722 furnished a new reason for changing this situation, to which the other governor failed not to give all the weight that such an event suggested; for in a letter he then wrote to the ministry, in concert with the intendant, he says, "We have received the dispatches of the court of November 18, 1722, and the objections to our plan of June 13. To answer them, it would be sufficient to put you in mind of what has lately happened in the colony, whose rebellion will, no doubt, determine the council to prefer the settlement of *Petite Guave* to that of *Leogane*, in order to provide the better for the safety of the governor and the intendant, and give them a residence where they may better command both sea and land, and be less exposed to the insults of a seditious populace. It is true that the soil of *Petite Guave* is not good for sugar or indigo, but it is very fit to produce the necessaries of life, and refreshments for vessels, and a very good place for an habitation of people in moderate circumstances, for which reason many chose to live here before the generals had fixed their residence at *Leogane*. The lands about it consist of little vallies, full of springs of the finest water."

Letter of Du.
casse.

A maxim for
founders of
colonies.

But as those, who had most openly declared themselves for *Leogane*, however agreed, that it was proper to fortify *Petite Guave*, as a proper station for the King's ships, the governor and intendant added, that the *French* might learn, by the example of other nations, that it was not prudent to increase the number of towns in new formed colonies; since forces dispersed in distant bodies cannot, however numerous, compare with a large company that may be immediately opposed to an enemy; and in a town grown large by not restraining commerce, factors will never be wanting, whose diligence will give ships an extraordinary dispatch. The consequence of these representations is unknown; at least, nothing has been since done in the affair. One thing however is certain, which is, that *Leogane* does not grow populous, tho' made the seat of a sovereign council, and the ordinary residence of the governor and intendant, which before was *l'Esperre*, and the town of *l'Esperre* itself was demolished to remove the inhabitants hither; so that, upon the whole, this capital of the *French* colony of *St Domingo* is still in a very unpromising condition. There are however a multitude of coaches and equipages here, which are easily kept; the coachman and attendants are Negroes, useful at other times in different sorts of work, and the horses find feeding in the meadows, or about the house.

To conclude, we may sum up the character of this island in these few words. *St Domingo* has good harbours for trade, the soil is fertile, producing various rich commodities, as well as plenty of cattle, grain, fruits, and vegetables fit for human subsistence. The sea and the mouths of the rivers abound with delicious fish; the shores are covered with the most curious shells; the air is none of the best, and the inhabitants have great wealth, but little religion.

A Description of the Island of *St MARTIN*.

THE Island of *St Martin*, which takes its name from a man so called, who first discovered it, lies in 18 deg. N. lat. and 45 deg. 10 min. of W. long. from *Ferro*, and is said to be 15 or 16 leagues in circuit, has neither ports nor rivers; there are, indeed, some small springs nourished by the rain; but these are quickly drained in the dry warm seasons; so that the people must be satisfied with cistern water, or with what is yielded by the standing lakes; and both are very bad.

Latitude.

Circumference.

Our author judges the soil to be but poor; he speaks however of the spot only on which he made his observations, not having surveyed the whole island. The planters cultivate tobacco and indigo; they raise manioc, and a little rocou; and they get salt from the pits formed by nature's hand, without expence or labour; but the want of water renders their work the more toilsome. There is good anchoring in a road to the W.S.W. but ships are however not sufficiently covered from the weather.

Soil.

Productions.

Here are some remains of a fortress which had been erected by the *Spaniards*, Spaniards of first who had formerly a colony on this island. To maintain it put them to very considerable

able

able expence, and it was of little or no use, except that it hindered other nations from profiting by the salt-pits, or inhabiting the *Virgin Islands*. Nor could the advantages drawn from the salt amount to a hundredth part of the expences they were at in keeping the place, since salt is also naturally produced in all the other islands both windward and leeward. It is certain that for a long time they prevented any other *European* nation from settling either here or in *St Bartholomew*, *Anguilla*, *Spanish Town*, *St Thomas*, *St Croix*, the *Isle of Crabs*, and other adjacent places; but as they in vain endeavoured to hinder the *French* and *English* from making powerful establishments on *St Christopher's*, *Antigua*, *Guadaoupe*, *Martinico*, &c. they determined to abandon *St Martin's* in the beginning of 1648. After taking this resolution they got together all the necessary labourers, with whose aid they broke down and destroyed the cisterns, burned the habitations, and blew up the fortifications; and thus, having done all possible damage to the place, they entirely evacuated it, and drew off to *Porto Rico*.

Abandon the
island.

There happened, by some odd chance, to be amongst them four *French*, five *Dutchmen*, and a *Mulattoe*. These ten men stole away from their company, during the time of embarkation, and hid themselves in the woods; and afterwards, when they ventured to quit their respective coverts, it was their good fortune to meet by the sea side, where the *French* and *Dutch* agreed to remain upon the island, and make a partition of it between their two nations, like that of *St Christopher's* between the *French* and *English*. The better to carry their design into execution, the five *Hollanders*, having patched up a slight canoe, were dispatched to *St Eustatia* to advertise their governor on that island of what had happened at *St Martin's*, and of the agreement between themselves and the *Frenchmen*, of which they also promised to give notice to the *Bailly du Poincy*, the *French* governor of *St Christopher's*. But, as they acted from a true principle of *Dutch* perfidy, they forgot the latter part of their errand. The governor of *St Eustatia* mustered as many loose hands as he could collect, and sent them to take absolute and total possession of the island, under the direction of an officer named *Martin Thomas*, pretending by this act to revive some former claims they had upon the place.

French and
Dutch remain
divide it.

Dutch faith.

Dutch possess
the island.

To make this point more clear, it is necessary to recur to 1637, when the *French* had a colony, and a governor at *St Martin's*. The *Dutch*, it seems, were introduced among them by stratagem, and finding themselves the stronger, built a fort, and maintained themselves in it for some time, until the governor of *Porto Rico* fitted out a considerable armament, which, laying siege to the place, carried it at the end of six weeks. The victors not only carried off the *Dutch*, but made all the *French* they could find prisoners, and transported them to *Porto Rico*, and elsewhere. As this success had rendered them masters of the whole island, they increased the colony, augmented the garrison, and strengthened the fortification, in which they kept their ground till 1648, when they abandoned it, as was said above, on account of the vast expence, and small profit arising from the tenure.

French and
Dutch expelled
by the
Spaniards in
1637.

Dutch right
is founded.

By this true retrospect of the case, it is evident, that the right which the *Dutch* asserted, had little foundation in equity, and that governor *Thomas's* seizing the place in the name of his masters the *States General*, was but a fresh proof of the little regard they pay to any treaty whatever, when they find it their interest to break through it. The four *Frenchmen*, in the mean time, hearing nothing from *St Christopher's*, began to suspect the true state of the case; but wisely dissembled their mistrust, not being in a condition to help themselves. However, they contrived to acquaint *Poincy* of all that had passed, and of their present situation, in which at length they succeeded.

That officer soon after sent thither *M. de la Tour*, with thirty men, to examine into the conduct and pretensions of the new settlers; but the *Dutch* immediately betook themselves to arms, and prevented him and his people from landing, declaring they were sole masters of the island, as having first taken possession of it when abandoned by the *Spaniards*. *De la Tour*, unable to support his master's right by dint of arms, found himself obliged to return to *St Christopher's* no better than he left it. But soon after *Poincy* appointed his nephew, *M. de Louvilliers*, for this expedition, at the head of 300 men, and ordered him to take possession of such parts of the island as the *French* had possessed before the *Spaniards* drove them thence, investing him with the title and authority of governor, and advising him by all means to endeavour to establish himself without coming to a rupture with the *Dutch*, which he was however left at liberty to do, if he had no other way of succeeding. *Louvilliers* arrived with all his people in safety at *St Martin's*, where he landed without opposition from the *Dutch*,
who

who were much inferior to him in strength. He first sent a summons to *Thomas* to draw off, with his people, from such part of the island as belonged by right to the *French*, and of which he now stood possessed, threatening otherwise to bring him to reason by force of arms, and chastise the little regard his nation paid to any stipulation. In answer to this message *Thomas* sent deputies to treat, *Lonvilliers* appointed others on his part to meet them; and the negotiation was soon happily concluded. The tenor of it was, that the *French* should remain masters of that part of the coast which faced *Anguilla*; and that the territory on which the fort stood should belong to the *Dutch*. By this partition the *French* became possessed not only of the better, but also of the larger part of the island. The two nations entered into a defensive alliance, mutually promising to assist each other. The treaty was signed *March* 23, 1648, on a mountain that separated their different possessions, since called the *Mountain of Concord*. *French* recover their share of the island.

From that time, till the year 1666, the two nations lived in good harmony; but the *English* being then driven out from *St Christopher's* by the *French*, the inhabitants of that nation on *St Martin's* and *St Bartholomew's* were called off to increase the more valuable colonies of *St Christopher's*, and to occupy the lands of which the *English* had been dispossessed. The latter, however, gaining the upper hand, returned with a strong force to *St Christopher's*, drove out the *French* in their turn, and totally destroyed their very flourishing colony, the consequence of which was the ruin also of *St Martin's* and *St Bartholomew's*. *French* inhabitants drawn off.

Many of the inhabitants of these islands perished during the broils, most of the rest were dispersed into other parts, and a small number of them returned to *St Martin's* after the peace of *Ryswick* in 1698. They were under the conduct of a lieutenant in the army, and lived quietly enough till 1702, when the war breaking out afresh, they were again called away, and ordered to mix among the other *American* colonies belonging to *France*. They refused to obey this mandate of their superiors, pleading, in justification of their disobedience, the losses they had sustained, and the hardships they had endured in their former removal. For the firmer security of the footing which they now determined to keep at *St Martin's*, they entered into new treaties with the *Dutch*, by which they bound themselves by oath to mutual assistance and protection, according to former contract; and not only continued to live upon the most amicable terms, but even obliged the Corsairs of their respective nations, who touched here for provisions, to behave in conformity to this agreement. Return.
Live in concord with the *Dutch*.

They had no legal governor among them when our author was upon the island, but had chosen from among themselves, for their chief magistrate, a surgeon, who had been long an inhabitant, and with whose conduct they seemed well satisfied. It was supposed that the commandant *De Quitant*, when lieutenant general of the islands, had given him a commission. This surgeon also supplied the place of an ecclesiastic; for a reverend capuchin, who had been their spiritual father, having been massacred by the savages in 1699, none of the religious on the neighbouring islands chose to venture their lives by residing here. The clergy settled at *St Christopher's* used indeed, at certain seasons, to send over one of their brethren to assist the people; but he seldom was disposed to make any long stay, and this visiting entirely ceased when the *English* took possession of that island. Chuse for governor a surgeon, who also officiates as priest & judge.

The commandant surgeon, who was a mild and prudent person, knew well the importance of keeping the fire of religion alive in their hearts, and impressing upon them a proper notion of a divine being; for which reason he constantly assembled them on *Sundays* and holidays, read prayers and a proper exhortation in the church, gave them notice of the feasts and fasts, and admonished such as were froward or refractory in a kind brotherly manner. He also filled the office of judge, and his decisions, in all contests and matters that fell out under his jurisdiction, were absolute. He also assisted the schoolmaster in teaching the youth; the latter acted likewise as an inferior judge and attorney, and he appointed his brother to be register. It is not without regret that we miss his name, which it seems our author forgot; the memory of a man, who, like the priests of the old law, united in his own person the government ecclesiastical, civil, and military, certainly deserved to have his name transmitted to posterity, and the more so, as these engagements never interfered with his exercising the practice of physic. The reverend father, to whom we owe the best part of this narration, had been formerly acquainted with him in a voyage from *Martinico* to *Guadaloupe*. They re-

collected one another when the father landed, whom the commandant complimented with offers of his best services.

The town.

The town of *St Martin* then consisted of about eighteen or nineteen houses, of which his was the most remarkable : about a hundred paces off stood the church, a dwelling for the priest, and the schoolmaster's house. Notice was immediately given, by the schoolmaster, that a priest was come ashore, that the people might prepare for their duty. But as it was four in the afternoon, and the good father had dined, he refused to celebrate mass till the ensuing morning, tho' earnestly pressed by the commandant, who, with repeated importunities, reminded him, that such a step, though otherwise against the canon law, ought not to be scrupled in *caso necessitas*. This specimen of the honest surgeon's *Latin* will give the reader but a low opinion of his scholarship, and it was a subject on which the honest Friar made himself very merry.

Visit to the Dutch commandant.

The next day mass was celebrated, a sermon preached, and the sacrament administered to the people. After divine service the father, attended by some of the principal inhabitants of *St Martin's*, went to pay a visit to the Dutch commandant, who received them with great affability. But as he was neither physician nor surgeon, and had with him also a minister of the reformed church to do ecclesiastical duty, he did not seem to have near so much influence over the people as the *Frenchman*. His reception of his visitors was civil and courteous ; some compliments passed between them, through the channel of an interpreter ; but the father and he soon came to talk without such assistance, as he spoke tolerable *Latin*. He did not indeed seem to have any great turn for conversation, preferring the bumper, which he often filled, and regaling plentifully with *Madeira* wine, punch, beer, and spice-bread.

Consummation anticipated out of necessity.

This friendly conference ended, our author returned to the town-house of the surgeon commandant, who had also one a little way up the country. During the father's stay on the island, he baptized many young children, and united several couple in the bands of matrimony, who had consummated beforehand, for want of a parson to perform the ceremony. And it is remarkable, that though several of them had lived together many years, none of them seemed tired of each other, but all contentedly wore the yoke. They made the priest very advantageous offers, provided he chose to remain among them, being in number about two hundred souls ; but he was forced to decline the acceptance, being appointed to the mission at *Martinico*, where he was superior and apostolical vicar. He promised, however, to speak to the Governor general to oblige the Capuchins to send one of their order upon this mission, or else to recede from their pretensions to it, in favour of some other society, more ready to expose themselves for the service of God.

Author takes leave.

Our author's stay here was only while the captain took in some vegetables and fresh provisions ; and before he re-embarked, the surgeon-commandant gave him a handsome entertainment, to which were invited the Dutch governor, his chaplain, together with the captain and lieutenant of an *English* privateer bark that lay in the road, and would, in any other quarter, have been troublesome, but which here strictly observed the neutrality of the place, the captain behaving very politely, and saluting the *Frenchman* with a broad side on his departure, which compliment was returned.

A Description of the Island of St BARTHOLOMEW.

Bartholomew island, when discovered,

Lat. & long.

THE Island of *St Bartholomew* was discovered, on the day sacred to the Saint from whom it takes its name, by *Columbus*, when he first carried the *Spanish* arms into the *American* world. It lies in 17 deg. N. lat. 62 deg. 5 min.

W. long. six leagues from *St Christopher's*, four leagues S.W. of *St Martin's*, and is much smaller than the last, being not more than seven or eight leagues in circumference. The middle of the island is high and mountainous, the soil poor

Soil and products.

and barren ; but it grows more fertile as you approach to the sea, near which are some good plantations of tobacco and indigo, with manioc, and other sorts of grain.

Harbour.

It is more especially esteemed for the excellency of its harbour, where vessels of any depth and burthen may find good ground for anchorage, and be securely sheltered from the winds. The coast is, however, dangerous, without an experienced pilot, on

account





Pyral Bay
Little Portland Bay

Gros Cape

Bodice Cr.

Amavine Cr.

Water Highland

Paradise Cr.

North West Bay

Shoaling Point

Le Moule

Le Moule

St. Ann's

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British & French Leagues 20 to a Degree
British Miles

or 31:35 from London.





account of the shoals and breakers. The sea affords plenty of fish, particularly ^{Provisions.} shark, turtle, and the pilot-fish, on which account ships sometimes find it worth while to touch here, as the inhabitants also breed poultry, and have good stocks of ^{Climate.} cattle. The climate, as in all the other islands, is very hot, and the gnats and musketoes must be kept off by musketto-drawers, otherwise they bite intolerably.

The *Spaniards* settled upon it about the same time in which they possessed themselves of *St Martin's*, and evacuated both islands together, the expence of keeping ^{*Spaniards settle and evacuate it.*} them, as we before observed, infinitely outweighing the profits which they yielded, the cause of which might perhaps be ascribed to the sluggish disposition of the *Spaniards*, their want of œconomy, and little turn to commerce; or perhaps, as in many other cases, to their pride and tyrannical spirit.

No sooner had they quitted it, than *Monf. Du Poincy*, whose name we have often mentioned, conceived a design of settling a *French* colony on each of these islands. This gentleman, who to a strong passion for glory joined an ardent desire of increasing the *French* settlements, and aggrandizing the power of his master in *America*, having first settled *St Martin's*, as has been premised, applied himself to the making an establishment on *St Bartholomew*, because it was in many respects, besides its harbour, superior to *St Martin's*; and besides, if it were in other hands, it might, from its vicinity, prove an eye-fore to the contiguous islands belonging to the *French* crown. For these reasons he sent hither forty or fifty people, under the conduct of *Jacques Gente*, who erected some plantations, and made a shift to live, though but poorly, under the influence of some of the principal people of *St Christopher's*. And as the profits were very small, the colony was kept on foot rather to gratify *Poincy*, than from any advantages it yielded. Its weakness encouraged the Savages in 1656 to invade the island, where they made a dreadful carnage among the planters; and the few, who had the good fortune to survive, found themselves obliged to seek shelter elsewhere. ^{Destroyed by the Savages.} However, in 1659, peace being concluded between the *French* and Savages, *Poincy* sent thither thirty new people, who, in six or seven years, increased to above a hundred. Most of these, having approved themselves good subjects to the crown of *France*, were drawn off in the year 1666, to supply the vacancies caused at *St Christopher's*, by the expulsion of the *English* and *Irish* from that island. Among the *Irish* were near 700, who, being *Roman Catholics*, were not upon the best terms with the *English*, and therefore were set ashore, by their own choice, upon the island of *St Bartholomew*, where they chose a *Frenchman* for their commandant, declared themselves subject to the *French* crown, and some Friars of their own nation were appointed to attend them as ecclesiastics. ^{New settlers withdrawn.}

Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, with an *English* squadron, thought it worth while to make a descent here in 1689, and took possession of it in the name of the king of *England*; but it was restored to the *French* by the treaty of *Ryswick* in 1698, and has ever since remained to that crown. It has at present a few inhabitants, who carry on a confined trade with some of the nearest islands. ^{Its present state.}

A Description of the Island of GUADALOUPE.

GUADALOUPE is, by some authors, supposed to take its name from the mountains of our Lady of *Guadaloupe* in *Old Spain*, to which its hills bear a near resemblance. Others derive it from *L'Agua de Lopez*, on account of its excellent water, *agua* signifying water in *Spanish*, and the *Spaniards* usually joining the name of *Lopez*, one of their most famous writers, to any thing that they particularly prefer beyond others of the like kind. Thus by *Terra de Lopez* they mean the best land, and express the best water by *Agua de Lopez*, which may be easily corrupted to *Guadaloupe*. It is certain that none of the islands are so well watered, or abound with more wholesome streams; it was called by the *Indians* *Karukera*. ^{Origin of the name.}

The utmost length of this island, reckoning from the *N. point* in *Grande Terre* to the *S. point*, or *Old Fort* on *Basse Terre*, is about 55 *English* miles; and its greatest breadth, from *Castle Point*, the most eastern part of *Grande Terre*, to the *Grosse Morne*, ^{Extent and situation.}

or *Great Highlands*, the Western extremity of *Grande Terre*, is much the same distance, whence it appears to be nearly as broad as it is long. It is said to be one of the largest of the *Caribbees*, and lies in 16 deg. 30 sec. N. lat. 61 deg. W. long. in the vast *Atlantic* ocean, *Martinico* bearing Southward of it about fourscore miles, *Antigua* Northward about seventy, and *Montserrat* much closer on the West.

Properly two islands. Properly considered, we find it rather two islands, one of which is called *Grande Terre*, the other *Guadeloupe proper*; it being intersected by an arm of the sea, which has perhaps broke down the communication, and formed this channel for itself. This arm, or streight, is called *The Salt River*, *La Riviere Salée*, diminishing in width from 50 to 15 fathom; its soundings, which are very unequal, being in some places deep enough for a ship of 500 tons, in others having scarce water enough for a bark of 50. Its length is about two leagues, and nothing can be more pleasant than the passage; the waters being clear and still, and the banks on each side lined with mangroves and palmettoes, which afford excellent refreshment, and a choice shelter from the heat.

Guadeloupe proper is divided into *Basseterre* and *Cabesterre*; the latter name derived from *Caput Terra*, the head of the land, facing the wind, which always blows here from the East; the other part, which consequently lies under the wind, is rather more mountainous, tho' called *Basse Terre*. The whole is divided into 22 parishes, beginning at the most Southern point of *Guadeloupe proper*, and so going round the island.

GUADALOUPE PROPER.		GRANDE TERRE.
Parishes.	8. Hayes.	15. Le Gosier.
1. Old Fort.	9. Grand Cul de Sac.	16. L'Abymes.
2. Basse-terre.	10. River Mabel.	17. Manjémi.
3. St Francis.	11. Petit Cul de Sac.	18. Port Louis,
4. Le Bailiff.	12. Goyave.	19. Bertrand Bay.
5. Les Habitans.	13. La Cabesterre.	20. Le Moule.
6. Bouillante.	14. Les Trois Rivières.	21. St. Francis.
7. Pointe Noire.		22. St Anne.

It is not to be supposed, that each of these parishes is so remarkable, as to give us room to expatiate upon it; let it suffice, that we describe such as are most frequented for commerce, or distinguished for building, fortifications, or natural productions.

The climate is in general very warm, and therefore at first inconvenient to strangers, natives of the North of *Europe*. This island abounds in great quantities of mangroves and palmettoes, by which the free course of the air being interrupted, it corrupts, and, besides giving birth to muskettoes, various other troublesome flies, and many sorts of nauseous vermin, generates tedious and often fatal disorders, and the only relief which the inhabitants receive is from the continual refreshes from the trade winds. This may serve more effectually to convince us, that there is no good unmixed with evil. It is certain that, were the ground properly cleared, the air would be much more wholesome, and that the inconveniencies arising to the people from the number of trees would be removed by a constant supply of fresh air.

Through the middle of *Guadeloupe proper* runs a ridge of mountains, for the most part covered with trees, and well watered, pouring down upon the plains many delightful streams, equally useful and refreshing, and rolling down, in other places, impetuous torrents, which, while they please, provoke our admiration.

The soil of the plantations, which slopes from the feet of the mountains to the sea-side, is extremely fertile, and very deep, abounding with sugar, cotton, ginger, indigo, yams, potatoes, and various sorts of grain. The inhabitants breed all sorts of poultry, which thrive very well; and there are large herds of black cattle in the savannahs, which were first brought hither, and left to multiply by the *Spaniards*, who generally touched here with the galleons bound to the continent, to water and refresh. The soil of *Grand Terre* is rather more sandy, and not in all places so fertile. However, sugar thrives well in that quarter, and there are large plantations, even close to the sea-side, that do not derive thence any remarkable injury, such as communicating a saline flavour, or worse colour to the commodity, which might perhaps be expected.

As *Guadeloupe* abounds with rivulets, streams, and rivers, so *Grande Terre* is intirely parched and dry, affording no water but what the inhabitants take care to catch when

it rains; this is a terrible inconveniency, and bears with it many fatal consequences. We have not heard that the mountains produce any sorts of metals; if there be mines, they remain as yet undiscovered.

After giving as true a general picture as was possible of this island, we shall hasten to a survey of more minute objects, such as towns, trade, strength and situation; and, to make this account still more useful, we shall never lose sight of the sea coast, but delineate it, as we proceed, with all possible exactness.

Basse-Terre was the first part of the island cultivated by the *Europeans*, and had formerly two considerable towns; one on the *Father's River*, or *Riviere St Louis*, and the other on each side of the *Riviere Bailiff*. The first of these was twice carried away by the overflowing of the river in a hurricane, which bore down all before it, leaving nothing but the bare rock, on which it was impossible to build again without great expence. Besides, the inhabitants, unwilling to risk another danger of a like nature, removed with their effects to the fort, where they began a town, now the chief upon the island, and called *Basse-Terre*. Nor was the fate of the town upon the *Bailiff* more fortunate; for in 1691 it was burned by the *English*, and afterwards, when just rebuilt, destroyed by an inundation. This misfortune was occasioned by the breaking down of part of the beach, which was overcharged with trees, in a place where projected a fort of mole, that in a great measure streightened the course of the river, which being set at liberty spread rapidly over the town, sweeping away the houses, and part of the inhabitants. However it rose with fresh lustre, and was again destroyed in 1703 by the *English*, who in their first descent had razed to the ground a convent of *Dominicans* beautifully situated on an eminence, which commanded a fine prospect, and had a good effect at a distance, but in itself was inconvenient; for being built on a narrow neck of land, there was a necessity of enlarging it with terrasses supported by very strong walls. The building itself was 72 feet long and 42 broad, flanked by four pavillions, each 36 feet long and 30 broad: One of them served for the domestic chapel; the second for the kitchen and other offices; the third for an infirmary; the fourth for a refectory, and there were good cellars underneath.

Towns destroyed.

Dominican convent.

The fort stands higher than the town of *Basse-Terre* upon a steep bank, washed on the S. E. by the river *Gallion*; on the S. W. it overlooks the sea, from which it is distant about 100 paces, and there is a road of communication between them; the town and the mountains lie on the N. W. This fort was at first only a storehouse, erected by the proprietor of the island for his security against incursions of the savages, with whom he was at war. He afterwards strengthened each face with a saillant angle, so that it became a fortified octagon. Walls were then added parallel to the town and river, and a door and staircase were made in a small flank. In 1674 this house, called the *Donjon*, was inclosed by a parapet of earth and fascines, at the bottom of which a ditch was dug in the rock, or at least in a soil not less hard. By means of some angles, the ditch and parapet were lengthened out to an eminence, 200 paces from the *Donjon*, which it commanded; and on this eminence was built a stone battery with eight embrasures, mounted with two pieces of brass cannon, 18 pounders, and six iron, of different bores; these, with three pieces on the platform facing the *Donjon*, were all the artillery in the fort. The inside had nothing remarkable; the first story consisted of an indifferent hall, two chambers, and a closet; the second was divided into four chambers; and the highest was used for a place of arms; the kitchen and out offices were on the other side of the *Donjon*; under the building were a cistern and two powder magazines, one of which being empty served for a prison. The barracks for officers and soldiers took up all the space from the platform to the battery. The garrison commonly consists of a select company of between 50 or 60 marines and 3 officers. Poor as this fortress may appear to be, in 1691 it sustained a siege from the *English* of 35 days; which was then raised with precipitation, on the arrival of the Marquis de Ragny, governor general of the islands, who brought with him some troops from *Martinico* for the relief of the place; and the besiegers left behind them some of their cannon, a mortar, a good deal of ammunition, with all their sick and wounded.

Fort of *Basse-Terre* described.

The town of *Basse-Terre*, which they destroyed at the same time, was soon rebuilt at the foot of the eminence whereon the fort is erected. It is a long street, reaching to a little stream called *Billau*, and unequally intersected at about two thirds of its length by the river *Herbes*. The most considerable section lying between the fort and the river,

Town of *Basse-Terre* described.

retains the name of the town of *Basse-Terre*; the lesser, extending from the river *Herbes* to *Billau*, is called *St Francis*, from a church and convent here built by the Friars of that order. Both these towns are crossed by five or six little streets with four churches.

Jesuits church

That of the Jesuits is of stone, the inside adorned with pilasters of hewn stone, and a cornish poorly designed. The altar is a handsome piece of wood-work, well finished, in good taste, and prettily gilded, as is also the pulpit. Their college was some time since rather inconvenient, being at least 300 paces distant from their church; but, to make up for this disadvantage, it was situated in a fine air, upon an eminence presenting a most beautiful as well as an unbounded view. There was not much to be seen in the place itself; it contained only two or three wooden chambers, a stone hall, in which they received visits, a small domestic chapel, and an outhouse, containing a kitchen, a pantry, and refectory. Beyond this, in a walled court, they keep their sheep, saddle-horses, and other things of that kind; here is also a large dove-house, and under it a prison for the Negroes. They had formerly their sugar-works, with a water-mill, beyond the town of *St Francis*; but this plantation being destroyed, together with the house, in 1703, by the *English*, who however spared the church, the good fathers bought an estate, and erected works, which succeeded admirably on the other side of the River *Gallion*. The Capuchins have a neat small church, built of stone, and finely shaded with trees, on the other side of the river *Herbes*, and behind it, on an eminence, stands their convent, to which you mount by three high terrasses, each 150 feet long, and 30 broad, communicating by ascents of large steps. On the highest terrace, which is even with the convent, just before the door, there is a water-spout in a large basin of stone. The building, which is the pleafantest in the island, is very convenient, and 108 feet long; behind it you ascend to a fourth terrace, that engrosses the rest of this little height, and commands a most extensive view of the country, the town, and the island. General *Coddington*, who commanded the *English* that invaded *Gua-*

Church of the
Capuchins.

Spared by
Gen. *Codrig-*
ton.
Burnt by his
son.

daloupe in 1691, chose this place for his head quarters, for which reason he spared it when he retired. It was also chosen for the same service by his son, who conducted a descent in 1703, but burnt by him on his drawing off from the island. These two towns contain about 260 houses, most of them of wood, and very neat. This whole quarter, beginning at the stream of *Billau*, and reaching to the battery, behind which the *Carmelites* had formerly their convent, is defended from the depredations of the sea by a stone parapet, fascines, and banks of earth strongly supported by posts.

Passing from hence through a narrow, steep pass, difficult to climb, and 8 or 900 paces from the sea, you come to a piece of land that leads, by an almost imperceptible ascent, to the mountains which rise in the center of the island. Here and there lie some tracts of plain country, where the rain water, having gathered, is preserved in a sort of natural reservoir. And on two particular spots it forms lakes, of great use in many cases as well as in slacking the thirst of cattle; for water is scarce in this quarter, called *Marigot* parish, the large river, called the *White River*, that runs on one side of it, on account of its rapid course, and high banks, from which one cannot look down without dizziness, being of no use to the inhabitants.

Lakes of rain
Water.

White River.

From *Basse-Terre* to *Goyave*, which lies 5 leagues N.N.W. & by N. of the river *Bailiff*, the road is for the most part very indifferent, leading over steep, sharp ascents, and encumbered and obstructed with large stones, trees, and brambles, so that a horseman must look carefully about him, and is often obliged to dismount. It is not indeed much frequented, the inhabitants communicating rather by water. At the foot of a steep precipice, on the other side of the river *Bailiff*, are heaps of ruins, being the remains of the buildings, which the *English* first, and the overflowing of the river afterwards, destroyed. On the summit are the remains of the fort *Magdalene*; it was a square building, covered on the N.E. and N.W. by small bastions, about four fathoms in flank, and nine in face. The angle towards the river had no bastion, being covered by a steep rock that ran quite to the sea; beneath this angle was a battery of two pieces of cannon. The ditches surrounding these works are five fathoms broad, and three deep; three fathom from the counterscarp is a wall of six feet high, with several angles, which serves for a covered way; between this building and the sea-side were some good cisterns. This might be made a very useful post if it were rebuilt, and a mount that commands it at about the distance of a musket-shot removed, which might be easily done; and, as it covers effectually all the environs, it is happily situated to stop the progress of an enemy.

Ruins.

Fort *Magda-*
lene.

All the tract between the rivers *Bailiff* and *du Pleffis* is called *Mont St Robert*.^{Mont St Robert.} The descent of the river *Pleffis*, though often broke into zigzags, is difficult and steep. Near the middle of it is a station for fifteen or twenty men, facing to the mouth of the river, but neither safe nor commodious, it being easy for an enemy to see the garrison, even down to the feet, from the opposite shore; and a safe retreat in that case is absolutely impossible. The river *du Pleffis* is steep, and full of water, and the passing of it dangerous, though only six fathom wide, as it runs through a bed of stone and rocks; its waters are supposed to be the lightest and most wholesome in the island. They divide the parish of *Bailiff* from that of *les Habitans*, the church of the latter being at least a league distant, and the ground for about half the way pretty level; after which you enter upon a valley that widens as you approach the sea-side, where it forms a bay, or creek, called *Vadelorge*, and marked in the map as a river.

Vadelorge
bay.

About 500 paces before you arrive at the church you approach by an easy descent to a plain twelve or fifteen paces wide, called *le fond des Habitans*, almost equally intersected by a river of the same name, which, before it gains the sea, forms a considerable lake, and fills it with fish, whenever it chances to overflow, or to break over its banks by an extraordinary tide. And tho' it abounds with many different species, it is so overrun with mangroves and other trees, among the roots and branches of which they find a safe shelter, that it is scarcely possible to catch them. The church, a house for the priest, and a neat garden, are not far from the river. There are about a score of other houses in the neighbourhood, inhabited by tradesmen, publicans, &c. The soil of this quarter is for the most part worn out and dry; however it is usefully employed in manufacturing cotton and hides, and produces manioc, maiz, and potatoes. In the time of the first company that peopled this island, such of the settlers as had worked out their three years of servitude, which term expired gave them a right to plant, retired hither, that they might not be confounded with the company's servants, and by way of precedence or distinction called themselves *les Habitans*, "the inhabitants," whence the quarter also has its denomination. The soil was formerly much better; and the country appeared as beautiful as any other part of the *Basse-Terre*; but it has been spoiled by the sand, wherewith it has been overspread by the frequent inundations, occasioned by cutting away the trees that consolidated the banks, which being thus weakened, the waters soon broke them, and overwhelmed the country.

Les Habitans
parish, plain,
and river.

Reason of
the name.

The mouth of the river *Beaugendre* is not farther than 5 or 600 paces from that of *les Habitans*, and it runs at the foot of a high rock, that terminates the plain of *les Habitans* on the West. The soil all the way from hence to *Goyave* is dry, poor, and stoney, producing nothing but a tree as hard as flint, by which name it is distinguished. There is not in the whole island a more disagreeable, uneasy road.

Beaugendre
river.

About half a league from the river *Beaugendre* you descend into a narrow, deep valley, through which runs a small brook, which falls into the sea at the bottom of *Boat's Creek*.^{Boat's Creek.} The mouth of this creek is about 400 paces broad, in the middle it widens to 600, and the bottom of it is an oval. You may conclude it to be very deep from the high craggy lands that surround it, from the top of which to its bottom measures not less than a quarter of a league. Shipping will find in this creek a safe covering from all points but W. S. W. which blows full into its mouth; the bottom is open, free from rocks, and the ground a black sand. Here the Corsairs often find refuge in bad weather; and it is a good place to careen and take in water; the stream, which we have just now mentioned, running but slowly, and easily approached.

It was the bottom of this bay which the *English* chose for their landing-place in 1691, nor could any choice be more injudicious, it being near three leagues from the fortress, through a bad road, on which were several defiles and passes easy to be defended. The Governor, M. *Hincelin*, being ill of a dropy, was therefore unable to act with that vigour against them, which he might otherwise perhaps have done. As their designs were against the fortress and the town of *Basse-Terre*, he very justly imagined this descent was but a feint, and that they would employ their strength nearer to him. With this conjecture he dispatched M. *de Bourdenave*, his aid-major, with 25 men, to watch their motions, supported at a distance by Major *du Cler*, with 100 men, while he himself remained at *Fort Magdalene* with the rest of his troops, having particularly ordered M. *de la Malmaison*, the King's Lieutenant, by no means to leave the fort wherein he commanded. The Aid-Major having taken a view of the enemy's proceedings, and being convinced of the truth of their intentions, dispatched

English land
at this creek.

Their progress and success.

an account thereof to the governor, soliciting an immediate reinforcement. In the mean time, to prevent them, if possible, from gaining the first eminence, he divided his little company, now increased by seven or eight Negroes, into two parties: One of these were ordered to defend a narrow pass, which the foe must necessarily attempt; and with the other he fired upon them from among the trees, some of which he cut down to embarrass them in their progress as much as possible, while they, not knowing what force they had to contend with, did not dare to advance. At the end of three hours no succour arriving, and his ammunition beginning to fail, he determined to draw off behind the wood which he had felled, but was killed with four of his men, before he could complete his purpose. The rest of his followers, discouraged with the loss, retired in some confusion, but made a stand behind the trees which they had cut down, till they were joined by their comrades, to whom they had sent notice of their retreat, which they afterwards made good, to the astonishment of the *English*, more especially when they saw the small number that had held them so long at bay, and killed and wounded them twenty four men; *Bordenave* was killed by one *George Roche*, an inhabitant of *Antigua*. It is certain that if Major *le Cler* had done his duty, and properly sustained this little detachment, the enemy could not have penetrated farther on this side, but must have been obliged to attempt a descent on another quarter. But he not only neglected to advance, under various frivolous pretexts, but even prevented 300 men, who had been detached to support him by the governor, from marching forward. The remains of *Bordenave's* people, who had lost five men, and left a Negro behind them much wounded, having joined *le Cler*, after passing the river *Beaugendre*, and *les Habitans*, took post behind some stone walls that commanded the river, where they fired so smartly upon the enemy, as to stop their progress for the rest of the day. But fearing that they might reembark some of their troops in the night, and by landing at *Vadelorge* creek, or some nearer place, take them in flank, they thought it best to retreat before morning, after which they entrenched themselves to great advantage on the banks of the *Plessis*, where they were attacked about ten the next day, and sustained the onset with so much spirit, that the enemy lost above 300 men without gaining an inch of ground; upon which the admiral gave a signal for reembarking. At this juncture a malicious report propagated among the men, that the *English* had forced the river both above and below, struck them with such a panic, that it was impossible to keep them to their duty, so that the officers were obliged to retire with them to the town of *Bailiff*; an unpardonable oversight, as they might easily have kept possession of the *Magdelene*. The *English* perceiving their confusion, pursued them with an incessant fire, and having driven them out of the last post, on which they seized, compelled them to pass the river *St Louis* to the town of *Basse-Terre*, where they quartered for that night. This post they abandoned in the morning, and passed the river *Gallion* at the *Madam*, about three miles off. The enemy took possession of the place, and having erected batteries, laid siege to the fort, which in 35 days was relieved, as we before observed, by the Marquis *de Ragny*, Governor of the *French* islands.

From *Boat's Creek* to *Goyave* the road is bad, stoney, uneven, and crossed in many places by brooks and running streams. Here are but few inhabitants, some indifferent houses only being scattered up and down.

Goyave described.

At *Goyave* there is, besides a few houses, a good stone church, 70 feet by 24. It lies about 300 paces from the sea, fronted by reeds, mangroves, and palmettoes, which harbour an infinite number of troublesome insects, but prevent it from being seen and plundered by the rovers. At the back of the altar is a steep high rock, which you ascend by many windings to the house belonging to the priest, about three fourths of the ascent, substantially built of stone, with good conveniences, and a handsome garden, which lies rather too much upon a slope. The air here is very wholesome, and the situation delightful; you have a most extensive prospect towards the sea, and a distant view of the bay of *Goyave*, which is about half a league over; and about half a league off to the West is a little island bearing, the same name.

Bay and island of *Goyave*.

Hermitage tile.

To the East there is a great rock, or small island, called the *Hermitage*, as having a number of small caverns in it. The anchorage here is not very safe, the bottom being a coarse black sand, intermixed with sharp rocks, which cut the cables; the place is full of fish, which are easily caught in baskets. Near a little river that falls into the bay the land is a craggy rock, in other parts covered with a white sand, and afford

fords a pleasant walk. About 300 paces East of the church, the water boils naturally; it is hot enough to boil an egg, and the hand can by no means endure it. The surface of its bottom has not this quality, but when you dig a little way down, you find it grow warmer by degrees, until at length you reach a stratum which is quite hot, and sends forth a smoke savouring strongly of brimstone. Not far from this spot is a pond, the waters of which are muddy as if the bottom was disturbed, and it is almost always bubbling. This water is really hot, and well tasted, but a little sulphurous when laid by to cool; it forms a little stream, for about 200 paces, when it falls into the sea, having before lost much of its heat and mineral taste.

Near this pond is a marsh, covered in a few places with very little water, and the ground is a sort of dry sand, coloured like brimstone, and so dangerous that a man may be easily swallowed up in endeavouring to cross. Here grow some herbs of a whitish colour, generally covered with a powder like sulphur. Those who chance to fall here in passing over, leave at least some of their skin behind, for this sand is rather hotter than the neighbouring pond. It is supposed that these waters have some medicinal qualities, and might be useful in many diseases: It has been proved efficacious in dropsies, agues, and contractions of the nerves.

After doubling the western point of the bay of *Goyave*, the coast appears steep, sharp, and rocky, frequently broken through by descending rivers, or torrents rushing downward with vast impetuosity. The soil, though black and stoney, is very fertile; sugars thrive in it apace, being fine and well grained, and the cattle large and in good order. The land hereabouts is well peopled, and cultivated to great advantage. The people feed mostly on the *Cassadée* root, instead of bread, and it is extremely good.

About six leagues from *Goyave* you meet with a fine creek, covered by a high point of land on the N. W. called *Ferri* creek; here is a river about 17 or 18 feet broad, and not more than three in depth. To the left of this creek, on a little eminence, is a house for divine worship, which is kept very neat, though constructed only of stakes drove into the ground, palisadoed with reeds, and covered with palm-leaves. They cultivate here, yams, maize, potatoes, cotton and tobacco, but no sugars. In the meadows are fine herds of horned cattle, and various sorts of poultry, which the inhabitants dispose of, with their other commodities, to the ships that touch here for that purpose from *Martinico* and elsewhere, with whom they drive a profitable trade. There is good game in this part of the island, for it abounds with blackbirds, doves, thrushes, ortolans, and several of the parrot kind, with variety of water-fowls, besides plenty of swine; and not far off, among the islands of the *Great Cul-de-Sac*, turtle, sharks, and pilot-fish are found in abundance.

In coasting from *Ferri* Creek to the *Great Cul-de-Sac*, you pass by a head of land, called the *Great High Land*, or *Grosse Morne*; here is good shelter for shipping, and, were the place not so open to the descents of rovers, it would bear good canes.

When you have doubled this point, you find a delicious country, well watered, covered with variety of trees, and rising with an almost imperceptible declivity to the mountains, which begin sensibly to heighten at about 3 leagues from the sea side. The reasons why this part of the island is but poorly inhabited arise from some disputes about private property, its openness to the descents of the *English* from *Monferrat* and *Antigua*, and its too great distance from *Basse Terre* and *Little Cul-de-Sac*, which are the chief resorts of the shipping that touch upon this island. From the *Great Highland Point* to *Antigua Point* upon *Grand Terre* is a space of about six leagues, forming a fine bay for shipping, in some places three leagues broad, and affording sufficient depth for anchorage to vessels of any burthen. Here you see very pleasant isles, which might be easily fortified; they abound with turtle, and oysters stick plentifully to the leaves of the mangrove, that here grow every where; but the swarms of gnats, musketoes, and other insects, destroy all the pleasures of the place, and are quite intolerable.

There is a large tract of land between the *Great* and *Lesser Cul-de-Sac*, formerly called *St Germain*, but in the year 1707 erected into a marquissate, bearing the title of *Houelburgh*, in honour of a gentleman of the name of *Houel*, to whom it belongs. It is watered by two very sweet little streams, one called *la Belle Hotesse*, "the fair hostess," to which is a passage cut through the mangroves, and the bark of two great trees that stand near it is covered with names, impressed by the various people who have here found refreshment.

Grande-Terre. Leaving the *Salt River* you go ashore upon *Grande-Terre* at fort *St Louis*, where is a garrison, seldom consisting of more than a company of marines commanded by a captain. This fort, in the time of our author, was a parallelogram of 15 fathom by 10 or 12, and wretchedly contrived, as consisting of a double row of palisadoes, distant from each other about six feet, to support the earth and fascines of which the parapet is composed. On some salient angles are raised wooden platforms for cannon; for the parapet not being quite eight feet high, had embrasures been made in it, they would rather have served as inlets to the enemy, than have been useful in defence. The only stone or brick-work about it are the jambs of the door, a small powder magazine, a kitchen, and one or two bakehouses; but, to crown the whole, an eminence at a pistol shot distance fully commands it. It is moreover, from its situation, too high to cover the shipping that moor in the road, for which reason a strong stone redoubt has been built lower down, mounted with six pieces of cannon; but this being also overlooked from behind, must be easily taken by land. Upon the whole, it is surprising that people should think of erecting a fort, which can have no one advantage but a good air, and an extensive delightful prospect; for from it you can see plainly both the *Cul-de-Sacs* full of islets, and even the mountains of *Dominica* in clear weather.

Les Abymes. *Les Abymes*, or several deep gulfs, or encroachments which the sea hereabouts has made upon the land, are worth visiting. In these gulfs ships are not only safely sheltered from storms and enemies, but moored as it were in a forest. They are generally fastened to some of the palmettoes, with which these places are covered; for it would be useless to cast anchor where there is either a hazard of losing it, or of rooting up a forest to free it. This road is covered by a little island, where, in our author's time, there was some intention of erecting a battery, that would, from its situation, answer many good ends.

General character of Grande-Terre. *La Grande-Terre* is very pleasing to the eye, the soil is a white sand, and sugar-canes thrive in it extremely well, being planted all the way down to the sea side. Here is plenty of game both for the gun and the net, so that life may be supported at a very small expence. The multitude of white crabs that you meet every where among the plantations, savannahs, woods, and even in the roads, is astonishing, and so very fierce, that if you put them aside with your foot they will snap at it; they are of great service to the negroes and other inhabitants. But all the advantages of *Grande-Terre* are but light, compared to the inconveniency for want of water, it being totally destitute of any that is good. There are indeed some few lakes, the waters of which are corrupted and spoiled by the crabs, or else they are distastefully brackish, so that care is taken to save the rain in cisterns and jars. To this want of water may not unjustly be ascribed the livid complexion of the inhabitants, and their disposition to dropsies, inveterate fevers, and other disorders, which, though seldom mortal, are however long and difficult to be cured. At *Guadeloupe*, on the other hand, water is so plenty, that it supplies many of the neighbouring islands. The want of water upon the *Grande-Terre* is ascribed to its general situation on a sand, and to the light, porous, and spongy quality of the soil, which imbibes the rain as soon as it falls; and, if in some places the earth resists, and collects it, yet, as there are few declivities, rarely any channel is formed to carry it off and refine it, whence it putrefies, and communicates the infection to the air.

Le Gosier village, parish, and island. *Le Gosier* is a small village, close to the sea, about three miles from *St Louis*, that gives name to a parish, and to a small rocky island lying opposite to it. Fifteen miles farther to the N. E. is *St Anne's* parish, which takes its denomination from the town of *St Anne*, the situation of which is very agreeable. It consists of about 100 houses, including storehouses and magazines; the chief trade is fishing, in which the Negroes are constantly employed, and the shrimps here are the best between the tropics. The port is only for small craft, covered on the South, but otherwise open to the sea-breeze, which here blows from the East; and about two miles farther, reckoning N. E. in *Citron Bay*, is sufficient depth for ships of burthen, which may here ride secure in all weathers.

Arnouville. Opposite to fort *St Louis*, on the land of *Guadeloupe proper*, is *Arnouville*, an estate belonging to the heirs of M. *Baudouin*, who, in 1644, was principal commissary to the company. It is about two miles broad, and six long, every where pleasant and fruitful. The ground is a little reddish in some places, like cinders; but the canes thrive well, and the cattle seem in good condition. It is crossed by two small rivers, one of

of which augments the river *du Coin*, the other falls into the river *St Paul*. From hence to a stream called *Briqueterie*, where begins the marquisate of *St Mary*, the soil is well cultivated, and the lands populous. The planters, besides their sugars, raise tobacco, ginger, maiz and rice, and deal also in cattle and poultry. The extent, which may be about four leagues, is every where well watered, since we find no less than 8 rivers, besides smaller channels, from the *du Coin* to the *Briqueterie*. This marquisate extends about a league along the sea side, and runs inland about three leagues, where it joins the mountains that separate the *Cabasterre* from the *Basse-Terre*. *Du Coin, St Paul, Briqueterie rivers. St Mary marquisate*

It should have been before observed, that the best part of the division, which flanks *Grande-Terre*, is called *Cabasterre*; and that *Guadalupe proper* may be considered as divided into two provinces, the *Basse-Terre* and the *Cabasterre*. Here we see the ruins of a magnificent building, which the first proprietor probably intended to have made his residence; but it was never finished. The place is finely shaded with pear-trees; it was formerly laid out in plantations of tobacco, sugar, and manioc; and the walls of a sugar-work, and a water-mill are still standing. The trees, though called pear-trees, bear no fruit, but the leaves much resemble those of the pear-trees in *Europe*, though rather larger; they produce a small violet-colour blossom, consisting of five leaves, expanding as they shoot into the form of a cup. The tree grows to a good size, and has lofty branches; the bark is white and chapped; the grain of the wood is gray, and easily admits of a polish; it is used for planks, axletrees, and various other kinds of wood-work. *Cabasterre. Pear-trees barren.*

Opposite to these ruins, at the mouth of the river, is very safe riding for shipping, the violence of the waves being broken by two rocks, called *L'Homme* and *la Femme*, "husband and wife," which lie above the edge of the water. And a good port might be easily formed here, were this part of the *Cabasterre* fortified, which might be done at a trifling expence, there being sufficiency of stone, earth very fit for bricks, and *Basse-Terre* abounding in a good red mortar, supposed the same with the *Pozzolana* found in *Naples* and other parts of *Italy*. You see one rock higher than the rest, about half a mile from shore, which is never overflowed but during the vast floods of the equinox; and this rock, if a little raised, might admit of a fort of seven or eight feet diameter, which, with a few pieces of cannon, would effectually command the harbour, and prove greatly to the advantage of the whole *Cabasterre*. *L'Homme and la Femme rocks.*

From *St Mary* to the *Great River* is a good road, planted with pear-trees, broad enough for five coaches to go abreast, and crossed by two or three small rivulets. This may be justly stiled the *Great River*, for it is the largest in all *Cabasterre*; the water, which is very clear, reaching up to the horse's belly, when free from all increase of flood. In some places it is 30 fathom wide; but the passage is not very safe without a guide, the bottom being rocky and uneven. *Great river.*

Leaving the *Great River*, in the road to the *Three Rivers*, lies *Marigot*, a small town of about thirty houses, including warehouses, and inhabited by three or four merchants, a few workmen, and publicans. About 300 paces from the town is the parish church, 100 feet by 30, built of stone, and covered with slate, having two wings, or small chapels, that give it the form of a cross. From the church to the house of the priest, which was once a convent of friars, you pass through a valley of trees, which yield a comfortable shade for about the length of 250 feet. The house is badly contrived, and the garden large, but laid out with no taste. *Marigot town and church.*

In proceeding to the *Three Rivers* you cross a large stream, called the *Grand Carbet*; and another half league brings you to the borders of *Grand Bananiers*, which terminates the *Cabasterre*. This division is the pleasanter of the whole island, extending about 20 leagues, mostly along the sea side, with a gentle declivity, to the mountains, distant, in some places, but a league, in others four leagues, reckoning from the *Grand Bananiers* to the *Great Highland Head*, and keeping the *Basse-Terre* to the East. This extent of land, as we have shewn, is every where finely watered. *Three rivers. Grand Carbet river. Grand Bananiers.*

In this quarter (*Grand Bananiers*) among the mountains, is a volcano, called *Souffriere*, to which there is a winding ascent. After three or four hours climbing you find some burning stones, and white cinders, that smell strongly of sulphur, lying half a foot deep; and these increase as you advance. The top of the hill is pretty extensive, and rendered very unequal by the different heaps of calcined stones of all sizes vomited forth at different times. From the highest of these heaps, or mounts, called the point of the volcano, you can perceive its mouth, the widest diameter of which appears not to be *Souffriere volcano.*

be much more than 100 feet, and you see it from time to time throw out thick, black, sulphurous clouds of smoke, with sparks of fire. It has another smaller mouth, which looks like an old chimney, and also frequently discharges smoke and flame, that likewise issue from the cracks and little crevices every where to be seen. The ground all about sounds hollow, and, though the days are here very hot, the gale is pretty fresh, nay, we venture to say piercing.

Mineral
ponds.

As you descend you pass by three ponds of warm water, about 200 paces one from another. The water of the first is brown, and tastes as if iron had been quenched in it; the second is white, tasting of allum; and the third blue, with the taste of vitriol; and some pieces of vitriol, it is said, have been taken out of it. You see several other streams as you descend, which thunder rapidly down the hill, and one of them, called the *White River*, from the cinders, and sulphur that discolour it, falls into the river *St Louis*, and by its stench renders it incapable of fish. About the middle of the hill the prospect changes, very agreeably, from dreary, barren wilds, and inhospitable rocks, to the most agreeable verdure. You see the land every where well watered, agreeably cultivated, and stocked with an industrious people; and the enjoyment is the greater from the suddenness of the contrast. There you are to take notice also of two convents, one belonging to the Cordeliers, the other to the Carmelites.

Three Rivers
quarter.

The quarter of the *Trois Rivières*, or *Three Rivers*, is about four miles in extent, very pleasant, and stocked with plenty of canes in great perfection, with several sugar-works, and water-mills. They make up most of their sugars brown, finding it more profitable than spending time to refine them, in which they find some difficulty. This quarter, from its fertility and situation, affords fine moorage for ships, and may be easily fortified. And whoever possesses the island should pay great respect to its importance, because the man who is master of it may effectually cut off all communication between *Basse-Terre* and *Cabasserre*; and if once he can get the neighbouring eminences and defiles into his hands, the island must fall of course. In some of these passes twenty men of spirit may baffle all the attempts of the most numerous army. In this neighbourhood, at some distance from the old fort of *Guadaloupe*, is a strong redoubt, called *Dos d'Asne*, which is a secure retreat for women, children, and old men, being almost inaccessible, as was experienced when the *English* landed here in 1702. There is a road cut through a rock to it, from the *Trois Rivières*, and from the fort, which is narrow, rugged, and fatiguing, and requires on this side a very small defence. The air is good, though its course be obstructed by the surrounding woods. After passing several eminences, most of which were fortified in 1702, you descend

Dos d'Asne
redoubt.

Gallions river

to the banks of the *Gallions*, the whole way being intricate, steep, and difficult. You cross this river at a ford, though there was formerly a bridge of wood, which was carried off by an inundation. And, indeed, something of that nature is extremely necessary here, it being the only passage from *Basse-Terre* to *Cabasserre*, and consequently in bad weather the communication between these places entirely interrupted. The river takes its name from the *Spanish* galleons, which were wont to touch here for water in their voyage to *Terra Firma*, before the *French* settled on the island. Good water is here in plenty, there is also a safe bay; but ships will find it more advantageous to drop anchor lower down, either in the rivers *St Louis*, or the *Bailiff*, where there is good bottom and sufficient depth, with much better water, being entirely free from the flavour of sulphur and vitriol, which cannot be said of the water of the *Gallions*, for which reasons the soldiers of the fort are forbidden to use it, as being apt to give the gripes and dysentery to people not accustomed to it.

Coast inacces-
sible.

Point of the
old fort.

Leaving this river you find upon the coast a high craggy road, which leads to the glacis of the fort. And it is certain that from the little harbour of the *Trois Rivières* to the point of the old fort, the landing of an enemy will be found very difficult, nay next to impossible, the coast being steep and craggy, and often broken by horrid precipices, from any of which ten men might check the progress of 1000, by barely rolling upon them, from above, stones, of which the coast affords plenty. The point of the old fort is an eminence, which faces the S. E. and seems to have been formed of rocks, washed down by the rains from the neighbouring mountain, and covered with earth by time. It is flat and even, about 200 feet broad, and something more in height: At the foot of it the Carmelites have a small church. In some hollows of the mountain, and on the hillocks in the neighbourhood, are 7 or 8 plantations, where they cultivate cotton, marnoc, maize, and feed poultry. On this fort are two iron
cannon

cannon, which, when fired, give notice to the fort at *Basse terre* of what appears at sea. This part of the island seems, from its situation, secure from insult; besides, an enemy would find but little plunder, and it is hardly possible, supposing them possessed of the coast, to carry into execution any designs that may be useful to them, because of the thick woods, and inaccessible fastnesses, whence the inhabitants could eternally annoy them, without being dislodged. There is no touching any where, in coasting from the old fort, for a league and half westward, till you reach *Ance de la Croix*, a small creek, about nine or ten fathom deep, and near thirty fathom wide, formed by two points of land that jutt into the sea, and a perpendicular beach about 30 feet high, over which a small rivulet falls in a sheet; the land above is pleasant and good, running in several places farther within the mountain than one would expect. Here was a plantation, the master of which used a ladder to get down to the sea, and would have cut a small road, had he not been prevented for good reasons; since the consequence might have been very bad, as there is a path leading through the windings of the mountain to some considerable plantations, of which an enemy might thus get possession in the night, and then take the island forces on the *Gallion* in flank and rear.

Ance de la Croix creek.

The creek, or harbour, of *Gallion* begins half a league forward at a high point of land, called *Raby head*, the coast being steep, craggy, and full of rocks, on which the sea breaks with a loud reverberating noise. The creek of *Gallion* is not more than 5 or 600 feet broad, reckoning from *Raby head* to the river *Sence*, which falls into the sea at the foot of a point of land somewhat lower, on the top of which is a redoubt constructed of earth and stone. M. *Auger* erected some other redoubts, which command the creek, and were executed at small expence, the beach being covered with large flint stones; his intention was in time to build a regular fortification, as the lands hereabouts produce greater quantities of white sugar than any others on the island.

Sence river.

The land between the rivers *Gallion* and *St Louis* is intersected in the middle by the river *Herbes*, that on the side of the *Gallion* being called *Montagne de beau soleil*, that on the side of the river *St Louis*, *Montagne de belle vue*. The banks of the river *St Louis*, sometimes called the *Father's River*, are rough and craggy, and a man would find it difficult to pass here on horseback. The Jacobins have a settlement at the mouth of this river, which is well fortified by a parapet seven feet high, composed of a double row of palisades, made of flint wood, filled up with earth and fascines, with a small glacis, and covered with saillant angles. The coast almost all the way to the plain of *Les habitants*, particularly from *Vadelorge* road, is steep, craggy, and unequal, running from four to 7 or 8 fathoms in height, and in itself sufficiently strong; where it is not, care has been taken to supply the defect with fortifications, laid out, for the most part, to advantage.

Herbes river.

Those who will please to compare this account of the island of *Guadaloupe* with the map will find that we have made a regular survey of the whole, and left no remarkable part of either the sea coast or inland country undescribed. We shall now proceed to say something of the vegetables, and of some other things natural to the place. For though we shall take care to insert a natural history of the *Antilles* in general by itself, yet we could not avoid giving here several particulars on that head relating immediately to an island, in the interest of which *Great Britain* is very lately become so largely and happily concerned.

Our author found the copau tree, so celebrated for the medicinal qualities of its balm, only in one place on this island, and searched for it in vain at *Martinico*, *Dominica*, *St Christopher's*, &c. It grows to the height of one or two and twenty feet, and is very beautiful with a leaf like that of an orange tree, but rather longer, and more pointed, of a fine green, sweet taste, and aromatic smell, as is the bark of it when rubbed in the hand; the wood is soft and white. *March* is here the best time to draw off the balm, which is done by making a perpendicular incision of 6 or 7 inches long, near the bottom of the tree. When in its most perfect state, it is thick and yellow, yielding a delicious perfume, and one drop of it, thrown into a glass of cold water, sinks directly to the bottom; if it either swims or divides, you may be certain that it is adulterated. It neither dries nor hardens like the *Peruvian* balsam when kept, only grows more glutinous, and acquires a deeper colour. It is good for all sorts of bruises and wounds, except gunshot wounds, for all disorders of the chest, and hemorrhages,

Copau tree

Virtues of the oil.

rhages; our author affirms it to be efficacious in violent fevers. It may be administered either mixed up with an egg, or in a little broth. It is applied externally, heated as hot as the patient can bear it, and spread upon cotton. Its operation is by a gentle transpiration, for it neither excites sweat, nor any extraordinary emotion.

Milk-shrub. The milk-shrub, so called from its yielding a thick white liquor when pressed or broken, is said, by our author, to have almost as many virtues as the copau. Its leaf is shaped like laurel, but larger, thicker, and more soft; it bears a white blossom something like jessamin, each containing 5 or 6 flowers, and two small black grains are found in the middle, which are the seeds of the shrub; it will also grow from slips. The outside of the bark is pale-green, the inside whitish, and its pith resembles that of elder. The pedicle of the leaf is about an inch long, with a knot where it touches the bark. The milk which it yields, when bottled, turns to powder, and seems rather to acquire than lose force from the transmutation. A glass of wine in which the root of the milk-shrub has been about two minutes steeped is excellent against the colic; but a stronger infusion would excite a fever.

Flintwood. The flintwood, so named from its hardness, grows in dry rocky ground; it has but few branches and leaves, and at distance appears red and scorched; its leaves are of an oval figure. This tree grows to a good height, but the diameter of its trunk seldom exceeds fourteen inches; the bark is whitish, very thin and notched, and peels off it spontaneously when the tree is felled, at which time it has a reddish grain, which soon turns grey; the sap is white and thick, but the heart, or pith, will keep to admiration either upon land or water. The fibres are so cohesive, that they cannot be divided without breaking or cutting them.

Bitterwood. The Bitterwood is a pretty large tree, sometimes more than two feet in diameter. The bark is round, thick, and ragged; the leaf thick, long, pointed, and in colour a pale-green. The wood is first of a bright yellow, which, as it dries, becomes white; it is light and stringy. The muskettoes, and all those troublesome flies which pester the island, avoid this wood, as they do the Acajou, both of them being very bitter, which quality they communicate to meat dressed upon a fire made of their faggots.

Cotton tree. The cotton tree, with the produce of which they drive a great trade, never grows to any remarkable height, because they often lop it, which, they say, makes it yield better cotton, and more in quantity, than if it were suffered to run up to any height. In seven or eight months after cutting it bears fruit. The bark of it is thin and grey; the wood white, tender, and spongy; its branches are almost straight, and the leaves, of which it is pretty full, are divided into three parts, like those of the vine, but thinner, smaller, and not so tough; when the tree is young they are of a lively green, but the colour changes as the tree grows. It blossoms twice a year; the flower is yellow, streaked with purple, and its pistil changes into an oval pod, which grows as large as a pigeon's egg, and is at first green, then brown, and, lastly, black, dry, and brittle; when it is ripe it bursts with some noise, and the cotton would soon be lost, as it falls out, were it not carefully gathered. It requires to be planted in a light dry soil, and if it be first cut in wet weather requires no rain to bring it forward. It has two sorts of pods, black and green, of which the latter is the more beautiful, and the planters find their advantage in mixing them. An oil is distilled from the skin of the pod, not disagreeable in smell or taste.

Siam cotton. They also cultivate here, though but in few places, the cotton of *Siam*, whence it was first brought hither. It is softer and better than silk, and stockings made of it are finer and more esteemed than those of silk, being valued at 10 and 15 crowns a pair.

Fromager cotton. The Fromager cotton grows to the height of 25 or 30 feet, and the shade of it being very comfortable the inhabitants generally plant it before their doors. It bears a pod as big as an egg, from which, when ripe, the cotton bursts out, with some noise. It is of a shining pearl colour, and used in hosiery.

Mahot cotton. The Mahot cotton is a very large tree, with sometimes a diameter of four feet. The leaf is of a dark-green, round, and ends in a small point. Its flowers are large and yellow, and the cotton is used in stuffing pillows.

Mahot tree with large leaves. They also apply the cotton of the mahot with large leaves, improperly called the cotton-tree, to the use of stuffing pillows; the colour is grey, and it is very fine. The bark at first is green, and becomes yellow when the fruit is ripe. The leaves are very large, the upper part of a fine green, the lower whitish, covered with an almost imperceptible down, inclining to the colour of reddish gold. The flower is seldom less than

than 5 or 6 inches high, and 4 inches broad ; it is at first green, but as it ripens grows yellow. The wood is white, and so very light, that it is used as a buoy to mark any thing particular under water, on the surface of which it swims.

The *Pois a gratter* is a shrub, which, like ivy, winds round the first tree, or prop, that it can seize. Its wood is grey, supple, and sappy ; the bark thin ; the leaf about three inches high, ending in a point, and unequally divided by its principal fibre. The flowers, which are small and blueish, are succeeded by pods of between six and eight inches long ; the skin of this pod is covered by a fine, short, thick down, which, falling on any part of the human skin, causes a very uneasy itching, which may be removed by oil or warm water, *Pois a gratter*

Ginger is the root of a tufted plant, that seldom grows higher than two feet ; the leaf of it is long, narrow, and soft, resembling that of a rose, but every way less. They are green when young, assume a yellowish hue when they ripen, and dry up entirely when the root arrives at a state of maturity, in which it appears about the bigness of a man's hand, and an inch thick ; it has a thin skin, which changes from flesh-colour to grey ; it is every where full of fibres, replete with a sharper juice than the rest of the root contains. It requires a good soil, somewhat dry, and therefore flourishes best between the *Grand Cul de Sac*, and the *Grande Riviere*, and they eat it green in large quantities ; it is also reckoned a good conserve. In the latter case they gather it green, and having stripped off its skin, and sliced it, avoiding as much as possible to cut the larger fibres, they steep it three or four days in sea water, and then seven or eight days in fresh water, shifting it in each case twice in twenty four hours ; having then boiled it an hour, and afterwards soaked it in fresh water a whole day, they afterwards boil it in three different syrups, and then lay it by, first well clarified, for use.

A bit of this conserve, taken in a morning fasting, promotes digestion, dissolves its virtues. phlegm, cleanses the passages of the stomach, provokes appetite, helps urine, and makes the breath sweet. As it is in its nature extremely hot, it must be used with great moderation. The best of it is yellowish, easy to be chewed, though not soft, and the syrup in which it is preserved should be transparent.

There are some sorts of trees peculiar to *Grande Terre*, and not found in *Guadaloupe* proper. Among these the most remarkable are the Marble-wood, and the Violet-wood. The first of these never grows to any large size, its largest diameter seldom exceeding one foot. The wood is hard, heavy, and firm ; its grain small, and its fibres slender. The sap is of a dirty white, the heart of it grey, sometimes brown, veined with other different colours ; it is hard to be worked, and being almost naturally well polished, is used for tables, frames of chairs, and other sorts of cabinet-work. Of the violet-wood there are two sorts, one smelling like a violet, when a little warmed, the other having no smell but a beautiful violet colour, handsomely veined. *Marble-wood*
Violet-wood

Here we also find a bastard cinnamon with a brown ragged bark, having a strong smell of cinnamon and cloves intermixed. Upon the tongue it is especially strong, favouring of pepper, cinnamon, and cloves. *Bastard cinnamon.*

Maiz, millet, pease, and various other sorts of grain thrive well in this soil, together with potatoes of different sorts, and a species of beet called the *Igname*, which grows to a good size according to the goodness of the ground in which it is planted. The skin is hard and thick, of a deep violet colour, the meat whitish, inclining to red, and clammy before it is dressed. It may be either boiled in water, or broiled upon the coals, and eaten with meat instead of bread, being light, nourishing, and easy of digestion. *Grains and roots.*

Our author takes notice of a large ant, which swarms about the woods, and covers the branches of trees in myriads, which nothing can destroy ; he tells us they entrench themselves in regular buildings just below the surface, which they endeavour to repair incessantly if overthrown, instead of being frightened away. The poultry, he says, find them good food, and eat of them greedily. By all that he has said in his description, they appear to differ very little from those common among us. *Ants, or wood lice.*

It is remarkable that the woods of *Martinico* abound with venomous serpents, but that in *Guadaloupe* there are none. In the former there are no bees, in the latter they have a species of bee, which is round, black, not above half so big as those in *Europe*, and without stings. They lay their honey in hollow trees, not disposed in combs, but in lumps of wax as big as a pigeon's egg, though more pointed ; the wax is black ; the honey liquid, of the colour of amber, and thickness of oil of olives ; it is very sweet and palatable, more cleansing than that of *Europe*, and, if exposed to the sun, assumes a very *Serpents.*
Bees.

very white crust, grained like sugar, but much sweeter. Great profit might be made of this honey, were the bees collected into hives.

W.L.S.

Father du Tertre says he endeavoured to effect this assemblage to no purpose; yet, it seems, it has been done by others since his time; but the inhabitants neglect it, as an employment too trifling, and not sufficiently profitable. The wax being too soft for candles, they use it only in sealing the corks of bottles. Applied to the corns of the feet, by way of plaster, it roots them out, and removes pimples from the face and hands.

Wasps.

The wasps in this island are larger than those of *France*, and their sting much more hurtful. Care must be taken to extract it immediately, and to apply to the part affected three different sorts of herbs pounded, which give ease in a couple of hours. Our author looked upon this remedy as something superstitious, but was forced through necessity to have recourse to it, and found it efficacious. These wasps are most troublesome in the hottest weather. They make combs like the bees of *Europe*, of a whitish, thin, fragil wax, in which they lay their young, for they have no honey.

Lantern-flies.

Here are two sorts of lantern-flies, or fire-flies, which are of a very extraordinary nature: The lesser lantern-fly is longer, but not thicker than the common fly: Its body, from the wings to the tail, is of a transparent green, and preserves the light imbibed either from the day, or from the motion which the heat of the sun has excited in those parts. In the night they appear like so many sparks of fire among the trees, but disappear in three or four hours, either having expended their stock of light, or retired to rest. That they are not luminous in the day time has been proved by keeping them till morning in a vial, when they have nothing diaphanous about them, though set in ever so dark a corner.

The larger of these sort of flies is near an inch and half long, and as thick in the body as a may-bug; his eyes are large and flat, from whence, and from the hinder part of his body, issues, in the night, a greenish light, almost as strong as that of a candle, and by it a man may easily see to read. Nor do these flies lose this diaphanous quality in the day time, but it is rather fainter, and more restrained to the eyes. When confined they lose a little of their light in seven or eight days time, perhaps grieving for confinement, or not properly fed. They have a very quick motion, particularly in the hinder part of their bodies, and retain their luminous quality whether in a state of inaction or motion.

A sort of necessary spider. Cock-roche insect.

There is here a very large insect, without horns or poison, which *Dampier* calls a spider, in which our author insists that he is mistaken; however it forms cobwebs, in which it catches and destroys, by sucking the blood, the cock-roche, a nasty stinking insect, which eats paper, books, &c. and defiles every thing it comes near. On this useful account the life of this large insect, or spider, is sacred.

Silk-wood fly

In the silk-wood is found a fly, measuring two inches and half from the neck to the end of the body, without reckoning the neck, head, and horns, three inches in circumference round the thickest part of the belly, and the body covered with three pair of wings, one over the other; the external pair brown, spotted with black, and as strong as parchment; they fly very heavily, and the back under the wing, as also the belly, is thick, hard, and dry, but covered with a fine down. They have three legs on each side, at least three inches long, and jointed in three places, so that they have thighs, legs, and feet, with small talons, with which they stick fast to any thing they seize, and they run pretty quick. The head and neck are of one hard piece, like horn, black and shining as jett, and moved only by means of the cartilages that join it to the body. From its head issue two long crooked horns, one covering the other, the upper about three inches long; under the inferior one is the mouth, and a set of small teeth, by which it acquires its nourishment.

Agouti.

Upon this island are several other sorts of insects, flies, trees, shrubs, &c. which to anatomise would hardly gratify our curiosity. Wherefore we shall hasten to conclude with a review of the few quadrupeds found in the woods, among which the first that presents itself is the Agouti, a species of hare, in general as large as a pig of two months old; the head and body something like those of the hog, but the snout more pointed; it pricks up its ears, which are short, thin, and round, and runs like a hare, then stops as it were to listen; for it is quick of hearing, as well as very fearful. It has four nails on the fore feet, and six on the hinder, which also are the longer, so that running down a hill, or in making its way through the reeds, it is apt to tumble, which hinders its progress.

gréfe. It yields, however, good fport upon a Savannah, and is eafily taken. The fkin is white, as alfo the flefh, which is fat and delicate.

The wild hogs, or boars, with which the woods abound, are not natives of the *Wild hogs.* place, but were brought hither from *Spain*, and fet afhore in order to multiply, that fhips touching here might be fure of frefh meat. Thence alfo were brought the firft affes, horfes, and oxen. By the indifcretion of the failors the number of them is of late much decreafed, for they ought every where to fpare the females for breed; but they neglect the diftinction.

There are two forts of fwine that run wild in the woods; one came firft from *Spain*, which fight hard before they are taken; the other fuch as have efcaped from the *French* plantations; and thefe two forts are remarkable for entertaining againft each other a moft violent antipathy. As their feeding is quite clean and wholfome, their flefh is extremely good, as on the fame account are pigeons, and all forts of poultry.

It would be an unpardonable omiffion in this place not to fpeak fomethings of the devil-bird, and the manner of hunting it, as being very curious. The devil-bird is as *Devil-bird.* large as a pullet, with black feathers, fpacious, ftrong wings, web-footed, and armed with ftout claws; its beak, which is hard, ftrong, and pointed, is about an inch and half long; it cannot fee well in the day time, when, if difturbed, it flies full butt at the firft object that prefents itfelf, till it falls; however, in the night their fight is ftrong, for their eyes are very large. This is the time in which they catch the fifh, on which they feed, and the tafte affects their flefh, which is however good and nourifhing; more efpecially the young ones, eaten roasted, are delicate food, though a little too fat. In their flight to the holes in the mountains, in which they hide themfelves all day, you would imagine, by their different cries, that they held a dialogue, and underftood a language peculiar to themfelves. They begin to appear about the end of *September*, and remain till the end of *November*; they then difappear till *January*; and in *March* the females only, with two young ones, are found in every hole, very fat, and covered with a fine yellow down. In *May* thefe fly off, and are not feen again till the end of *September*. Dogs, trained to the fport, accompany the Negroes, who make a trade of catching them; and thefe dogs, when they come to a hole *How taken.* in which the birds are hid, bark loudly, proclaiming the difcovery, and would tear up the ground did not their mafters check them, becaufe in that cafe, perhaps, the bird would not return the enfuing year to the haunt. The huntsman then thrufts in a ftick, about an inch thick, and feven or eight feet long, on which the devil-bird perhaps may feize with his beak, and is thus drawn out; if it fhould decline the challenge, which is fometimes the cafe, he winds his ftick round and round, till he entangles it in the wing of the bird, which he then forces out, and if he is not ready to fecure it, the light not only blinds, but makes it exert all its ftrength to get back to its den.

Having made a furvey of this ifland, fufficiently clear to give a knowledge of its productions, ftrength, and importance, before we difmifs the article, fome account of the firft fettling the place will be naturally expected, from the beginning of its being inhabited by the *French*, to the time of its being fubdued by the arms of *Great Britain*.

An Account of the firft Settlement of GUADALOUPE, the Progreff of its Improvements, its Revolutions, &c.

IN the year 1626 Cardinal Richelieu fet himfelf at the head of a company in *Paris*, which undertook, upon particular conditions, to be at the expence of people *West India* pling certain of the *Caribbee* iflands, or *Antilles*. This company having fent a colony *company* to *St Chriftopher's*, which, after various miffortunes, and much bad management, *eftablifhed.* grew extremely populous, *M. de Enambuc*, the *French* lieutenant general, or governor there, fent out one of his fubalterns, named *d'Olive*, to fearch out the beft and moft commodious of the neighbouring iflands, for the feat of a new fettlement. He could not have entrusted a more able deputy; this gentleman after a careful furvey of the three iflands, *Dominica*, *Martinico*, and *Guadaloupe*, eafily, and indeed judiciously, determined in favour of the laft.

In consequence of his report he was immediately dispatched to *France*, to concert measures for promoting the project with the company, and arrived at *Dieppe* about the end of 1634. Here he found *de Pleffis*, a gentleman who had been at *St Christopher's* in 1629, whither he was about to return with men and stores in order to settle, but soon changed his destination on hearing the account which *d'Olive* gave of the beauty and fertility of *Guadaloupe*, and resolved to embark in the same expedition. Having mutually agreed to share their fortunes, they laid their designs, together with an account of the advantages which might be reaped from settling upon *Guadaloupe*, before the company abovementioned, who gave them all possible encouragement.

Encourages a design on *Guadaloupe*. Enters into articles with the undertakers.

In *February* 1635 they received a commission empowering them to command, equally and jointly, on whatever island they should fix, or separately if they found it convenient; and this command was to subsist at least ten years. The company also undertook to supply them with arms, to a good value, and a larger sum in ready money, and granted them a tithe of whatever the *French* inhabitants should raise, and a third of the mines, if an should be discovered. The adventurers, in return, promised to transport to the islands, in three months time, at least 200 men; in the first year to erect a fort, in the second magazines and another fort, to maintain all officers and servants of the new plantations without expence, and to hold no commerce with foreigners.

Fails to execute them.

The company however either were not able to advance the money they had agreed to furnish, or neglected to do it, and the undertaking appearing greater and greater the nearer the time of its execution approached, they were obliged to take four or five merchants into their association, who were also to bear part of the expence. At the same time the Dominicans made interest with the Cardinal to have four of their order appointed chaplains to this expedition, for which purpose a brief was obtained from *Rome*.

Commandants disagree.

Had not the two commanders been men of very different dispositions things would certainly have turned out better; but they soon disagreed, and hence arose all the disorders and misfortunes that attended this embarkation, which consisted of near 500 men. *Du Pleffis* was mild, judicious, and learned; and had *d'Olive*, who was weak, followed his own inclinations, and not turned his ear to slanderers, and evil counsellors, they had never quarrelled.

They set sail from *Dieppe*, *May* 25, 1635, and, *June* 25, came to an anchor off the island of *Martinico*, then inhabited only by Savages, most of whom were at war upon the continent. Here they landed, and erected a cross, to which they affixed the royal arms of *France*, and one of the fathers sung *Te Deum*, under a general discharge of their cannon, being watched at a distance by some of the natives, headed by an old man, called *Anacan*, with whom *Du Pleffis* was acquainted. These savages mimicked exactly all the ceremonies which they saw performed, as kneeling, kissing the ground, and crossing themselves, just like so many monkeys.

Arrive at *Guadaloupe*.

Finding the ground here very unequal, and the country quite mountainous, they re-embarked all their people, and put them ashore the 28th of the same month, which was the eve of the feast of *St Peter and Paul*, at *Guadaloupe*, in the parish of *St Rose*, which happened unluckily to be one of the worst situations in the whole island; for the ground is dry and red, rather fit for bricks than cultivation, besides the mountains are very near. However, here they unladed their two ships, and divided, their men, stores, ammunition, and provisions, not without much bickerings and dispute.

Two settlements.

Little Fort River.

D'Olive took up his quarters where now stands a village called *St Rose*, and built *St Peter's* fort. *Du Pleffis* seated himself lower down, more to the N. W. and they were divided by a small stream, now called *Little Fort River*. When they had cleared the ships, they found the best part of their provisions, both fish and flesh, quite corrupted and unfit for use, and so much the worse as many of the people were extremely ill, and some had died of the dry gripes, contracted from mixing sea water with their cyder, which began to fail them before they had finished their voyage. This was the first cause of the many evils under which they laboured, and it was augmented by their neglect to touch at *Barbadoes* for refreshment, though the company had ordered it.

All things contributed to make them wretched; at the end of two months they found their provisions nearly exhausted, they had neither potatoes, manioc, nor any kind of vegetable or grain; their bread was consumed, and they were necessitated to feed upon fresh

fresh tortoises, which threw them into dangerous fluxes, and other disorders. The famine at length became so intense, altho' their numbers were daily lessened by death, that a piece of a rat was counted a delicacy; a man cut off the arm of his deceased companion for food, and several chose rather to leap into the sea, than to endure so miserable a life.

Colony distressed by famine.

On September 30, 1635, they were rejoiced with the sight of a ship in the road, but their joy was of a short duration; the captain had brought over from *Dieppe* twenty-seven people to settle, but could scarce afford them a month's provision, as he would then have scarce enough left to subsist his crew in their voyage home. The neglect with which the company and the merchants of *Dieppe* treated these unhappy people was very astonishing, for, during the five years that the famine lasted, they sent them not the least relief. The poorer sort were nevertheless kept to work, with blows and ill usage, till they were not able to stand, and many of them perished under the hands of their cruel task-masters, who seemed to acquire increase of inhumanity from the surrounding horrors. None among them, invested with the least superiority, forbore to exert it without mercy; and a man, who had been a slave among the *Moors*, declared that he had found better treatment among the savage enemies of the Christian religion. A distemper also, which was generally mortal, reigned among them. The spirits sunk under excessive lassitude; the body became languid, inactive, and sore, as if severely beaten; the breath came with difficulty, attended with violent head-achs, and a quick and strong pulsation in the temporal arteries.

Tyranny of the masters.

It appears, by the accounts which we have read of these calamities, that they had all this while a communication open with *St Christopher's*, that the two commandants jointly made a voyage thither, and returned without bringing thence any relief, tho' we find no mention made of any scarcity there; a circumstance which to us appears very extraordinary.

D'Olive, finding no abatement of affliction, seeing his colony wasting to nothing, and that he had no hopes of assistance, resolved to try what subsistence he could get by making war upon the insular Savages, who had never given him or his people the least cause of offence, but cherished with care and respect some *Frenchmen*, who had fled to them from famine and disorder. This proceeding was not only unjust in itself, but absolutely against the will of the gentlemen from whom he held his power, and clashed immediately with the publick interest.

D'Olive meditates a war upon the savages.

All these reasons, not without additional resentment, occurred to *du Pleffis* the moment the project was laid before him; and, after he had totally rejected it, the other embarked for *St Christopher's*, where he opened himself to *d'Enambuc*, whom all his persuasion could not induce in the least to countenance so villainous a design; on the contrary, that officer threatened, in case he persisted, to forward a complaint of his conduct to the *French* court. *D'Olive*, on his return to *Guadeloupe*, found *du Pleffis* dead of grief, by which the whole authority devolved upon him, and none durst oppose his will.

Du Pleffis dies.

He therefore lost no time, but forming the minds of the few people that remained to his purpose, he began to make war upon the Savages, January 26, 1636, by ordering some of them, who appeared in a canoe making for the fort, to be cut to pieces the moment they landed; but they providentially steered another course. Some of these poor wretches, destined for slaughter, having carried off some cotton from the *Cul-de-Sac*, to which perhaps they had been enticed by some of *D'Olive's* wicked emissaries, tho' they had left in the room of it a hog and some fruit, really more in value, it was thought a sufficient motive for commencing hostilities. By precaution, however, one *Fontaine* was dispatched with fifteen stout soldiers, to make a tour round the island, and bring off by fair means a few *French*, who had for two or three months past sojourned among the Savages. These poor people, suspecting nothing, received *Fontaine* and his men with great satisfaction, regaled them in the best manner they could, restored their countrymen to them, and warned them that a small *English* vessel had landed some men upon the island, who had visited them, and proposed an alliance against the *French*; that they had openly rejected their overtures, and that the *English* were now gone up the country in search of game. *Fontaine* made so good use of this intelligence, that he took the *English* vessel, and brought her to *Fort St Peter*.

D'Olive falls upon the savages.

Takes an *English* ship.

Three days after this action *d'Olive*, with some desperadoes inured to villainy, embarked to visit the habitations of the Savages in that part of the island, where now stands *Fort Royal*, reporting that they were going in search of a more convenient spot than that which they at present occupied. The Savages, having by some means or other

A barbarous and cruel action of ill related.

been

been advertised of their cruel intention, had abandoned the place, carried off their provisions, and set fire to their huts; so that when *d'Olive* landed, he found only an old man, aged 66, named *Yance*, with two of his sons, and two other young men, who had not time to make their escape. These people, when they saw the *French* approach, made all possible signs of submission, crying out, *France, no angry with us*, and, being assured no hurt was designed them, they surrendered at discretion. *D'Olive* now changed both his looks and discourse, and, with a stern countenance, called the old man *villain and traitor*; accusing him of conspiring with other natives against the colony, and agreeing to cut all the throats of the *French*. The poor man denied the charge with all that openness and honest assurance that always accompanies truth; declaring, at the same time, that he and all his countrymen were so strongly attached to the *French*, that they would leave nothing undone to serve them. But *d'Olive*, taking a watch out of his pocket, shewed it to him, telling him it was the Devil of *France*, and that he had been assured by him of what he now affirmed. The *Indian*, astonished at the noise and motion of this little machine, which he really supposed a spirit, and the author of the calumny, exclaimed against it with strong invectives and resentment, declaring it to be an impostor and a liar, and swearing solemnly, that neither he nor any of his countrymen had conceived the least design of injuring the *French*. To confirm the truth of his asseveration, they commanded him to order the women, who were in sight, to come in and surrender, to which he readily consented, giving a commission for that purpose to one of his sons; but the young man, instead of returning, took his flight with the women. This so enraged *d'Olive*, that dragging *Yance* and his other son into the shallop, they killed the young man with their poiniards, in sight of the unhappy father, whom they afterwards stabbed in several parts of the body, and then flung him into the sea, where, being of a robust constitution, he kept himself up for some time by swimming, intreating them with tears, and the most piteous cries, to save his life; but in vain, for these merciless villains knocked him on the head with their oars. The two other young men they preserved alive only till they should guide them to the retreat of the women, in the way to which one of them took an opportunity of leaping from a precipice, and tho' he was much bruised, made a shift to travel five leagues to the women and his comrades, whom he informed of the approach and insatiate cruelty of the *French*. On this they hastily retired farther up the country, having first grubbed up all the manioc, and other provisions in the ground, in such a manner, that when these bloody villains arrived here, they trod upon the relief which they sought, without knowing it so near. The other Savage, whom they had preserved alive to be their guide, having found an opportunity of escaping in the night, they were forced to return without their errand.

Colony suffers by famine and wars with the Savages.

Hence they justly suffered more dreadfully from famine than before; for they no longer received any succour from the Savages, who before used sometimes to bring them supplies of fish, bananas, potatoes, fruits, and hogs, which they could no longer expect, since most of the natives now drew off to *Dominica*, where they fixed, and declared open war against the *French*; and the distance between the islands not exceeding seven or eight leagues, they often crossed over and surprised them, killing 50 or 60 at a time, besides making prisoners, and seldom retreating without gaining some advantage. The conflicts were generally sharp and bloody, the Savages fighting gallantly, and always taking care to carry off their dead and wounded. Among them was killed a *French* renegade, who had plundered the altar, and when he fell was about to set fire to the church, having a lighted torch in his hand for that purpose.

Other disorders.

In the mean time, as if heaven meant to punish their excess of pride and cruelty, a ship laden with provisions by the company in *France*, for the use of the colony lost her reckoning, and was beating about the seas, looking for *Guadaloupe*, till all the stores were consumed by her people. A ship, sent on the same errand from *St Christopher's*, was obliged to turn back, when almost upon the island, otherwise she had fallen in with the *Spanish* flota. And some of *d'Olive's* best people, whom he had intrusted in a bark to fetch some relief, paid a more immediate attention to their own safety, and thought it best never to return.

Aubert deputed governor.

Things continued in this unsettled state of misery until 1640, when *Aubert* returned from *Europe*, with a commission from the company, empowering him to act as governor of *Guadaloupe* during the incapacity or absence of *d'Olive*. This gentleman had practised surgery at *St Christopher's*, and obtained a lieutenancy, when through the mediation

diation of *d'Enambuc*, he married the widow of *du Plessis*, who lived at *St Christopher's*. On the death of *d'Enambuc*, *Poincy* succeeded to the government of the island, to whom *Aubert* so well recommended himself by his courage and abilities, that he sent him upon special business to *France*, where he made himself so acceptable to the company, that whatever he requested was granted. In his voyage from *Europe*, chancing to touch at *Martinico*, he met with a very kind reception from *M. du Parquet*, the governor of the island, who above all things advised him as soon as possible to make peace with the Savages, promising to be himself the mediator. This counsel concurring with his own private opinion, he determined religiously to adhere to it; and in his passage to *Guadaloupe*, falling in with some of these people off *Dominica*, he received them on board with strong demonstrations of friendship, and, after treating them with plenty of liquor, and some presents, told them he was going governor to *Guadaloupe*, where he hoped for nothing so much as to make a lasting peace with them, of which their good friend *Parquet* should be the guarantee.

Resolves on a peace with the Savages.

As soon as he landed at *Guadaloupe*, he declared his intentions; but was astonished to find himself opposed by some incendiaries, who found their private interest in pursuing the war, though so very contrary to the public good. As he found it hardly possible singly to stem this tide of contradiction, he told the malecontents that he would take advice of *Poincy*. With this intention he paid him a visit at *St Christopher's*, where he met a kinder reception than he expected; for *Poincy*, who was lieutenant general of the islands, had before solicited the government of *Guadaloupe* for some other person.

Is opposed.

Poincy entirely approving of the projected peace, *Aubert* returned to *Guadaloupe*, and took every method possible to carry his point in spite of the opposition, which was very great. After he had made better dispositions than heretofore for the maintenance of the people, he took another voyage to *St Christopher's*, with some of the most considerable of his opponents. It happened that a sudden squall of wind in the night overfet

Supported by *Poincy*.

their bark, by which accident 13 of the passengers went to the bottom of the sea; nor does the charitable father, to whom we owe this relation, scruple to say, that he believes they also went to the bottom of hell. Among these wretches were some who had been most troublesome to *Aubert*. He himself was saved with great difficulty, and got ashore at *St Joseph's point*, where he lodged with a poor woman who had no bread to give him.

Narrowly escapes drowning. Charitable judgement of a friar.

M. de Ramée, who had loudly inveighed against his proceedings, commanding in the neighbourhood, and hearing of his disaster, forgot his enmity, and flew to his assistance and relief; which generous act laid the foundation of an inviolable friendship between the two parties. This misfortune happened in *February* 1641; and, soon after, the chiefs of the Savages, encouraged by *Parquet*, appeared off the island in a canoe, laden with ananas, tortoisés, and hogs; but were very cautious of coming ashore. However, at length, after repeated assurances that no evil was intended against them, they ventured to land. *Aubert* bid them welcome, gave them plenty of victuals and drink, particularly brandy, of which they are fond, and afterwards a solemn peace was concluded between them. From that time the Savages have continued to carry on a trade with the planters, in which they have made vast profit of the latter.

Aubert concludes a peace with the Savages.

From this æra, we may reckon, the island began to flourish; its trade and inhabitants daily increased; the land became well stocked; ships touched here from all parts, and the people abounded in wealth. Every thing here continued quiet, except that in the year 1642 nine villains, headed by one *Cane*, a very desperate fellow, having been discovered and prevented in a design they had formed of seizing on a bark, and turning pirates, betook themselves to the woods, whence, being well armed, they made daily excursions, murdering the inhabitants when they met with resistance, and carrying off every thing that was portable. The governor had in vain offered them their own terms to surrender, they were deaf to all his remonstrances, so that he was obliged to march against them in person with a few select fellows, who surprised them, and having killed and wounded part of the gang, the rest surrendered at discretion, and were sent to *St Christopher's* to be disposed of as *Poincy* should think proper.

Guadaloupe begins to flourish.

A gang of banditti do much mischief

In this year *M. Houel*, one of the proprietors of the island, arrived here from *France*, being sent by the company to obtain a perfect knowledge of these new settlements, and make an impartial report. The planters had now under consideration the profits that might accrue from making sugar their principal trade, since they had hitherto been supported by tobacco, and they communicated the result of their conferences to *Houel*,

Houel deputed from the company.

Supplants
Aubert, and is
made govern-
nor.

who immediately saw into all its advantages, which contributed to fix him in the project he had formed of taking the island into his own hands, and supplanting *Aubert*, whose care and abilities, he ought to have remembered, had been the cause of its present flourishing state, and settled tranquillity. *Houel* returned to *France* laden with kindness, and so fortunate in his voyage that he came back the following year invested with the government: An event unexpected, and not much relished by the people, who imagined a great wrong done to *Aubert*; and that officer, who could not be insensible of the injury, complained of it in very sharp terms.

Refractory to
Poincy.

Houel landed at *Fort Royal* in *September*, 1643, where he found the house just as *d'Olive* had left it, in a very ruinous condition, and the garden, which had been laid waste by the hurricane, quite desolate; which occasioned, in some measure, a scarcity among his retinue. His arrival and authority were soon proclaimed both in *Basse Terre*, and *Cabesterre*, he received the compliments of the people on the occasion, and, among others, of *Aubert*, with what sincerity the reader will easily judge. When he had settled every thing so as to secure his authority on a firm foundation, he paid a visit to *Poincy*, the king's lieutenant general of the *Caribbees* at *St Christopher's*, where, besides some small breaches of politeness, he refused to take the oaths usually administered by that officer to new governors, alledging that his rank and quality as a member of the company, as well as the king's edict in his favour, ought to exempt him from this ceremony. He afterwards, according to his own account, offered to comply, but *Poincy* refused him, imagining himself sufficiently powerful to force him to his duty. This trifling dispute occasioned many subsequent quarrels, and much confusion in the colony.

Aubert retires
to *St Christo-*
pher's.

Houel, on his return to *Guadaloupe*, finding himself but ill stocked with necessaries and provisions, purchased *Aubert's* plantation and cattle for 18000wt of tobacco; and it was remarked that, after this, he always behaved to that gentleman with a coldness differing very little from contempt. Full of smothered resentment, *Aubert* asked and obtained leave to retire to *St Christopher's*, under pretence of visiting his wife, who was there in a very bad state of health.

Charged with
a sham plot.

In about a month after his departure *Houel* told his officers that *Aubert*, as he was informed, had spread a report among the Savages, that *Houel* was come from *France* with a design to renew the war, to take from them *Dominica*, and cut all their throats. This intelligence he communicated to *Poincy* at *St Christopher's*, pressing him not to permit *Aubert* to return to *Guadaloupe*, since he should then be obliged to imprison him, which he would willingly avoid, as not yet ascertained of his infidelity. Some time after he pretended that the report was confirmed to him for a truth, and arrested a supposed accomplice named *du Rivage*, whom he kept above two months in a loathsome dungeon, hardly large enough to hold him at full length, laden with chains; at the end of which time, the fellow, in hopes of liberty and life, desired to be examined, and declared before the council that all that had been alledged against *Aubert* was true to his knowledge.

Houel's artful
and malign-
ant dealing.

This confession *Houel* immediately dispatched to *Poincy*, by the superior of the mission (who had also the care of conducting *Aubert's* son to *St Christopher's*) the *Sieur Marivet*, and another gentleman. *Houel* desired the good father to assure the lieutenant general that all he desired was that *Aubert* should be ordered to dispose of every thing of which he stood possessed at *Guadaloupe*, and never to return thither; in which case he should take no more notice of this important affair, nor the contriver of it. The superior delivered his commission according to order; but how was he astonished to find *Marivet* charged with a letter to *Poincy* of a quite contrary nature! For *Houel* in that epistle loudly demanded justice against *Aubert*, and intimated that he had already given orders to *Ramée* to seize on all his arms, ammunition, &c.

Poincy could not but see a cunning design of the most malicious nature couched under this double dealing; he therefore sent orders that *Rivage* should be sent over to him, that he might be confronted with *Aubert*. But *Houel*, rather than comply with these orders, chose to embark with him for *France*, where he had interest enough to procure the prisoner to be condemned to the gallies for life. *Poincy* did not fail to transmit an account of his affront, and disobedience to the company, with several other just complaints exhibited against him, and his remarks on them were far from being favourable. *Houel*, however, by superiority of birth, character, money, and relations,

got

got the better of *Aubert*, who could not boast much of his family, and also of *Poincy's* remonstrances. *Poincy* at the same time took occasion to transmit also a request, desiring leave to resign his posts in *America* to his nephew, *M. de Louvilliers du Poincy*, and it was granted. As for *Aubert*, he was condemned to lose his head for not attending the cause in court, from which he was intimidated by *Houel's* interest; however, he evaded the sentence by returning to *America*, where he soon after died of grief. Carries his cause against *Aubert*, who dies of grief.

Poincy, fearing that in the governor's absence *Guadaloupe* might either fall a prey to foreigners, or be torn in pieces by intestine divisions, the inferior officers looking with an evil eye upon *Marivet*, whom *Houel* had invested with authority, appointed *Leumont*, the company's intendant, to supersede him, and for that purpose sent him to *Guadaloupe*. But *Marivet* and most of the people not only refused to acknowledge him, but also put him on board a ship by force, because he had stayed upon the island longer than they thought fit to allow, and sent him back to *St Christopher's*. *Poincy's* substitute rejected by the people of *Guadaloupe*.

Not long after a conspiracy was formed against *Marivet*, occasioned by a dispute between two women, one of whom was displeased with his conduct; for one morning about six o'clock, having walked out in an undress, and not under the least apprehensions of danger, he was on a sudden surrounded by 150 men, one of whom, a lieutenant, threatened to shoot him if he resisted. No sooner was he seized than one *Mathurin*, a fellow whom *Houel* had advanced from a baker to be his treasurer, appeared with a naked sword in his hand, swearing like a madman; and he would certainly have killed him on the spot, had he not been prevented. This man had been appointed second in command, and was a favourite of one of the women offended; however, he gratified his fury in a great measure, and with his own hands loaded *Marivet* with irons, and lodged him in prison; nor did he fail to make some people, who remonstrated to him upon that head, feel the weight of his arm. A conduct so very violent would certainly have proved the absolute destruction of him and all his cabal, but that *Houel's* return was hourly expected on the island. *Marivet* lay eight months in prison, loaded with irons, and wasting away in misery and hunger, while *Mathurin* squandered the public money in regaling his favourite associates. The inhabitants and officers, on the other hand, dispatched complaints of their unhappy state to *France*, while in the mean time the raising of tobacco was at a stand, public business interrupted, and, in short, nothing but anarchy reigned in the island. *Marivet, Houel's lieutenant, seized and imprisoned.*

M. Thoisy was about this time appointed lieutenant general of the islands, in the room of *Poincy*, who was on ill terms with many of his officers, whose dissatisfaction prompted them to transmit continual complaints against him to the company. When *Poincy* received the first news of his discharge, he thought it best to acquiesce, and dispatched a letter to the company signifying as much, dated on the very same day on which *Thoisy*, in *France*, had refused the charge without some such instrument. However, he did not long adhere to this declaration, but, encouraged by several persons, either interested or malecontent, when the time of cession approached, he prepared to maintain himself in his post by force, alledging that he had been at considerable charges in repairing the castle, building forts, erecting large magazines, and on other accounts, and therefore he would by no means surrender the island till he was reimbursed. As he was resolved rather to die than to submit, he strengthened his interest as much as possible; and, to this end he secured to himself entirely *M. Giraud*, a man of spirit, who exercised the office of judge, and first captain, or commanding officer, on the island, and was moreover richer both in friends and money than any other person at *St Christopher's*. This gentleman married the daughter of his nephew, *M. de Poincy*, governor of *Guadaloupe*. *Aubert*, who was not as yet dead, was every way attached to him upon principles of gratitude, friendship and interest, and engaged to his party several officers, and some of the first inhabitants of the island, who solemnly leagued to defend *Poincy* at the expence of their lives. He also advanced several of his domestics to posts of considerable profit, after he was well assured that they would spill the last drop of their blood in his service. *Thoisy appointed to succeed *Poincy* who refuses to surrender his charge, and strengthens his interest.*

In short, he might have thought himself perfectly secure, had he been joined by *M. de Sabouilly*, major general of the islands, for then he would have been without opponents. But here he found it impossible to gain his point; for when *M. Giraud* waited on *Sabouilly* with proposals from *Poincy*, his answer was, "that he was engaged to *Sabouilly*, the

"the King's servant, and disdained to do any thing that might appear to him inconsistent with his fidelity to his royal master." This open, honest declaration so provoked the lieutenant general, that he ordered him to quit the island in twenty four hours, as he regarded his life. *Sabouilly* coolly replied to the person who brought him this order, "that as long as he proved faithful to his sovereign, he thought himself in "no more danger of his life than *Poincy*." However, this gentleman sometime after, finding that there was a scheme laid to take him off by assassination, prudently retired to *St Eustatia*, while the governor cleared *St Christopher's* of all others who openly opposed him, among whom the intendant and *Messieurs Marivet*, with the commissary general, withdrew to *Guadaloupe*.

In the mean time *Poincy* lived at a great rate, making grand entertainments for his partisans, who secretly caused it to be reported, that the destination of *Thoisly* was to increase the burthens of the people. Thus they did their best to prepare for him a most ungracious reception; so that when he arrived there, the inhabitants, in spite of the authority with which he was invested, would not permit him to land; nor would the *English*, who were in league with *Poincy*, allow him to come on shore on their quarter of the island, whence he was forced to retire to *Guadaloupe*. Soon after this affair, *M. Parquet*, governor of *Martinico*, at the head of a strong armament, made a descent upon *St Christopher's*, to secure it for the general. But he was defeated, and, after he had first secured two of *Poincy's* nephews, took refuge with some of his people in the woods, and from thence, finding means to withdraw to the *English* quarters, he put himself under the protection of their general, by whom he was surrendered prisoner to the malecontents.

New governor general rejected.

Governor of *Martinico* assists him in vain.

Houel arrives at *Guadaloupe*

Mathurin insults *Marivet* in prison.

Houel sets *Marivet* at liberty.

His exhortation to concord unacceptable.

Receives *Thoisly* with honour.

Thoisly's partisans abused.

Adventure of two captains.

Antecedent to these transactions *M. Houel* arrived in the road of *Guadaloupe*; and, before he came ashore, *Mathurin*, with a musket on his shoulder, two pistols stuck in his girdle, and a sword by his side, entered the prison in which he kept *Marivet* still confined; and though this unhappy man's condition was truly mournful, he plucked him by the beard, which was very long, and swore in very bitter blasphemous terms, that if he thought himself liable to censure on account of past affairs, he would that moment cut him to pieces. And he would have actually done it, had he not been prevented by some of the attendants.

Houel, now arrived at his house, ordered his lieutenant *Marivet* to be set at liberty; and, though he received him with great coldness, admitted him to his table, and allowed him to take place next himself in quality of judge. The next day he summoned together all his officers, and assured them that he was truly sorry for all the various disorders that had happened in his absence; but as these things had fallen out among themselves, and all were perhaps in some measure blameable, he exhorted them to forget what was past, and endeavour to live for the time to come more amicably. This speech was as unexpected as unwelcome, especially to an assembly which had seen many of its members abused in their persons, honours, and fortunes. Nor did they scruple to hint that such conduct looked as if the ill treatment they had suffered was consonant to some private instructions left with *Mathurin* and his partisans by *Houel*; and more especially, as it was publicly known that the *European* company had positively given him orders to punish the seditious, there was still greater room for suspicion.

Thoisly, who had been absolutely rejected at *St Christopher's*, was, as we before observed, now returned to *Guadaloupe*, where *Houel* received him with all the honours due to his rank, and even encouraged him to make another attempt at suppressing the insurrection of *Poincy*, furnishing him for that purpose with two stout ships, and 300 armed men. But the endeavours of the general were all in vain, he could not even procure the enlargement of the governor of *Martinico*, but came back to *Guadaloupe* with his followers without effecting any thing to the purpose. In the mean time all persons who were supposed to interest themselves in *Thoisly's* favour, were treated with most tyrannical insolence, from sharing in which not even the veneration due to the sacred habit could preserve the poor missionaries; and the reverend father, to whose industry we owe this account, tells us, that he was not only beaten, but even thrust out of doors, and spurned in the dirt, for endeavouring to preach up obedience to the royal authority, and to quell the seditious.

No case was perhaps harder than that of the captains *Fontaine* and *Camo*, two officers who had been remarkably zealous in the general's interest, and who, upon finding the cause irreparably lost, retired to the woods, where they were reduced to suffer the most cruel

cruel severities of thirst and hunger. One of their negroes, who was tracked in carrying them victuals, was almost whipped to death to make him confess where his master lay hid; no artifice, persuasion, threat, or cruelty availing, they cut off all his toes to disable him from walking. These two unhappy soldiers, deprived of their faithful slaves, cut off from subsistence, and left without even hope, one of them moreover afflicted with a dropsy, determined to make to the seaside in the middle of the night, and *la Fontaine* undertook to swim to the first ship, and implore succour. They reached the beach in safety, and, a vessel lying at anchor within sight, *Fontaine* plunged, and soon reached her, and was hauled on board by means of a rope hung out to him for that purpose. But how was he agreeably surprised to find in the person of the captain an honest *Fleming*, who was his intimate friend, and who assured him of protection, though 10,000 wt of tobacco was bid by *Poincy* for his head, and as much more for that of his companion. This generous offer of the captain was nobly refused by *Fontaine*, unless his friend was also included. And the Captain beginning to expostulate on the unreasonableness of running this double danger, *Fontaine* resolutely prepared to plunge into the deep, and share the fate of his now forlorn companion. Seeing him thus bent, the honest skipper ordered out his boat, and rowing ashore took up the helpless *Camo*, whose disease augmented his other misfortunes, and brought him on board. Next day, going to the governor, he made some pretence of urgent business at *St Eustatia*, and in a few hours after weighed anchor for that island, where he safely landed his freight, who soon found their way to *France*, and were received, together with their complaints, at court, and gratified for the present each with a considerable sum of money. What crowns the whole, and still more signally marks the hand of divine providence in the conduct of this affair, is, that, though the *Fleming* by this step hazarded the losing considerable effects, which he had left behind him at *St Christopher's* while thus laudably employed, he found nothing diminished; the affair, very probably, remaining a secret to *Poincy*, who, in that case, would certainly not have spared him.

Friendship
worthy of
antiquity.

A remarkable
circumstance.

Houel now finding *Thoisy's* affairs desperate, grew extremely uneasy at his residence, it being apparent that unless some steps were taken by way of prevention, and that speedily, he might, from his superior importance, as general of the islands, engross all authority and honours; and that not only the natives and planters, but aliens might be seduced by his affable temper, to regard himself merely as a cypher, and transfer their veneration to his guest. Wherefore he took so many steps to make him dissatisfied, without seeming to concern himself at it, that the general found himself under a necessity of embarking on board a ship, which he had purchased, to secure himself from a design actually set on foot by *Houel* to take him off by unfair means, and retiring to *Martinico*. Not agreeing with the people of this island, they seized upon his person, and delivered him up to *Poincy* in exchange for their governor *Parquet*, who was in great esteem among them; and after many hardships, and much inquietude, he was put on board a vessel, with orders to conduct him to *France*. It happened very remarkably on this occasion that, as soon as he had entered the ship, a large bird came flying about, and perched upon his extended hand. He was not superstitious, yet he looked upon this as a good omen, tho' at the same time his affairs had a most unpromising appearance, for his enemies had left him but two shirts, and a great cloak, to protect him from the cold in his passage, the fatigue and inconveniencies of which were partly alleviated by the conversation of two officers, his old acquaintance, whom he found on board. He had also persuaded the master that his business to *France* was to procure the removal of *Houel*; in which he was supported by the interest of *Poincy*, with whom he was, in reality, upon very good terms, though the necessity of the times obliged them to seem outwardly at variance. After enduring a violent storm, which lasted two days, and an engagement with three *Spanish* ships, which were forced to sheer off by the general, who was complimented with the command of the action, they arrived safely at *St Maloes*.

Houel jealous
of *Thoisy*.

Thoisy
forced to quit
the island.

He retires
to *Martinico*.
Is con-
ducted to
France.

A remarkable
omen.

His arrival;
Gets the bet-
ter of his ad-
versaries.

As soon as he came ashore he commenced a suit against *Poincy* and his accomplices, which lasted six years, at the end of which time he recovered 90,000 livres from *Poincy*, who was afterwards his friendly correspondent, and making his peace at court, through the interest of the order of *St Maloes*, was left in quiet possession of a command, for which he had struggled hard. *Houel* was also shortly ordered by arbitration to pay to the general 61,715 wt of tobacco, to which decree he submitted.

Avarice and ambition were *Houel's* predominant passions; stimulated by the first of these he omitted no opportunity of increasing his wealth by purchasing such plantations as lay near to his estate, and often forcing the owners to part with them upon very disadvantageous terms, not even sparing his own family, but harassing, on this account, his own sister's husband, so that the poor man died of grief. He aspired besides at entirely keeping the government of the island in his own hands, and whoever acquired the love of the people, or secured to themselves any interest more than common among them, were certain not only to incur his hatred, but to find him an adversary on all occasions.

Remarkable
check to his
injustice.

It would be tedious, and afford but little entertainment to the reader, to take up time with an account of his various litigations, and his voyages, by them occasioned, backward and forward to *France*. Let it suffice to observe that his brother, the chevalier *du Houel*, who was mild, prudent, valiant, and esteemed in the island, took the part of his nephew, on whose possessions the governor had unjustly seized, by pretending to sell them on his account by auction, and had proceeded so far as to banish both these gentlemen out of the island. But they returned at an unexpected time with a reinforcement, and making good their footing, *Boisferet*, the nephew, was, in spite of all opposition, re-instated by the chevalier in possession of his effects; and peace was at length restored to the family, and, we may say, to the island, which shared in their confusions, by a friendly arbitration; but this, however, the old man was but little disposed to observe. Nor were these disorders quite ended until the arrival of lieutenant general *Tracy*, who, with the appointment of governor general of the *French* possessions on both the continent and islands, brought also with him a force sufficient to support his authority, and render him respectable.

Tracy gover-
nor general.

The proper-
ty of the i-
sland purcha-
sed by the
king.

Those intestine broils were not solely the growth of *Guadaloupe*, they reigned equally in *Martinico*, and in the other islands; and the king of *France* was thereby influenced to divest *Houel*, and all other private proprietors, of their possessions in *America*, rendering for them valuable considerations. And indeed there seemed to be no other way of establishing public peace in those parts, nor of preserving the regal authority. This expedient was proposed by the great *Colbert*, to whom *Louis XIV.* owed the most shining glories of his reign, and the commerce of *France* the many advantages that have enriched her. It was he that formed the *West India* company upon a very respectable footing, immediately under the royal eye; and from them *Tracy* received that commission by the assistance of which he restored peace to the *French* settlements in *America*, relieved them from petty tyranny, and private malice, and made their condition flourishing. Hence *Houel*; when he imagined himself most secure, possessed of immense wealth, and of power almost equal to that of a sovereign, found himself unexpectedly depleted of all his hopes, reduced to the state of a private gentleman, not indeed without a considerable fortune, and obliged to return to *France*, where, instead of power to complain, or ability to appeal, he was glad to find no notice taken of the many charges that had been justly advanced against him, and for which, at another time, he would have suffered a most exemplary punishment with great justice.

Houel re-
turns to
France.

Government
of *Guadaloupe*
changed for
the better.

Having thus arrived at an æra in which *Guadaloupe* sustained a total change in her government, it is necessary to observe that she was no longer liable to dissensions, stirred up by animosity, prejudice, or party, but subjected almost immediately to royal inspection; that she became rich in improvements, flourishing in commerce, and stocked with inhabitants. She makes too great a figure to escape an enemy in time of war; and as we have already related the attack made upon her, in the year 1691, by the *English* and its success, it remains for us to take particular notice of another invasion from the same quarter in 1703, the progress of which was very different.

Designs of
the *English*
against it.

On the 6th of *March*, advice being received at *Basse-Terre*, that a considerable number of shipping were assembled at *Marigalante*, two small vessels were immediately dispatched to reconnoitre, and they were brought word that it was a strong *English* fleet, in consequence of which the governor took the speediest measures of defence, in case of an invasion. The inhabitants were summoned to the *Basse-Terre*, and arms distributed to all who were able to bear them. They were also strengthened with a reinforcement of 60 men from *Los Santos*. The inhabitants of *Grande-Terre* at first murmured against obeying the governor's order for assembling at the *Basse-Terre*, urging, that perhaps the enemy might intend the visit for them: But when it was represented to them, that this could never be the case in their quarter, where was no water but what was collected in cisterns and ponds, and might be easily destroyed, and consequently an enemy's

hemy's army might perish for thirst, they marched chearfully to their place of destination.

The fort was provided with ammunition and provision sufficient to serve 300 men for six months ; having besides about 20 bombs, and upwards of 300 hand-grenades, ready to hurl upon the enemy in case of an attack. And lest they should cut off the supply of water, or that it should be spoiled by any accident, a cistern was sunk in the deepest cellar, which, together with several casks well stopped, was filled with sweet water. A small secret passage was also made down to the river *Gallion*, which might serve for a retreat, in case the enemy should carry the fort, as well as to procure water in an extremity.

Measures of defence.

The governor of *Guadaloupe*, at this time, was *M. Auger*, son of an officer at *Guadaloupe*. His youth had been spent in the service of the order of *Malta*, and he had acquired reputation in their gallies against the *Turks*. Returning with his mother to the *Antilles*, he was taken by the *Sallee* rovers, but carefully concealing his rank and wealth, after some time obtained his liberty for 5 or 6000 crowns. He was now in his 58th year, of a warm, unruly, inexorable temper, but very sober, a warm friend, and an unforgiving foe.

M. Auger governor.

His character

M. Malmaison, his lieutenant, was brave, choleric, and liberal ; he had served with honour in the *French* infantry, but had been forced to fly on account of a duel ; and the officers that served under both had hitherto always proved themselves men of courage.

Character of his lieutenant.

March 18, the *English* fleet, consisting of eight sail of the line, viz. 1 of 90, 2 of 80, 1 of 76, 4 of 60, and a frigate of 24 guns, set sail from *Marigalante* before day ; at eight in the morning they were abreast of *Los Santos*, and sent two shallops to land some men upon the *Terre de Bas*, but here they found such a warm reception as obliged them to sheer off. Having doubled *Old Fort Point*, they made some feints at landing, while the fire from the different batteries killed many of their men. On the 20th they gave every indication possible of landing at *Boat's Creek*, their men being all in their boats, but finding the governor commanded the place from the eminence they desisted for that day. About three in the morning of the 20th they landed about 500 men in *Goyave* creek, and, finding no resistance, fell directly to pillage the houses that lay first in their way. This being seen by an officer and ten men, who occupied the height whereon stood the curate's house, he divided his men into five parties of two each, and, taking sure aim from behind trees, killed several of the enemy, who were about to climb the place. This did not, however, hinder them from reaching the house, to which they set fire, and then returned by the way they came, while the officer just now mentioned, with his men, took them in flank as they passed thro' an orange walk, killing four, and putting the rest in confusion. Thus he escaped an ambuscade of twenty men, which had been posted for him near the fire, in hopes he would have approached to put it out, seeing the enemy drawn off to all appearance. After having burned down the church, the guard, and all the houses which fell in their way, they re-imbarked in the night. On the 21st, the frigate ran ashore, and she was not got off till next day, having lost her cables; which they were forced to cut, and 37 men by the fire from land. In the evening they attempted to fix a footing at *Habitants Creek*, but were briskly repulsed,

Enemy in sight.

Attempt *Los Santos* ineffectually.

Land a body of men.

Harrassed in their progress

The governor, about eight o'clock, was apprised by a Negroe, who swam ashore from the *English* admiral's ship, that a descent would be infallibly made the ensuing day, at one and the same time, at *Ance des gros François*, *Ance de Vadelorge*, and *Ance des Habitans*. His warning was fulfilled ; they landed in all the places he had pointed out, in spite of a furious resistance, and at length carried the *Ance du François*, where *Labat* falling in among them by mistake, was near being taken prisoner, and had a very narrow escape. This post was extremely difficult, and had it been well defended, every man of the assailants must have perished before they took it. But they charged with that boldness and impetuosity, for which *Britons* have been always renown'd, that their colours were now planted upon *St Dominic's* battery, for they were in possession of the church, the convent, the sugarworks, &c. belonging to the order ; and it was for fear of incurring their censure that *Labat* desisted from burning the latter, which he might have done, and rendered it thereby useless to the enemy ; they however did not forget to do it for him before they quitted the island. Here three prisoners were taken plundering the convent, and one of them, a *French* refugee, was put in chains. The governor now determined to draw off his troops from the town of *St Francis*, and the river *St Louis*, to make a principal stand at the river *Gallion*,

English land all their forces in three different places.

Take a post of importance.

an almost impregnable situation, until the arrival of succour from *Martinico*. He was confirmed in this procedure from his scarcity of officers, and the superiority of the *English*, which daily abated by the siam fever, and some other diseases which had crept in among the troops.

On the 24th the enemy advanced and took possession of the town in good order, expecting to have found resistance; but the *French* had retired before they came, and set fire to some sugar-canes above the *Billau*, which caused the enemy to halt some time, fearing a surprise, or an ambuscade. *April* the first, they were worsted in a smart engagement with *M. le Fevre*, in which they had thirty seven men killed, twenty wounded, and four made prisoners. *April* the third a reinforcement of 820 men arrived at *St Mary's* on the *Cabesterre*, from *Martinico*, 100 of which being left there to protect the shipping, the rest marched to join *M. Auger*, which they happily effected the same day. They were commanded by *M. de Gabaret*, lieutenant general of the isles, and governor of *Martinico*, an unwieldy, infirm man, upwards of 60, and not in the least fit for such a charge. Part of these succours were destined to reinforce the garrison in the fort; the rest were distributed among the entrenchments on the river *Gallion* in the neighbourhood. The old gentleman imagined that his name was equal to a legion, and that the *English* at hearing of it would take to their heels. But he was mistaken; for, tho' his arrival was notified to them by two trumpets, it was disregarded, and his parade of drums, fifes, and martial music in their sight, produced no other effect upon them, than seeming to give them fresh vigour, for their cannon were never better managed than on this day.

On the 5th an attack upon the *English* battery was agreed upon, but postponed thro' a mistake of the new lieutenant general; chance however brought on an engagement of some consequence the following day. *M. Le Fevre*, having made a folly for intelligence, fell in with a body of 500 of the enemy before he was aware; the match being very unequal, he having but two companies, *Le Fevre* retreated to the *Esperance*, where he had the river *Gallion* on his left, a difficult rivulet on his right, and a stone wall in his front; here he made a halt, and waited for succour, secure from being surrounded. He was soon joined by forces from several quarters, and returned to the charge with success, pushing the enemy in his turn, and they again forcing him to retreat when they were re-inforced. Victory remained sometime doubtful, but at length declared in favour of the *French*, who were left masters of the field, tho' the *English* rallied in fight.

Had *Gabaret* pursued this advantage, as he was advised, they had been dispossessed of their battery and totally routed; but he neglected it thro' obstinacy, disdain any advice but his own. *Le Fevre*, who was an officer of worth, fell in this action. On the 7th there was a battle of a more bloody and important nature, in which the *English* were repulsed with the loss of near 300 men. However this check did not deprive them of the smallest grain of spirit; they continued to fire upon the fort from different batteries, and carried on their approaches to such good purposes, that *Gabaret* thought it advisable to abandon the place. But all his arguments could not persuade any body that he was right, and this motion was carried against him unanimously, which put him into a violent passion. Yet he resumed the subject a few days after in a council of war, and defended his opinion with most ridiculous arguments. He was opposed by *Pere Labat*, who argued with firmness, reason, and knowledge; the superiority of which to his own talents raised both his blood and his envy. Nevertheless, on the 14th, he carried his point, by mere dint of authority, and the fort was evacuated, nines being laid under it ready for springing, but so injudiciously that one of them failed, and the other was far from doing the intended execution. If *M. Auger* did not oppose a proceeding, so contrary to common sense, with all his might, it was because he was grown cool about the interest of the island, being translated to the government of *St Domingo*, and he moreover enjoyed the absurdities of a man, whose abilities he held, not without cause, in utter contempt. *M. de Malmaison*, who commanded in the fort, with all his officers, protested against his conduct; but he was inflexible.

The troops retired to a pass between the rivers *Gallion* and *Sence*, which was naturally very strong, and was rendered by the labour of the soldiery still more defensible. But they were also ordered to abandon that post without any seeming reason, except that it was the lieutenant general's will, and all the houses round were by the same rule set on fire.

It was here that *M. de Bois-ferme*, governor of *Marigalante*, whom *Gabaret* had brought with him, signalled himself prodigiously. He scattered flames about like the

genius

Succours arrive from *Martinico*.

A skirmish.

Ends in favour of the islanders.

Error of the new commander.

Death of *Le Fevre*.

A more bloody encounter.

Gabaret declares for abandoning the fort.

Opposed.

Fort abandoned.

Officers protest against his proceedings.

The troops retire from the fort.

genius of destruction, so that heaps of manufactures removed hither to secure them, large quantities of corn, salt meat, powder, matches, ball, ammunition, and implements of war were quickly consumed. The *English* entered the fort soon after it was evacuated, and openly declared it was a measure that astonished them, for to such a condition were they reduced by sickness and the chance of war, that they intended to have dismounted their cannon, levelled their batteries, and reembarked the night before, had not two deserters apprised them that this extraordinary motion was on the tapis. The *French* troops were now posted at the head of the river *Gallion*, about the passage de *Madame*.

English take possession of the fort.

On the 27th the general was advised by some deserters that 1000 men had been dispatched in the night on board 25 shallops, and some armed barks conveyed by the, *Antigua* frigate, to attack the *Trois Rivières*, a pass of the last consequence, as it kept open a communication with *Martinico*, *Cabesterre*, and *Grande-terre*, from whence they now drew most of their subsistence. M. de *Malmaison* commanded here with only 26 men, but a strong body marched to reinforce him the moment the news arrived. The *English* soon appeared, but, the sea running high, and perceiving that the commander had drawn up his troops in regular order to receive them, they thought it best to retire, after having paraded it for some time out of musket shot. They landed however at the old fort, nailed up two pieces of cannon, burned a chapel, and two or three houses, and then fell into an ambuscade, by which they had several men killed and wounded, besides a company that perished by one of their vessels being dashed to pieces.

Fail to attack *Trois Rivières*.

In the mean time the lieutenant general, fearing that he should be cut off from a retreat by the loss of this important post, for despair was his constant guest, ordered all the forces he had brought with him to follow to *St Mary's*, which none, two companies of marines excepted, chose to do, judging that affairs were not yet so desperate as to be totally abandoned: Time convinced him of this truth, he returned to the camp, derided by every one, and scoffed at as he passed, even by the women.

Dissensions in an army are equal to double the force against it; those that reigned here would have occasioned the loss of the whole island, had the *English* acted with unanimity, but there was a difference between the sea and land officers, that barred all success. The former was commodore *Hovenden Walker*, the latter colonel *Coddrington*, son to the general, who had before made an attempt on this island to no purpose. On the 3d an *Irish* deserter arrived at the camp, and assured the lieutenant general that colonel *Coddrington* being himself very ill, a dysentery reigning among his troops, and provisions running short, had resolved to re-embark in a few days.

Compelled by dissensions and sickness to re-embark.

This seemed to be his intention on the 15th of *May*, when at night all the houses about the town and fort appeared in a blaze. It was now agreed to attack them in their embarkation, and the troops were marched for that purpose to advantageous posts in the night, where they waited till daybreak under arms, and then had the mortification to find that M. *Gabaret*, true to his former absurdities, had changed his design, and laid aside this proceeding for the present. The next day, being the 18th, the enemy was all embarked, and their fleet under sail before sun rise, after a stay of 56 days upon the island, during which they had lost a great number of men, as appeared from the attestation of an *Irish* serjeant who deserted.

Without any attack from the *French*.

The *French*, according to their own accounts, which carry with them all possible marks of apocrypha, had, in all that time, and their various rencounters, only 27 men killed, and about 50 wounded. The serjeant, of whom we have just spoken, had waited in a grotto near the *Gallion*, together with his wife, two days, expecting the fleet to weigh anchor. The first that appeared of the two was the woman, who, having obtained an assurance of her husband's liberty, produced him. He said it was reported they had lost near 1000 men, among whom were three colonels, two captains of ships, a major, and 27 subalterns. The *English* left behind them 76 deserters, and 35 prisoners, with five pieces of iron cannon. They had burned and destroyed four parish churches, 29 sugarworks, several chapels of ease, and small habitations, the towns of *Habitans*, *Bailiff*, *St Francis*, and *Basse Terre*, the convents of Capuchins, Carmelites, Dominicans, Begging Friars, and the house of the Jesuits.

Loss on each side, according to the *French* accounts.

Some circumstances attended this expedition, on the part of the *English* which were extremely unlucky, and reflect not a little upon the conduct of those who were then at the helm. In the first place, when Sir *Hovenden Walker*, who commanded here by sea, arrived, he found the land forces without powder, which he

English land forces unprovided.

obliged to furnish from the fleet. They had neither mortars, bombs, pickaxes, spades, nor any thing proper to carry on a siege, nay, out of a thousand flints, not fifty were fit for muskets. This surely could never be the fault of the commanders of the sea nor land forces; but rather of those who sent them out. Their retreat was judicious on account of the *French* forces raised to oppose them; besides Colonel *Coddington* fell sick, as did also the next chief commander; one was carried to *Antigua*, the other to *Nevis*, and moreover there subsisted disputes between the land and sea officers, much to their discredit, and which will for ever destroy any enterprize.

Attack and
conquest of
the island in
1759.

There were no farther attempts made upon this island till the present war, in which an entire conquest has been made of it by *England*, under the direction of the wisest administration that ever did honour to a nation. In *November*, 1758, a formidable fleet of men of war and transports, commanded by commodore *Moore*, with the generals *Hopson*, *Haldane* (governor of *Jamaica*), and major general *Barrington* left *Portsmouth*, and, after stopping to refresh at *Madira* and *Barbades*, proceeded to *Martinico* in *January* 1759. On the 15th they arrived off *Port Royal* in that island, when, after a fruitless attempt upon the place, and delaying some time before *Fort St Pierre*, a particular account of which is inserted in its proper place, they continued their rout, and appeared off *Guadaloupe* on the 22d. Though the town of *Basse-Terre*, which is the metropolis of the said island of *Guadaloupe*, was very formidably fortified to the sea, and the fort was thought by the chief engineer, on reconnoitring it, to be impregnable to the ships, yet, on the 23d, commodore *Moore* made a disposition to attack it with the ships under his command, which was prosecuted with the utmost vigour and resolution; and, after a most severe cannonading, which continued from between nine and ten in the morning till night, all the batteries and the fort were silenced by the ships. It was intended to land the troops the same evening; but it being dark before they were ready, they did not land till the next day, when commodore *Moore* put the land forces in possession of the said town and fort, without their being annoyed by even one of the enemy; the governor, principal inhabitants, and armed negroes, having retired into the mountains. The bombs, which had been ordered to play on the town, having set it on fire, occasioned, from the quantity of rum and sugar, which was in it, great destruction of houses, with goods and treasure to a very great value.

It would be doing injustice to the forces employed on this service, if we did not observe that to a man they behaved with the most undaunted bravery; and that the reduction of the town was in great measure owing to the perseverance and personal conduct of the sea officers in particular and the people under their command.

List of the Ships, which attacked the Island of Guadaloupe, the 23d of Jan. 1759.

	Guns	Captains		Guns	Captains
<i>Lyon</i>	of 60	<i>William Trelawney</i>	<i>Panther</i>	of 60	<i>Molineux Shuldham</i>
<i>Cambridge</i>	80	<i>Thomas Burnett</i>	<i>Burford</i>	70	<i>James Gambier</i>
<i>Norfolk</i>	74	<i>Robert Hughes</i>	<i>Berwick</i>	64	<i>William Harman</i>
<i>St George</i>	90	<i>Clark Gayton</i>	<i>Rippon</i>	60	<i>Edward Jekyll</i>
			<i>Bristol</i>	50	<i>Lachlin Leslie, came</i>

in from sea after the ships had been engaged some time, and went to the assistance of the *Rippon*, which was in distress.

List of Officers and Men killed and wounded under the Command of Maj. Gen. Hopson.

Maj. Gen. <i>Duroure's</i> Reg. }	Capt. <i>James Dalmabay</i> , killed
Col. <i>Watson's</i>	Capt. <i>Colin Campbell</i> , wounded
Highlanders	Lieut. <i>James Hart</i> , ditto
Artillery	Lieut. <i>George Leslie</i> , ditto
	Capt. <i>Peter Innis</i> , ditto
Total killed at <i>Guadaloupe</i> 17, wounded 30	

One lucky shell from on board one of the ships blew up the *French* magazine, and a carcass properly directed, set the town in a flame, which continued all night. The day

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Attack and
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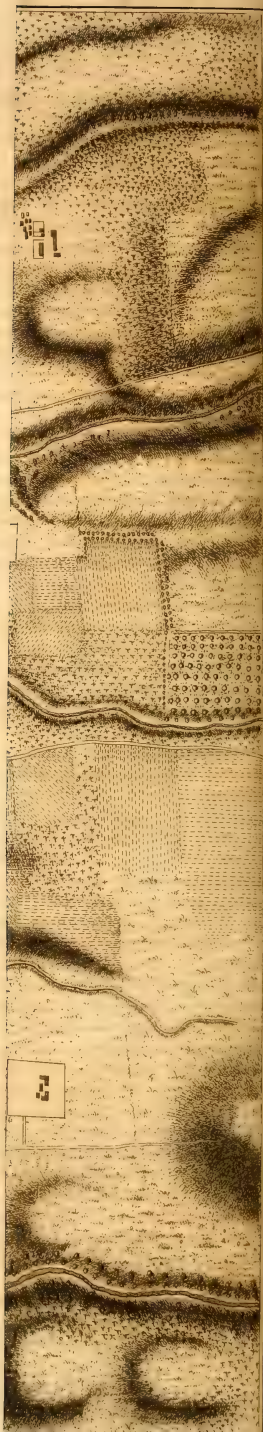
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day following the forces landed and took possession of the fort, which the *French* quit-
ted after having made a gallant defence, and lost, besides several other officers, their
fort major, and engineer general. The governor, with the remainder of the troops, then
retired to the mountains, and intrenched himself at *Dicudon*, a post very difficult of
access, from whence he was driven after a very smart action by general *Haldane*, with
the loss of twenty two men killed, and forty wounded. General *Hopson*, who was far
advanced in years, and very infirm, dying about this time, the chief command of the
land forces devolved upon the Honourable Gen. *Barrington*, a gentleman whose conduct
had endeared him to the forces, and who approved himself in the sequel a good soldier,
and deserving of the trust. Having made every day considerable advances upon the e-
nemy, who, wherever they encountered the *English*, were put to the rout, he found there
was a necessity of making an attack upon *Grande Terre*, before it was possible effec-
tually to subdue *Guadeloupe proper*. For this purpose, a body of troops being embarked,
set sail the seventh of *March* for *Fort Louis*; but, from the great difficulty of turning to
windward, were not able to reach it till the 11th at four in the afternoon; when all
the ships of war, and twenty five of the transports came to an anchor; the rest were ei-
ther driven much to leeward, or prevented by the winds and strong currents from
weathering the point of *Los Saintos*. The same evening the general went on shore to
view the fort and the works carrying on by the detachment that had already been sent
thither from *Basse Terre*.

On the 12th, the two coasts of this bay, as well on the *Grande Terre* side; as that of
Guadeloupe, were reconnoitred, to find a proper place for making a descent; but com-
modore *Moore* received certain intelligence of a *French* squadron of nine sail of the line;
and two frigates, being seen to the Northward of *Barbadoes*, and that it was therefore
necessary for him to go into *Prince Rupert's* bay, in the island of *St Dominica*, as a situa-
tion more advantageous for the protection of *Basse Terre*, as well as of the *English* islands;
the general thought it advisable the next day to call together the general officers, to
consider what was best to be done, and it was determined, notwithstanding the many
difficulties which then appeared, that it would be most for his majesty's service, and
the honour of his arms, to do the utmost to keep possession of the fort, and to wait
some further intelligence of the motions of the enemy.

Commodore *Moore* sailed the next morning for *Prince Rupert's* bay, with all the
ships of war, except the *Roebuck* of 40 guns, which he left as a sort of protection to the
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but the chief engineer, who was on board one of the transports that could not before
get up, being arrived, and having made a report of the weakness of the fort, the ge-
neral determined to hold it only till some future event should convince him what was
best to be done for his majesty's service. He reflected on the state of the army un-
der his command, and of the little probability there was of succeeding in any attempt
of reducing the country, without the assistance of the ships of war to cover the troops
in landing. But however he determined to make a descent on the coast of *Grande Terre*;
and for that purpose ordered colonel *Crump*, with a detachment, consisting of 600
men, to go in some of the transports that carried most guns, and endeavour
to land between the towns of *St Anne* and *St François*, and destroy the batteries and can-
non; which was happily executed with very little loss. Imagining by this motion that
the enemy would be obliged to detach some of their troops from the post of *Gosier*,
the general made a disposition with the only 300 men he had left, for forcing it by two
different attacks. This was executed the next morning at sunrise, with great resolu-
tion, by the troops; and, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy from their battery, both
were soon carried with little loss, and the enemy driven into the woods. The troops
immediately destroyed the cannon and battery, with the town.

This being happily effected, the detachment was ordered to force its way to *Fort
Louis*; and, at the same time, the garrison was to make two sallies, one to the
right, in order to put the enemy between two fires, and the other to attack their lines.
The first was made, but the latter, by some mistake, was not executed. The detach-
ment from *Gosier* forced their passage with some loss, notwithstanding a very strong
pass that the enemy occupied, and took possession of a battery of three twenty-
four pounders, which would, the next day, have played on our camp.

PLAN
of
the TOWN of
BASSETTERE
the CAPITAL of
GUADALOUPE
from
an Authentic Survey.

T H E



R O A D

Reval Battery

Iron Ore Battery

FORT ROYAL

River Gullies

St. Nicholas Battery

Emplacements

400 Yards.



St. Nicholas Battery

St. Barthelemy

St. Francis

The Capuchin Priory

H A S S E T T E R E

H A S S E T T E R E

FORT ROYAL

River Gullies

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Colonel *Desbrisay*, who had been left at *Fort Royal* in *Basse-Terre*, having been killed by the blowing up of some cartridges that took fire from the wadding of a 24 pounder that was discharged from the upper bastion of *Fort Royal*, at a body of the enemy, on the 23d of *March*, major *Melville*, who commanded the detachment of the 38th regiment from the *Leeward Islands*, was made governor of the fort in his room. Major *Trollope*, a lieutenant of the 63d regiment, and two private men, were likewise killed by this accident; and a captain, another lieutenant, and three men, wounded: And the parapet of that bastion was levelled with the ground by the explosion.

At the same time when this accident happened the enemy had erected a bomb battery, and thrown several shells into the fort; and had, for some time past, been working, as the garrison suspected, upon another battery. By the general's order, governor *Melville* caused a sally to be made with 300 men, under the command of captain *Blomer*, on the first of *April*, who without much difficulty forced the enemy's intrenchments, and got into the work; which proved to be a battery of one 18 pounder, and one 12, nearly completed. Our people spiked the guns, and returned to the garrison with the loss of only six men killed, and six wounded.

As the fort, by this accident, might want the assistance of the chief engineer, the general sent him thither immediately, as well as the commanding officer of the artillery, that no time might be lost in putting it again in a proper state of defence. The remaining part of the transports, with the troops, being now arrived on the *Guadalupe* side, a design was formed (upon the information of some Negroes, who promised to conduct the troops in flat-bottomed boats by night) of surprising *Petit Bourg*, *Guoyave*, and *St Marie's*, posts of infinite consequence on the *Guadalupe* side, at one and the same time. The first was to be effected by brigadier *Crump*, who, the moment he had made himself master of it, was to march to bay *Mabaut*, and destroy the batteries there, as well as a large magazine of provisions that the enemy had collected from the *Dutch*, and to hinder any more arriving: The latter, under brigadier *Clavering*, after he had surprised *St Marie's*, and *Guoyave*, was to march into the *Cabesterre*, and reduce that fine country. The success of this appeared not only to the general, but to the gentlemen who were to execute it, almost infallible: But the night proved so bad, and the Negro conductors were so frightened, that they ran several of the boats on the shoals, of which that coast is full; so that though brigadier *Clavering* did land with about 80 men, yet the place was so full of mangroves, and so deep in mud, that he was obliged to return, but not without the enemy's discovering our design.

The general being now laid up in a most severe fit of the gout, brigadiers *Clavering* and *Crump* were sent to reconnoitre the coast near *Arnoville*; and upon their report, 1300 regulars, and 150 of the *Antigua* volunteers, were ordered to land, under the protection of the *Woolwich* man of war, which they did on the 25th of *April*, without opposition, the enemy retiring, as the troops advanced, to very strong intrenchments behind the river *le Corn*. This post was to them of the greatest importance, as it covered the whole country to the bay *Mabaut*, where their provisions and supplies of all sorts were landed from *St Eustatia*, and therefore they had very early taken possession of it, and had spared no pains to strengthen it, though the situation was such as required little or nothing from art. The river was only accessible at two narrow passes, and those places they had occupied with a redoubt and well palisaded intrenchments, defended with cannon, and all the militia of that part of the country. They could only be approached in a very contracted front, which was at last reduced to the breadth of the roads, intersected with deep and wide ditches. Our artillery, which consisted of four field pieces and two howitzers, were ordered to keep a constant fire on the top of the intrenchments, to cover the attack made by *Duroure's* regiment and the Highlanders, who, on this occasion, behaved with the greatest coolness and resolution, keeping up, as they advanced, a regular platoon firing. This behaviour so intimidated the enemy, that they abandoned the first intrenchment on the left, into which the Highlanders threw themselves, sword in hand, and pursued the enemy, with part of *Duroure's* regiment, into the redoubt.

The enemy still kept their ground at their intrenchments on the right, from whence they annoyed our people very much, both with musketry and cannon; and though those who had carried the first intrenchments had got into their rear, yet, till a bridge could be made to pass the river, they could not get round to attack this post. This
took

took up near half an hour; but, however, near seventy of the enemy were taken prisoners, as they were endeavouring to make their escape, amongst whom were some of the most considerable inhabitants of the island. Our loss was one officer and thirteen men killed, and two officers and fifty two men wounded.

So soon as the ditches could be filled up for the passage of the artillery, the troops proceeded on their march towards *Petit Bourg*. A considerable number of the enemy had lined an intrenchment about half a mile on the left of the road, but when they perceived the endeavours of our troops to surround them, they abandoned it, keeping always about 200 yards in front, and setting fire to the sugar-canes, which obliged us more than once to leave the road, to avoid any accident to our powder.

The troops arrived late on the banks of the river *Lezard*, behind which, at the only ford, the enemy had thrown up very strong intrenchments, protected with four pieces of cannon on the hill behind them.

Having reconnoitred the side of the river, and finding it might cost us dear to force the passage at the ford, brigadier *Clavering* kept up their attention all the night by firing into their lines, during which time he got two canoes conveyed about a mile and a half down the river, where being launched, we ferried over, before break of day in the morning, a sufficient number of men to attack them in flank, whilst we should do the same in front: The enemy soon perceived their danger, and left their intrenchments with the greatest precipitation.

Thus we passed without the loss of a man, still pursuing them to *Petit Bourg*, which place they had fortified with lines, and a redoubt filled with cannon.

We found captain *Uvedale* there, in the *Granado* bomb, throwing shells into the fort. The enemy did not remain in it long when they saw our intention of occupying the heights round them, but left us masters of that, and the port, with all the cannon round the place. We halted here the 14th to get provisions for the troops.

On the 15th, at daybreak, brigadier *Crumph* was detached with 700 men to the bay *Mabaut*, and at the same time captain *Stiel* with 100 to *Goyave*, about seven miles in our front, to destroy a battery there. The panic of the enemy was such, that they only discharged their cannon, and abandoned a post that might have been defended against an army. He nailed up seven cannon, and returned the same evening to *Petit Bourg*; brigadier *Crumph* returned likewise the next day with his detachment, having burnt an immense quantity of provisions, that had been landed there by the *Dutch*, and reduced the whole country as far as *Petit Bourg*.

The heavy rains on the succeeding days had so swelled the rivers, that it was impossible for the troops to advance; however, this delay gave an opportunity of strengthening the post at *Petit Bourg*.

On the 18th in the evening the *Antigua* volunteers took possession again of *Goyave*: They were supported early the next morning by a detachment commanded by lieutenant colonel *Barlow*, who had orders to repair the road for the passage of the cannon.

On the 20th, after leaving 250 men to guard *Petit Bourg*, the remaining part of the detachment, with the cannon, moved on to *Goyave*, in order to proceed afterwards to *St Marie's*, where we were informed the enemy were collecting their whole force to oppose us, and had likewise thrown up intrenchments, and made barricadoes on the road to prevent our approach. We were not long before we perceived them; but at the same time we found, as well by our own observation, as by the information of the guides, that it was not impossible to get into their rear by roads the enemy thought impracticable, and consequently had guarded with very little care.

A detachment was immediately formed under colonel *Barlow* for this service, and orders were sent to hasten the march of the artillery, which, from the badness of the roads, had not been able to get up. The first shot from the cannon, placed very near their intrenchment, with the alarm that was given by our detachment in the rear, made the enemy very soon sensible of the dangerous situation they were in, and indeed their precipitate flight only saved them from being all taken prisoners.

We pursued them as far as the heights of *St Marie's*, where we again formed our men for a fresh attack on the lines and batteries there.

Whilst the barricadoes were levelling for the artillery, we attempted a second time to pass the woods and precipices that covered the flanks of the enemy's lines; but, before we could get up our cannon, they perceived this movement, and began to quit their lines to oppose it, which made us resolve, without any further delay, to attack

them immediately in front; and it was accordingly executed with the greatest vivacity, notwithstanding the constant firing both of their cannon and musquetry. They abandoned here all their artillery, and went off in so much confusion, that they never afterwards appeared before us.

We took up our quarters at *St Marie's* that night, and the next night entered the *Capesterre*, which is the richest and most beautiful part of this or any other country in the *West Indies*. One hundred and eighty seven Negroes, belonging to one man, surrendered this day.

Here *Mess. de Clairvilliers* and *Duqueruy*, deputed by the principal inhabitants of the island, met brigadier *Clavering* to know the terms the generals would grant them. They entered into a negotiation, and a capitulation was signed on both sides, when news was brought, that *M. Beaubarnois*, the general of the islands, had landed at *St Anne's*, on the windward part of the island, with a reinforcement from *Martinico*, of 600 regulars, 2000 Buccaneers, and 2000 stand of spare arms for the inhabitants, with artillery and mortars, under the convoy of *M. Bompert's* Squadron. This support, had it arrived there an hour sooner, must have made the conquest of this island very difficult, if not impossible. As soon as he heard the capitulation was signed, he reimbarked.

If the military conduct of General *Barrington* in all his proceedings on this island merits praise, his prudence in reducing it expeditiously upon as good terms as possible, and his humanity to the inhabitants, which they themselves universally acknowledged, deserves no less our admiration: For by the articles of capitulation they were not only preserved in their rights, laws, and religion, but it was also stipulated that none but such inhabitants as were then actually residing upon the island should possess any lands or houses by purchase, grant, or otherwise, before a peace. They were also, in case of *Guadaloupe* being ceded to the *British* crown, to be at liberty either to remain upon the place as subjects of *Great Britain*, or to dispose of their effects at a fair market, and for that purpose the allowance of a proper time was promised. The governors and officers were permitted to march out of their posts with the honours of war, two field pieces, and four rounds of powder, and they together with their servants, baggage, and the soldiery, were to be transported immediately to *Martinico*. All the magazines, implements of war, and public papers, were delivered to an *English* commissary. The public offices were left to the management of those persons who were in them before the invasion, with this proviso, that vacancies were to be filled up by appointment of the king of *Great Britain*, and all public acts to be administered in his name. The inhabitants were assured they should not be obliged to take arms against the *French* king, but at the same time they bound themselves by an oath to observe strictly the capitulation, and to remain exactly neuter.

Thus was this island reduced by a perseverance and judgement that will be recorded in history much to the honour of the commander, who finding the first measures of war that had been carried into practise ineffectual, changed his plan, and fought his way by detachments, whereby he made himself master of *Guadaloupe* and *Grande Terre* in a much shorter time than could have been expected from the most sanguine hope, with so small a body of men as were under his direction.

That this island is undoubtedly one of the most fertile of the *Antilles*, is apparent from our topographical and geographical description of it. The products are all excellent, the country is well stocked with all the necessaries of life, watered with good rivers every mile or two; and has a port belonging to it, where all the navy of *England* may ride safe from hurricanes. Such has been the policy of the *French* for more than half a century, that they kept the real excellencies of the island entirely a secret from other nations.

It not only produces cotton, coffee, and sugar, besides other commodities common to the rest of the islands, but even these, and particularly the sugar, are reckoned to excel. These advantages were, however, entirely unknown to us, because nothing was thence exported immediately to *Europe*, but all the crops were forwarded by the way of *Martinico*, which, by that means, had all the honour, and consequently engaged much more of our attention. It has, for many years past, produced more sugar than any of the *British* islands, *Jamaica* excepted, and, if annexed to the crown of *Great Britain*, will prove one of its most valuable jewels.

A Description of the Island of DESIDERADA.

THE Island of *Desiderada*, or, more briefly, of *Desfada*, one of the smallest of the *Caribbees*, is situated in the *Atlantic* ocean, N. Lat. $16^{\circ} 30'$ W. Long. $61^{\circ} 5'$ from *London*. It lies at about three or four leagues distance to the N. E. of *Guadaloupe*, and seems as if designed by nature for one of the dependencies of that noble island.

Latitude and longitude.

This island was the first land which the great *Columbus* made on his second voyage to *America*, and he gave it the name of *la Desiderada*, or *the Desired Island*, because he had for a long time before beaten about this vast tract of waters without seeing any thing but sea and skies. Here he sent some of his people ashore to get wood and water; but they found the place entirely destitute of the latter, except in one or two spots, where the rains seemed to have gathered in pools of small depth, and entirely corrupted. They saw however several kinds of shrubs, and some trees of no great height, the species of which they did not pretend to determine. They also gathered some vegetables and fruits, which were very refreshing. Among the trees appeared great variety of birds, and the coast afforded turtle, sea-wolves, and the manatee, with other kinds of fish, which afforded them seasonable relief.

Etymology. Discovered by Columbus.

Produce.

The *Spaniards* never thought this spot of consequence enough to make any settlement upon it, though the soil is pretty good, except about the middle of the island, where it is craggy, mountainous, and barren. In time of war it served for a retreat to a gang of rovers, who, acting under no commission, but following their own villainous dictates, plundered the ships of all nations without distinction. But they were driven out by *M. du Poincy*, who sent thither the *Sieur de Calprande*, with twenty stout *Europeans*, five *Negroes*, and one *Mulattoe*, well armed. They landed without opposition, drove off the pirates, who were at this time but a small number, and being surprised, made their escape, after a trifling resistance, in a shallop lying in the road, leaving behind them a good booty. Some of these men remained upon the island at the peace of *Ryswick* in 1691; after which treaty they retired to *Guadaloupe* with their substance, having first levelled their houses, and spoiled their plantations. Ever since that time it has remained without inhabitants, but is reckoned among the *French dominions*.

A nest of pirates.

Uninhabited.

This island was surrender'd to the *English* with *Guadaloupe* in 1759.

A Description of the Island of MARIGALANTE.

THE island of *Marigalante* lies in 16° N. Lat. and $61^{\circ} 5'$ W. Long. from *London*, at a little distance from *Guadaloupe* to the South, and in soil, produce, and climate answers to the description we have given of the rest of the *Caribbees*. *Columbus* discovered it on his second *American* voyage in 1493, and called it by the name of his ship, *Maria Galanta*, or *Gallant Mary*. It is said to be upwards of six leagues long, between three and four broad, and sixteen or seventeen in circumference. Viewed at some distance from on board a ship, it appears like a floating island, because, as it is for the most part flat, the trees seem to swim; but a nearer prospect shews it intersected by some rising grounds, which give a fine variety to the landscape.

Latitude and longitude.

Discovery, name, and bigness.

This island was thought, on its first discovery, to want water; but a charming running stream has in time been discovered, no less convenient and refreshing than wholesome, on the banks of which are some wealthy inhabitants, and several sugar plantations. The whole island is capable of improvement, the soil being almost all equally good, and the land no where rising too high, so as to prevent any where a proper distribution of weather. There cannot be a stronger proof of the wholesomeness of *Marigalante* than the esteem in which it is held by the *Savages*, who have cotton gardens,

and

Air.

Anchorage.

and plantations upon it, which they valiantly defended against an *English* invasion, though they have no particular place of residence. The air of the lower lands, bordering on the sea, is particularly healthful. The coast affords many little bays, where

West India
company fo-
licited on a
settlement.

Camo and de
la Fontaine
appointed go-
vernors.

With all these advantages, it is astonishing that no attempt was made to settle on this island till the year 1647, at which time *Messrs de la Fontaine* and *Camo*, of whose perillous adventures, and wonderful escape to *France* we have already spoken, laid, before the *West India* company at *Paris*, what hardships they and all those who had sided with *Thoisy* at *Guadeloupe*, &c. had sustained, by which many men of wealth, family and fortune, as well as people skilled in improving the manufactures of the *Antilles*, were ruined; representing that they had always demeaned themselves like faithful subjects, and if re-assembled could form a colony that would be of service to the crown and the nation; that *Marigalante*, being not yet planted, was a very proper place for their joint settlement; and praying to that end the company's concurrence. Their request was granted, and an instrument made out, by which *Messrs de la Fontaine* and *Camo* were appointed, by joint consent of king and company, together and separately governors of the island for four years, with a promise of farther continuance, and an exemption of them and their people from all taxes during that time; this exemption being restrained to such persons only as had suffered by the dissensions which had given rise to the settlement. The governors, on the other hand, undertook to fix upon the island sixty persons the first year, well attached to the Roman Catholic church, with two proper ecclesiastics; and each of the remaining years to add sixty more; to build a fort for their defence; to keep peace with the Savages; a measure extremely necessary to the flourishing of the island; to live upon amicable terms with the neighbouring *French* governors, and renouncing all claims and demands upon the company, if their scheme failed of success.

The project
miscarries.

Fatal expedi-
tion.

A grant and
settlement of
the island.

But the fine views they had from this grant were soon dissipated by the want of money. They found not one person willing to hazard a penny upon their project, and having, in the pursuit of it, expended the bounty they had received from the queen regent, through the interest of the family of *Thoisy*, as has been before remarked, *Camo* returned quite dispirited to *Martinico*, where he was received with open arms by *Parquet*, to whom his worth was well known. *Fontaine*, in conjunction with the baron *d'Ormeil*, twenty two men, and a capuchin friar, went up the banks of the great river *Oronoko* on an expedition, and was never more heard of, it being supposed that he and all his company either perished by the hands of the natives, or for want of sustenance.

The year following, *M. Houel*, who had long had an eye upon *Marigalante*, obtained a grant of it from the company, and entered upon it in theirs and the king's name on *November 8*; fixing there a colony of between forty and fifty men, under the command of *M. le Fort*, who had quitted *Martinico* on some occasion of discontent. This gentleman erected an indifferent fortress for present defence, and went about a large building for himself, which he abandoned at the end of eighteen months, and then retired with several of the people to *Martinico*. It was thought, from this proceeding, that he had first compounded matters with *Parquet*, who imagined him a useful man to promote his project of planting *Grenada*, and for that purpose had perhaps made him some considerable offers.

On *Marigalante* now remained not quite 30 men, whom *Houel* kept together to prevent the island from seizure by any other power. This small colony was visited in 1653 by a large body of the Savages from the *Cabesterre* of *Dominica*, who were returning home from a successful excursion to the island of *Antigua*, where they had pilaged and destroyed effects to a great value. The commanding officer permitted them to enter the fort, treated them with much hospitality and confidence, and they departed with great seeming satisfaction. But on their return home, finding their habitations ruined, their possessions plundered, and their women abused, by a vessel from *Martinico*, they resolved to revenge the perfidy upon the inhabitants of *Marigalante*, whose unguarded security, and inconsiderable number, they were well assured, would render them an easy prey to their vengeance.

Colony de-
stroyed by the
Savages.

With this sanguinary intention they came back to *Marigalante* without loss of time, and, under appearance of traffic, went from house to house, killing all they found, and then made such a fire of the fort, and all the habitations, that it was seen from

Guada-

Guadaloupe. *Houel* received the first account of this melancholy disaster from the Savages of the *Basse-Terre* of *Dominica*, who not only disclaimed any knowledge or concurrence in the iniquity of their countrymen, but offered to assist the *French* to call them to an account for their cruelty.

Houel determining not to abandon his project for peopling this island, sent thither his brother with 100 men and necessary stores, with orders to rebuild the houses, to erect a fortification stronger than what had been destroyed, to observe the strictest terms of amity with the Savages, but not to suffer one of them to sleep with a *Frenchman*. The bloody wretches, who were still upon the island, fled, with all speed, upon his landing; and his first care was to cause the mangled bodies, which lay above the sand corrupting the air, to be burned, together with their heads, which the Savages had severed, and stuck upon poles. The fidelity of a dog belonging to one of these unhappy persons deserves notice. He quitted not his master's body till he saw it interred; from that time flew upon every thing that had the appearance of a Savage with the utmost fury, and even bit the ground for spite if kept off; if he was shut at night into the fort, he made a fearful howling to get out, and patrolled all the night round the walls, prepared, as it were, to give the alarm in case of a second surprise.

Fidelity of a dog.

The Chevalier *Houel*, having chosen a situation about two leagues distant from the former, immediately set about building a large and strong edifice of stone, very capacious, which he completed and fortified, as well as circumstances would admit, in three months, all which time he had constantly kept half his men under arms, by turns. When this was finished, he burned down all the huts which the Savages had erected, and then, leaving the command of the place to M. *Blany*, who was considered but as his deputy, he returned to *Guadaloupe*.

A strong fortification erected.

Houel now turned his thoughts upon carrying fire and sword among the Savages of the *Cabesterre* of *Dominica*, in revenge for their horrible proceedings at *Marigalante*; and for this purpose embarked Captain *Mé* with 100 armed men, for that part of the island, with about a dozen Savages of *Basse-Terre*, who were soon joined by their brethren, and all assisting the defeat of the villains, of whom only five or six fell, and about 20 were wounded; the rest took refuge in the woods, and escaped. None of *Houel's* men were killed, but four of them were wounded with envenomed arrows, which rendered their cure very tedious.

Savages defeated.

No sooner was *Mé* returned from this expedition, than notice was received at *Guadaloupe* that the enemy, having recruited at the *Cabesterre*, meditated a new descent upon *Marigalante*. On this advice the colony was immediately reinforced with 17 good soldiers, commanded by the *Sieur de Cerifiers*. On their arrival they were informed that the *Indians* were already landed on a distant part of the island, which put them directly upon their march towards them. They had now penetrated far into the woods, and almost reached the sea, when they fell into an ambuscade of 300 men, who, after reconnoitring their small number, flew upon them at once, with all the instigations of fury and contempt, promising themselves an easy prey of such an handful of men. But they soon found their mistake, being so warmly received, that eight of them fell dead at the first fire, and the rest fled in great confusion to the sea side, whither they were so closely pursued by *Cerifiers* and his soldiers, that several more of them were killed and wounded before they could reach their canoes. Meeting with this unexpected defeat here, and another upon the island of *Los Santos*, they thought it best to lay aside their warlike intentions; and having shewn, by their conduct for some time after, that they resolved to remain quiet, at least for a while, they began to venture as usual to *Guadaloupe*, and traffick with the inhabitants without any new treaty. *Houel*, who knew from experience the advantages arising from their visits, forbid the inhabitants by any means to retaliate past injuries, and ordered that they should be received and treated with on an amicable footing, as if no difference had ever happened between them. However, six years afterwards, the *Indians* of all the islands rose up in arms, and, being joined by some fugitive Negroes, carried fire and sword among the *French* settlements; but were at length compelled to sue for peace, which was granted.

After repeated overthrows solicit and obtain peace.

Of these transactions we shall speak more at large in our account of *Martinico*. At present it may suffice to remark that fresh troubles were on the point of breaking out at *Marigalante*, by the following accident.

Story of Captain Baron.

One Captain *Baron*, a Savage, who had great weight among his brethren, and had been along time known to be upon terms of strict friendship with *Houel*, arrived here with a good many of his people, and was received by the commander into the fort, and treated in a very courteous manner. The commander perhaps either imagined that his general orders not to permit this liberty to any of the Savages did not extend to *Baron*, or it may be found his advantage in thus treating with him for some tortoise and other things that composed his cargo. They sat together, and having drank much more than prudence ought, in such circumstances, to have permitted, *Baron* in the night went out of the fort upon some pressing occasion. During his absence the guard was relieved, and the new centinel, not knowing him, attempted to stop him with a slap in the face. This accident occasioned a battle, which was ended by arresting the captain and putting him in irons. The commander in the morning could not avoid soberly reflecting on his conduct the preceding day, and condemning himself. However, as it was too late to retract, he dispatched an account of the affair to the Chevalier du *Houel*, who governed at *Guadaloupe*, in the absence of his brother then in *France*, and endeavoured to make it a matter of consequence by representing it as a conspiracy. The chevalier, quickly foreseeing the dangerous effects that might result from such an inconsiderate step, commanded that the *Indian* should not only be instantly set free, but also sent over to him in the first shallop, intending to heal this prelude to a breach by treating him as gently as possible. *Baron* was hardly landed at *Guadaloupe*, whither he was hastily dispatched, pursuant to the lieutenant general's order, before some of his children and countrymen, impatient of his stay, came to *Marigalante* to enquire after him. The commander, instead of giving them good words, and a satisfactory account of their chief, seized three of them, and ordered them to be shot dead, as an example to the rest. One of these unhappy victims proved to be *Marivet*, the youngest of *Baron's* children, and his greatest favourite. It soon came to his ears that one of his sons was killed at *Marigalante*, and it struck him with great grief. The chevalier did his best to comfort him, but it was impossible. When told that it was his dear *Marivet* who had been sacrificed, he tore his hair and flesh, threw himself on the ground, roared louder than an angry bull, shewed an hundred marks of distraction, and, had he not been prevented, would have escaped, and endeavoured to have excited the other *Indians* to assist his vengeance. However he was in some measure calmed by the governor's promising to summon the commander before him, and give him satisfaction by an exemplary piece of justice. In pursuance of his promise the officer was taken into custody at *Marigalante*, brought over to *Guadaloupe*, and in presence of *Baron* put in irons, who, however, insisted on a capital punishment. The chevalier consented, but delayed to fulfil his promise from time to time, regarding the loss of such a man as an affair of great importance, and resolving to leave the determination to his brother. Yet, at the same time, he proceeded with such caution, that *Baron* returned home to *Dominica*, fully persuaded that he should have blood for blood. When he was departed, the chevalier, who was of a mild and humane temper, caused the delinquent to be released from his irons, and confined him to his own house, there to remain until governor *Houel* should return from *France*. Business bringing *Baron* back to *Guadaloupe*, where he saw, as he thought, the murderer at liberty, it threw him into his former frenzy, he loudly complained of the chevalier's injustice, and took such pains among the Savages of *Dominica*, that he would certainly have excited them to fresh commotions, had not the prudence, policy, and humanity of the chevalier countermined all his efforts.

Rose appointed governor.

From this time we find no disturbances or alterations at *Marigalante* till 1664, when the *Sieur de Rose* entered the fort as governor of the island, under the king and company, with a garrison to support him, and three pieces of cannon. This officer was appointed by *M. Tracy*, who, as we have before observed, was made captain general of the *Antilles*, when the crown had bought out the proprietors.

Succeeded by Themericaour.

The year following he was obliged to resign to *M. de Themericaour*, a man of learning, and of a most amiable character. He was the son of a lady to whom *Marigalante* and near one half of *Guadaloupe* had belonged, when in the hands of the proprietors; and it is not unlikely that through her interest he was raised to this government, the company having recommended him to the king for that purpose. He entered his administration in *June*, with no more than ten soldiers in garrison, and 500 inhabitants on the island, of whom only about 150 were fit to bear arms. One of the

the first things he afterwards did, was to make the tour of the whole island, accompanied by his brother, *M. de Malassis*, and a few friends, with four strong Negroes to carry their provisions, and clear the road for them, there being no paths except near the inhabited coasts. In their course they discovered several good springs of water, of which they had thought the island destitute; one of which particularly rose in a grotto, where it fed a subterranean stream that abounded with crawfish. After this they discovered several other running streams and ponds of fresh water, well stocked with fish, besides variety of beautiful grottoes, whether considered for height, length, breadth, or position; and in several spots, where they climbed the trees to take a view of such parts of the country as they could not easily penetrate, they had room to indulge the warmest hopes from the beauty of the prospect.

In 1666, when *England* and *France* were engaged in a war, which it was more than probable would soon extend itself to the *West Indies*, we are surprised to find *Marigalante* without a single grain of powder, nay, destitute of all other ammunition, and this under the presidency of a man, of whom we have so ample a character given us by the missionaries. It is true, when he had received succour from the neighbouring colonies, he prepared for a gallant defence in case of an attack, which however was not made.

Marigalante has been since twice plundered by the *Dutch*, and afterwards taken by the *English*, in 1692, who, according to *Pere Labat*, were guilty of great barbarities; among others of that kind, they hung 23 of the miserable inhabitants, who were either on the point of surrendering, or were before received as prisoners of war, at the door of the church. And they were just ready to exercise the same cruelty upon a gallant major of the place, when the wind luckily brought up general *Codrington* time enough to save him from the hands of the brutal subaltern, who commanded here in his absence. *Codrington* then summoned the governor, who had hitherto held out very gallantly, and now surrendered, upon permission to retire to *Martinico* with his garrison of not more than seventy men, carrying with them their arms, ammunition, and provision, of which but little was left; for had the brave governor been well stocked with them, it is very probable he had held out much longer. The enemy had burned the town on their landing, and general *Codrington*, having demolished the fort, drew off his forces to *Antigua*. We find no descent made upon this island in the subsequent disputes between the two crowns, so that the inhabitants have remained for the most part pretty quiet, if we except in some few quarters, where privateers or pirates have landed by surprise, and plundered, without daring to make any stay. At present the colony, which is but small, is in a very flourishing condition.

This island also submitted to the *English* soon after the reduction of *Guadaloupe*, and was allowed the same capitulation.

Who makes the tour of the island.

Present state.

A Description of the Islands of LOS SANTOS, or THE SAINTS.

THE Islands of *Los Santos* lie in $15^{\circ} 50'$ North Lat. and near $61^{\circ} 25'$ West Long. from *London*, situated between *Guadaloupe* and *Dominica*. They are the smallest of the *Caribbees* that have upon them any *French* inhabitants, and so happily arranged, that in the midst of them there is as fine a road for shipping as any in the neighbourhood. Being discovered by the *Spaniards* upon the day sacred to *All Saints*, they were distinguished by that appellation.

The two principal of them are *Terre de Bas*, which is no other than *Basse Terre*, and stands to the leeward, and *Terre de Haut*, or *the High Land*, which is more to the windward. The former of these has a small, neat structure of wood for divine service, and adjoining to it a house for the clergyman, consisting of two little rooms, a kitchen, and an outhouse. *Labat* supposes it to be about three leagues in circumference, and the *Terre de Haut* to be considerably larger, as it is also higher, and more rocky. The third island, which lies between these two, is the smallest of the three, and serves to form a port, in which ships may find good shelter, and deep water.

Latitude and longitude.

General Name.

Particular names and dimensions.

Port.

These

Produce. These three islands, though rugged and craggy, are covered with woods, which abound with goats. Poultry thrive here pretty well, but as pasture is scarce, and but indifferent, there are but few herds of cattle; swine are however in plenty. The woods, at certain seasons, are filled with parrots, paroquets, wood pigeons, turtles, thrushes, and variety of other birds, particularly such as are common to the sea coast. The seas abound with fine fish; among the rocks are excellent crawfish, lobsters, &c. The planters raise cotton, tobacco, manioc, *Indian* grain of different kinds, and good potatoes.

Air. As the *Los Santos* are open on every side to the sea breezes, the air is wholesome, and constantly refreshed. This, however, does not prevent the muskettos from sharply nipping. But the want of water is a terrible inconveniency, under which the inhabitants labour; they have indeed two or three small springs, which supply them with enough to drink, provided the weather be not excessive in heat, for in that case they soon become dry; but they preserve what falls from the sky in jars, and other vessels, and often in pits dug in the earth, in which it soon corrupts; for as yet they have not been industrious enough to build cisterns, though easy to be done, as they have plenty of chalk, sand, and stones. The harbour has a good quay, or landing place, which might be fortified to advantage with little or no expence, it being pretty strong by nature. When *Labat* was on these islands they were governed by a captain of militia, appointed by the governor of *Guadaloupe*, and his subjects were about ninety men fit to bear arms, with which they were well supplied; in this enumeration are included young and old, black and white. Though not rich, they live much at their ease, and get money.

Quay. We do not find that the *Spaniards* at any time, or any other nation sojourned here, till 1648, when *M. Houel* sent one *M. du Mé*, with thirty men, to make a settlement; and a reverend Dominican, who attended them, erected a cross with this inscription: *R. P. Mathias du Puy, dictus a S. Johanne, crucem redemptionis nostræ in insula Guadalupæ adjacente, quæ Les Saintes vocatur, fixit in comitatu Domini du Mé, qui ejusdem insule fuerat gubernator electus et delegatus.*

Settlement. This company, however, did not long continue upon the island, but were forced to abandon it for want of water, having first destroyed their habitations. Four years after one *Buiffon le Hazier* planted a colony here, which went on very prosperously.

Abandoned. Three or four months after the massacre at *Marigalante*, which we have already mentioned, intelligence was received at *Guadaloupe*, that the same Savages intended to repeat the tragedy at *Los Santos*, which was therefore speedily reinforced with lieutenant *de l'Etoile*, and twenty soldiers. This small company had waited for the attack for several days in vain, and were now on the point of returning home, when notice was given them that the enemy were landing in great numbers. On this they speedily betook themselves to arms, and marching directly down upon them, attacked and routed them, so that they reembarked in great confusion, leaving three of their number dead behind them, and several others of them were supposed to be dead or wounded, whom however they made a shift to carry off. It was remarkable of one of them, that he made his escape and reached the beach, where he jumped into the sea, tho' deeply wounded in the shoulder by a cutlass. As he was an excellent swimmer, he fairly got off, though pursued by a boat, from whence a constant firing was made at him, by keeping under water, and only rising to breathe in the intervals of the discharges, by which means he reached an island in the neighbourhood, where he found a sure asylum in the woods, and his pursuers were obliged to give over the chase.

Replaced. In the beginning of *August*, 1666, *France* and *England* being then at war, lord *Willoughby of Parham*, who commanded an *English* fleet upon the coast, dispatched three frigates and some lighter craft, to bring off two ships lying in the harbour of *Los Santos*; one of them was taken after a stout resistance, but captain *Baron*, who commanded the other, prudently foreseeing that the force was too great for two such ships as theirs to resist, set fire to his own, and retired with the crew to a fortified redoubt, while one of the frigates, endeavouring ineffectually to extinguish the flames, was herself set on fire, and in great danger of being burnt. The *English* then landed, burned the houses, and ruined such plantations as lay in their way: After which they attacked the redoubt, and carried it with the loss of eight men killed, and many more wounded.

Savages invading routed.

Hardiness of a Savage.

English make a descent.

Carry a redoubt.

ed. *Baron* however with his company secured his retreat among the hills, in a place where luckily there was a spring of fresh water, a necessary which he had wanted below; and here he bravely defended himself in a sort of fortification contrived by nature, so very strong, that the enemy endeavoured to force it in vain.

In a day or two after happened one of the most dreadful tempests that ever was known in this quarter of the world, by which the *English* fleet was totally dispersed, Lord *Willoughby* himself lost, and the frigates belonging to the *English* at *Los Santos* were driven ashore and wrecked. The day after this dreadful disaster two sailors, belonging to *Baron*, ventured over to *Guadaloupe* in a canoe, carrying with them a letter from the besieged, in which they craved present relief, declaring that they must otherwise surrender to the *English*, who had already summoned them, offering good terms, and giving them two days to consider. The same canoe was quickly sent back with ten soldiers, a supply of provisions and ammunition, and promise of farther and speedy assistance. In a few hours after 200 *Indians* from *Dominica*, in the *French* interest, landed upon the island, whither the news of the present transaction, and the hopes of plunder from the shipwreck, had hastened them. The *English* were by no means pleased with the sight of such a number of Savages, with whom they stood not upon very good terms. However, when the two days were expired, they made a vigorous attack upon the *French*, but were beaten off with loss. This repulse, with the impracticability of cutting off *Baron's* communication with the sea, or getting off their own ships, discomposed them not a little. They now saw, too late, that they must become defendants in their turn, having no prospect of retreat, and therefore laboured hard at strengthening the redoubt.

English fleet shipwrecked.

English attack a fort in vain.

Besieged in the redoubt.

Surrender at discretion.

The *French* daily gained succours, and at length the governor arrived here on the 14th of *August*, with a good body of men, and was joined by fifty men and two pieces of cannon from *Marigalante*. When he had marked out the ground for encampment, he proceeded to reconnoitre the enemy, whom he found strongly fortified, and defended by twelve pieces of cannon. He erected against them a small battery, with which and his small arms he kept the besieged in motion all the night, the moon shining brightly, and ceased in the day. The night following his fire was renewed with equal vigour, and finding that the garrison slackened in their defence, he continued the attack so briskly all the morning, that they at last ran from their posts, and the officers hung out a white flag, and beat the chamade for a parley, which was granted. Two officers were sent out to confer with the governor about terms, but he absolutely insisted on their surrendering at discretion, to which they were obliged at last to submit. The names of the officers were, *William Hill*, *John Stapleton*, *John Gardiner*, *J. Dixfield*, *Richard Pierrepont*, *Florence O Sullivan*, and *Edward Barry*, who, together with their men, were transported to *Guadaloupe*, and there detained till exchanged upon cartel. The soldiers and sailors had buried their tents and colours before they surrendered, but their baggage and ammunition, &c. afforded good pillage.

This appears to us the last memorable transaction that has happened in these islands, which at present serve rather for a retreat to the looser sort of people; and the governments both of *Martinico* and *Guadaloupe* banish hither vagrants, idlers, and others guilty of misdemeanours.

Present state.

This island is also now in the possession of the *English*.

Description and History of MARTINICO.

THE Island of *Martinico*, called by the Savages *Madanina*, and one of the *Caribbees*, lies in 14° some odd minutes N. Lat. and 61° W. Long. 80 miles S. of *Guadaloupe*, and 120 N. W. of *Barbadoes*, being as well, if not better, peopled. Its length is little more than 60 miles at best, its breadth extremely unequal, and scarcely any where more than 20 miles. As the island is pretty high, it appears from the sea like three distant mountains, and, if you include the promontories, which project in many places two or three leagues beyond the rest of the island, its circumference will include above 160 miles. Though not the largest, it is at present the chief of all the *Caribbees* possessed by the *French*, and the residence of the governor general of this part of the world. It is in most places so well fortified, as to have bid defiance, for many years past, to all invasions. Here are the finest harbours in the *Antilles*, every way exceeding any to be found at *Guadaloupe*, though at first that island had so much the preference. The country is for the most part uneven, though roads may be cut through it without any great labour.

Martinico may be considered under three divisions, general, political, and subordinate.

Divisions.

- I. The general division, like that of the rest of the *Antilles*, includes,
 1. *Cabesterre*, or that part of the island which lies most to the windward.
 2. *Basse Terre*, or the part to the leeward.
- II. The political, or peculiar division, contains three quarters,
 1. *Dominican*.
 2. *Jesuits*.
 3. *Capuchin*.
- III. The subordinate division, which distributes it into parishes,

In the DOMINICAN Quarter are 10 Parishes.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Mouillage</i> . | 7. <i>Trinity</i> , belonging to the port and town of the same name. |
| 2. <i>St Anne du Macouba</i> . | 8. <i>St Robert's</i> . |
| 3. <i>St John Baptist de la Basse Pointe</i> . | 9. <i>French harbour</i> . |
| 4. <i>St Hiacinth de la Grande Ance</i> . | 10. <i>Vauclain</i> . |
| 5. <i>St Paul au Marigot</i> . | |
| 6. <i>St Mary of St Mary Bay</i> . | |

The JESUIT'S Quarter contains 4 Parishes.

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|------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. The Preacher. | 2. <i>Fort St Peter</i> . | 3. <i>Le Carbet</i> . | 4. <i>La Cafe Pilote</i> . |
|------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|

The CAPUCHIN Quarter comprehends 7 Parishes.

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|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Vache-Harbour</i> , formerly belonging to the Jesuits. | 4. <i>Diamond</i> , Little Cove. |
| 2. <i>Le Trou au chat</i> . | 5. <i>Cul-de-Sac Marin</i> . |
| 3. <i>Arlet</i> , Great Cove. | 6. <i>St Anne's Chapel</i> . |
| | 7. <i>Fort Royal</i> . |

Island described.

Among the harbours and bays of the *Cabesterre* there are several promontories, or peninsulas, of different dimensions, some branching out above a league into the water, and perhaps half a league across, others less, which, if properly inclosed, might be of excellent service for feeding cattle. The *Basse Terre* is frequently intersected by mountains and heads of land, well peopled, and the disadvantages of their situation sufficiently recompensed by the plenty of fine tobacco which they produce; and here and there you are surprised with the sight of level downs, or pleasant vallies, most agreeably watered. The soil is for the most part gravelly, which, though it soon swallows the rain, and becomes dry, yet retains the effect, so as to preserve its freshness much longer than in a more compact soil, and gives a stronger and more extensive root to whatever is implanted. The island derives also more refreshment and fertility from the rivers and running streams, which are upwards of forty in number, and some of them, particularly on the *Cabesterre*, are deemed navigable within land.

Few hurricanes.

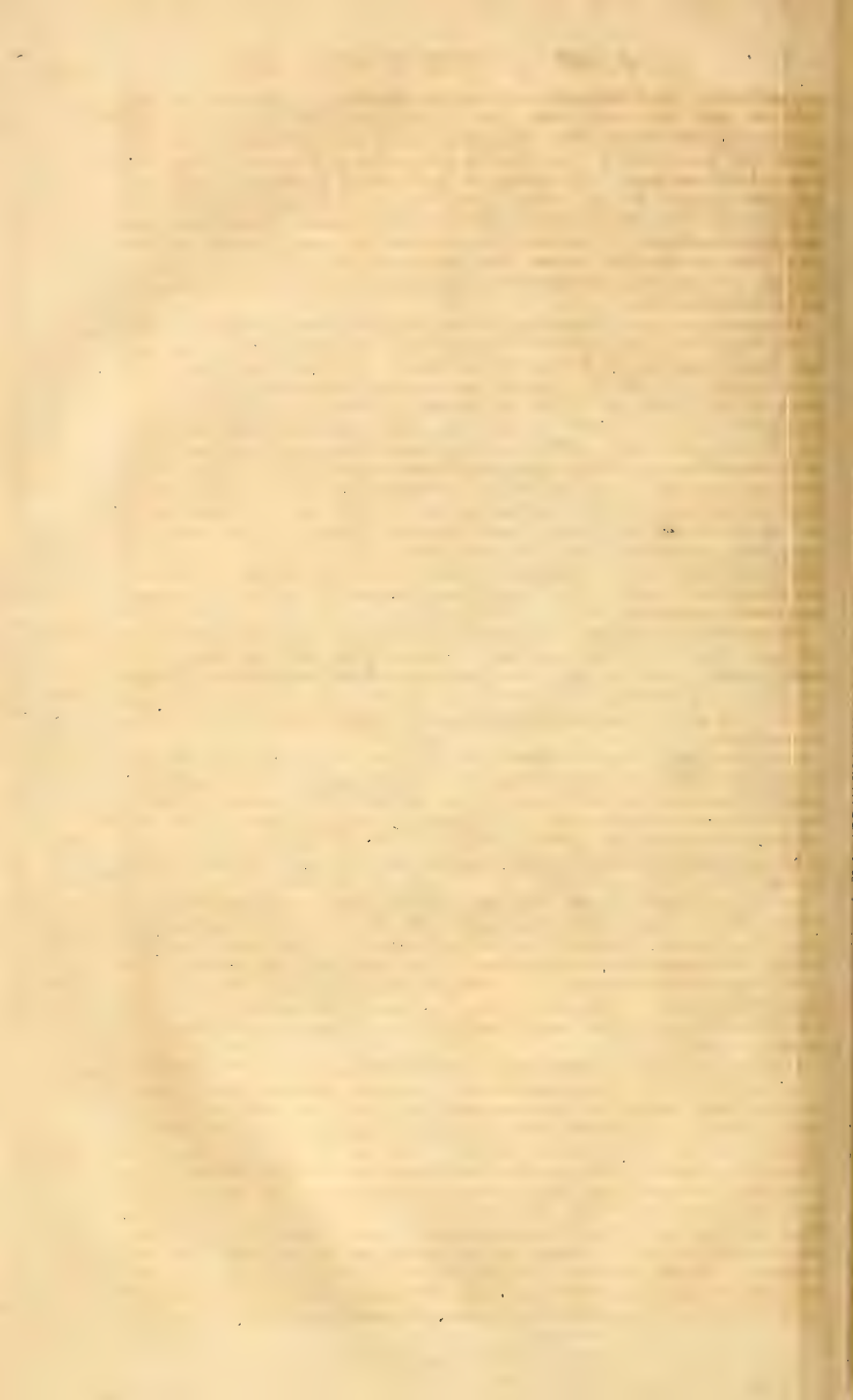
Martinico, among other advantages over the rest of the islands, boasts its being less subject to hurricanes, and consequently often in a condition to supply them with provisions and all kinds of necessaries, when their crops are, by these devastations of nature,





EXPLANATION.

- Habitation or Plantation.
- Sugar works & Oxen mill.
- Water mill.
- * Places determined by Astronomical Observation.



ture, destroyed; which observation is founded on experience. The exports from this island are sugars white and brown, cotton, ginger, indigo, cocoa, aloes, pimento, plantains, and other tropical fruits, with coffee, which has been planted by the Europeans with success; but it is not found so good as that of the *Levant*, though the fenna and cassia are better. The raising and manufacturing silk has been tried here, and yielded profit. The tea, which grows wild has been gainfully passed for the produce of *China*, without discovery by the nicest of palates. Pease, manioc, *Indian* grain of different sorts, with the most delicious fallads, large potatoes, and bananas, thrive here very fast; horned cattle, sheep, and good poultry are in sufficient numbers; nor are the serpents that lurk in the woods so numerous nor dangerous as fear has represented them.

All kinds of provisions imported yield a good, and often a very considerable profit, as beef, butter, dried fish, gammons of bacon, hams, tongues of oxen and hogs, sausages, cheese, corn, and dried fruit of all sorts that *Europe* affords, with wax, tallow, wines, brandy, drams, and all things that can contribute to the use or pleasures of the table; all sorts of *Birmingham* and *Sheffield* wares, of which there are many manufactories in *France*, with powder and ball, every implement necessary to the plantation of land; hats, china, earthen ware, linen and woollen cloth, rich laces, cambricks, muslin and embroidery, ready made cloathes of all prices, gold and silver stuffs, utensils of the same metals, clocks and watches, well set jewels, all sorts of ornamental furniture, and every thing that can flatter the pride and vanity of the weaker sex. To gratify their expensive appetites they have their favourite Negroes, who raise sugar, indigo, and cocoa for them by night, and the produce, called *manœuvre de la lune*, or moonlight work, is appropriated to this purpose; every woman in the island now encouraging it as their right, though allowed otherwise by her husband an handsome sum for pin-money.

The first Islanders, like the old inhabitants of *Lacedemon*, could fight well by sea and land, and were disposed to any actions of gallantry or valour; but then few of them were able to read or write, so that their glorious deeds remained unsung. The case is at present otherwise; learning daily gains ground, so that all kinds of books sell well here, those of amusement particularly best, though science is not without its encouragement.

Having thus given, from the best authorities, a general, we shall proceed to a parochial view of the island, in the progress of which we promise rather exactness than order. If we chance to omit speaking of some of the parishes, let it be imputed either to their want of consequence, or of variety; and we would rather be instructive and brief, than minute and wearisome. This done, we shall present the reader with an historical account of the first settlement of the island, continued down to its present opulent state.

Fort St Peter, when first seen from the sea, appears like a row of houses at the foot of a steep mountain; but, as you approach the land, the distance between them increases considerably: Regularly built houses, streets well peopled, and an hurry of business, next occur at once to observation: You are boarded by a multitude of Negro slaves, whose wretched attire, and naked backs, weltd with blows, excite pity from a compassionate stranger: Their only cloathing is a pair of coarse canvas drawers, and a miserable covering for the head, something like a bonnet, or the remains of an hat.

The town of *St Peter* takes its name from a fort built in 1665, by M. de *Clodré*, governor of *Martinico*, with an intention rather to awe the seditious inhabitants, who often revolted against the *West India* company, than to resist the attacks of a foreign enemy. It is an oblong, for the most part regularly built of good stone, with a strong battery of cannon, which commands the road. The opposite side, where the *Place d'Armes* lies, is flanked at each end with a round tower, and embrasures for four pieces of cannon. The wall joining these towers is also bored for cannon, but has neither ditch, palisade, nor covered way. The road, which is excellent, except in the middle, where is a sharp rock at bottom that cuts the cables, is also commanded by some cannon, mounted on one of the shortest sides of the fort, and faces the East. The fort is washed by the river *Roxolana*, now called *St Peter's*, or *the Fort River*. The gate lies to the East, and opens into a long court, flanked on the North, which looks towards the country, by a palisaded wall; and on the South, or towards the sea, by a wall

A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

wall planted with artillery. Within the gate, on the left hand, or North, stands the guard-house; and opposite to it, at the bottom of the long court, is a chapel, a vestry, and a guard-room. *Fort St Peter* may be commanded every where but from the sea, and most part of that front, with an angular battery on the river, were torn down and destroyed in 1695 by an hurricane. The wall has been rebuilt, and there is a platform, in the place of the other buildings, which forms part of the governor's lodgings.

Town of *St Peter* described.

The town may be properly divided into three quarters, *St Peter's*, *la Mouillage*, and *la Galere*. *St Peter's*, or the middle quarter, begins at the fort and the parochial church, and extends to a mountain on the West, where there is a *battery à barbette*, mounted with eleven pieces of cannon, called *St Nicholas's battery*. *La Mouillage*, so called from the anchorage of vessels secured by the goodness of the ground, reaches from the said island to that of *St Robert's* on the Western extremity. Vessels are here better sheltered, and, upon the whole, ride safer than at *Fort St Peter*. Divine service for the people of this quarter, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring eminences, is celebrated in a church belonging to the Dominicans, and dedicated to our Blessed Lady of *Safe Harbour*. *La Galere*, or *Gallery* quarter, is a long street by the sea-side, running from *Fort St Peter* to a small battery at the mouth of the Jesuit's river. The hurricane above-mentioned swept away from this quarter above 200 houses, leaving only three or four standing, among which was a magazine belonging to the *Guinea* company, which, by means of a strong parapet of stone, resisted the most impetuous violence of the sea.

St Peter's church.

In the two parishes into which these quarters are divided, one of them belonging to the Jesuits, the other to the order of *St Dominic*, were reckoned, the beginning of this century, near 5000 communicants, including soldiers and sailors, and as many children. *St Peter's* church is a handsome piece of masonry, though the architects have been guilty of some gross imperfections in the design. The front is of hewn stone in the Doric style. The church, which is 120 by 36 feet, is in the form of a cross, the wings made of two chapels. The altars, seats, and pulpit, &c. are very handsome, and religious offices decently performed. The houses of the intendant, the particular governor, the court of justice, the prison, the public bakehouse, magazine for ammunition, the royal treasury, a monastery of nuns, a large sugarwork, which belongs to the *Marchioness de Maintenon d'Angennes*, and the habitations of the most considerable merchants are in *St Peter's* parish.

Mouillage church.

The Dominican, which is the parochial church of *la Mouillage*, is 90 feet by 30, and two square chapels of 24 feet in a side form the wings, shaping it thus like a cross. It has a front of stone in the Tuscan style, extremely simple; there is a commodious pew for the reception of the sea officers, who have also here a right of sepulture, because they contributed largely to the building which is neatly finished, and stands in the midst of a church yard, walled round, with a gate opening into the chief street of the parish. On one side of the church yard, at about 300 paces from the street, stands a Dominican convent, to which you pass through an orange walk, about 100 paces long, each pace three *French* feet and half, and intersected by another walk of much the same dimensions. The order has lately enlarged their territory in the neighbourhood, and considerably improved it; for where the honest friars once get footing they will be sure to confirm and extend it. The convent was at first a neat square building of wood, 30 feet long, containing on the ground-floor three small chambers and a hall, with a stair case leading to an upper story, which was divided into three apartments: Behind the convent, and on each side, were detached buildings, which served for a kitchen, hen-house, and refectory. Beyond the convent is a good kitchen garden abounding with all sorts of roots, greens, and fruits, and inclosed by a double range of orange-trees. This garden was once laid waste by a torrent from the mountains, which covered it with stones, destroying every thing in the ground, and filling the convent itself with the rubbish to the height of four feet, leaving only some china oranges uphurt.

Dominican convent.

New Dominican convent.

The Dominican convent, which was erected in the room of the old one, under the direction of *la Bat*, has an elegance that will sufficiently compensate for the time which the reader may consume in the perusing of it. Hence will he be not only furnished with an idea of the improvements made upon *Martinico*, in regard of its buildings

ings within the 18th century ; but also plainly perceive in what a state of restriction and mortification the humble fathers live ; how strictly they adhere to the vows of poverty, and what sufferings they sustain in this world, to secure happiness in the world to come.

This building then, with which these emblems of meekness and humility are satisfied, is a grand pile of hewn stone facing the sea, with 16 windows in front. It is 120 feet long and 40 broad ; at each end a wing runs out towards the mountains, each 60 feet long and 30 broad. The ground floor is raised four feet above the surface, with an ascent of seven steps, by which you pass through a grand folding door into a spacious hall, 46 feet by 22, at each end of which are two chambers, each 22 feet by 15, with two windows, from whence you have a prospect of the harbour. The hall is enlightened by four windows in front, and as many in the back part ; and the whole story is 13 feet high. There is a gallery backward 15 feet broad, running the whole length of the buildings, in which opens a door not only out of the hall, but out of each chamber. The gallery has also three doors, one at each end, and one in the middle, which lead to a back court, containing the kitchen, laundry, and other offices necessary to the sons of poverty and self-denial, and also into a kitchen garden well stocked. From this gallery also you pass through two arches into each wing, the ground-floor of one of which serves for a dining hall, or refectory ; that of the other for an infirmary. The Attic flight, or second story, is twelve foot high from the floor to the ceiling, divided into seven noble chambers, each having a door that opens into a gallery parallel with that below. Over the principal door there is a grand balcony in the Doric style, a noble stone balustrade crowns the top of the building all round, adorned with vases and globes, and inclosing an handsome terras, on which the good men take the air in an evening.

Description
of the convent.

The monastery of nuns of the order of *St Ursula* joins the intendant's house, and is under the direction of the Jesuits. Here boarders are received, and the little girls of the town properly instructed in the necessary branches of female education. The monastery is rich, and well filled, many Creole maidens from time to time taking the veil, and bringing with them a portion of 5000 franks each.

Nunnery of
St Ursula.

Our author, who was upon the mission, being ordered by his superiors to *Cabesterre*, set out with his companion from *Fort St Peter*, each upon a small horse, attended by a couple of Negroes, who carried their bed and bedding, the place of their destination being but indifferently provided with necessaries.

Journal of
two missionaries.

Quitting the town of *St Peter*, they entered a beautiful avenue, about a quarter of a league long, lined with oranges, and dividing two spacious plantations, upon the largest of which, at this time, were upwards of 300 slaves, two sugarworks, a refining-house, a water-mill, a horse-mill, and a manufactory of chocolate. About half a league farther is a handsome plantation abounding with sugar, cocoa, &c. which formerly belonged to one *Benjamin D'Acosta*, a Jew, who considerably improved it. But the *West India* company, not chusing to bear any longer with the toleration of Jews, procured him to be stripped, and banished the island : There were honest Christians enough to seize upon the spoil. His heirs and assigns had the king's permission, after the peace of *Ryswick*, to endeavour at repossessing themselves of this estate, which they tried to no purpose.

Plantations of
sugar and
coco.

Great injustice to a Jew.

At the top of a little craggy hill bounding an orange walk on this plantation, there is a parapet composed of palisades, filled with earth and fascines, and strengthened by some other works, and a few pieces of cannon ; they call it the redoubt of *Martinico*, because it protects a savanna, where, in case of an attack, there is a safe and extensive retreat for the women, children, and slaves, and where the cattle and moveables may be securely lodged. All the roads leading to it are intricate, craggy, and easily to be defended.

Redoubt of
Martinico.

Having passed another orange walk, bounded by good sugar plantations, and crossed another little hill, they found themselves on the border of a forest three leagues long, at the entrance of which stands a wooden cross, erected by the first missionaries. Here are several large stately trees, that emit a whitish gum. And our travellers inform us, that as they were now in an ascent all the way to *Morne de la Calebasse*, or *Gourdhill*, they had sufficient leisure to make their observations, their slaves and horses both jogging on very slowly, the one being jaded, the other heavily laden.

Forest.

*Morne de la
Calabesse, or
Gourd-Hill.*

Gourd-Hill is half way, and the highest spot of ground, between *Basse* and *Cabes-terre*. In the way at *Rouge-Morne*, or *Red-Hill*, some reverend fathers of the charity are settled, who plant cacao and rocou, and have some herds of cattle, which thrive very well. Their residence on this spot has induced other planters to settle on it, and they find their account in raising cacao, and feeding cattle. *Cabes-terre*, viewed on a fine day from a rising hill, affords a very pleasing prospect, for you see the greater part of it, being mostly level, and fertile; whereas the *Basse Terre*, though in a lower situation, is more craggy and uneven. There is a road cut through this hill, which is very narrow, and the only passage hereabouts that unites the two *Terres*. It may be very easily defended, and though an enemy were masters of one side of the country, they would on this account find it hard to penetrate into the other, if opposed but by a few people of resolution.

Strong pass.

Fountain.

It being now turned of noon, they dismounted at the bottom of the hill, and turned their horses loose to feed among the woods; then, seating themselves by the side of a fountain on the left hand of the road, they refreshed themselves with such provisions as they had carried with them, and their Negroes dined on salt-fish and manioc, which they had brought for that purpose.

Burying place
of the
Negroes,
Falaise river.

Three quarters of a league forward is a piece of consecrated ground, marked by a cross, and here the Christian Negroes of the neighbourhood bury their dead. Descending by a road, cut through the declivity of an hill, they reached the river *Falaise*, and passing through an orange walk, which serves as a fence to a thriving plantation of cacao, they came to the end of the wood, where stands a third cross, called the cross of *Basse-Point*, as it leads to the quarter and town of the same name.

Cross of
Basse-Point.

Capot river.

Leaving this cross on the left hand, and going straight forward, they reached the river *Capot*, which they crossed. All the rivers here are torrents, that tumble with vast impetuosity from the mountains on the least rains, and suddenly swell the stream to a great degree; they are seldom more than two or three feet deep. The waters of the *Capot* are clear and pleasant, commonly about ten fathom wide, and two or three feet deep in the middle; the bottom is rough, stoney, and unequal; the passage is not very safe in rough weather.

Grande Ance
parish.

From hence to the parish of *Grande Ance* is a small league, and the road, though fatiguing from its inequality, made a little pleasant by the oranges with which it is lined. At the curate's house our reverend travellers hoped to find the labours of the day concluded with some refreshments; but they were deceived, the good man was abroad, and had left nobody at home but a Negro, who told them his master knew of their coming, and had commanded him to refresh them with what they wanted, but at the same time advised them to hasten forward, since he could not accommodate them with a lodging, and was obliged to be absent. This might possibly have been the case, but it is more likely that he chose to be out of the way, because tired out by repeated visits from his brethren.

St James's
cove.

Lorain and
Marte rivers.

Marigot pa-
rish.

Carpenter's
river.

This reception was both a disappointment and a mortification, but they were obliged to acquiesce, and continue their rout, though their horses were quite tired, and their slaves sinking under their burdens. However, as they had a little before foddered their beasts, and now recruited the Negroes with each a good dram of brandy, though it was near sunset, they pushed forward for *St James's Cove*, at two leagues distance. After climbing two or three more steep and craggy eminences, and passing the rivers *Lorain* and *Marte* with no small trouble, as they were a little swollen, one of their horses began to halt, and there was a necessity to drag him forward; night too came on, with a heavy shower of rain, which obliged them to take shelter under the trees till the clouds were passed over. They were now both forced to lead their horses, and arriving at *Marigot* parish, found no hopes of relief, because no clergyman resided in the place; determining therefore to proceed, by the advice of their Negroes, they resolved, as the shortest way, to load the tired horse with their baggage, and, leaving him all night in a secure place, to pass on with the other, the fathers riding him by turns. They now reached the banks of *Carpenter's* river, which they passed over on horseback, not without danger, as the bottom is a quicksand. When one of the fathers had crossed, the Negroes returned with the horse for the other. He who went over first being by chance entangled among the briars, fancied himself that instant seized by a serpent, and cried out amain; but was not a little abashed when he discovered his mistake, which afforded his companion some mirth. The horse now seemed

to know his way, for he freely began to mend his pace. But he had not gone far before he went on his knees, as it were to kiss the ground out of veneration; a ceremony the good father upon his back would have very willingly excused, as it brought him also to the earth. The road to their journey's end, by account of their Negroes, was now but short, though very bad and uneven, and rendered still worse by the rain that had lately fallen; wherefore they agreed to walk, and a Negro was ordered to lead the horse; one of the good fathers, almost fatigued to death, held him by the tail, the other followed his footsteps, and the second Negro brought up the rear. After many times tumbling they gained *St James's* river, which they crossed over on horseback, and 300 paces more brought them to the convent, half dead with wet, dirt, and fatigue. Their brethren were surprised at such a late visit, it being nine o'clock at night, and blamed them for not stopping at some house, assuring them that any of the planters would have harboured them with pleasure, since want of hospitality, especially to the clergy, was not the growth of the place.

St James's river.

Fathers arrive at the end of their journey.

They were here treated with great brotherly love, and refreshed with clean cloathes, linnen, and a good supper. As for other conveniences the convent was very poor, the napkins were all torn, and yet two of them were obliged to be spread over the table cloth to hide the holes. Hunger however gave the travellers excellent stomachs, and though the beds were rather worse than the rest of the accommodation fatigue soon closed their eyes. The next morning they were relieved by the arrival of their own bedding and baggage, together with the horse which they had left behind.

Their treatment.

St James's Cove is a flat piece of ground, about 900 feet wide, flanked by two high heads of land, and watered by a small stream called *St James's* river. It is about eight leagues from *Fort St Peter*, and two from *Trinity* town. The convent stands on an eminence by the river side, about 300 paces from the sea, to which it lies open. The building of which it consists may comprehend ten or eleven square fathoms; on the left is the domestic chapel, thirty six feet by eighteen, and eight feet high, being a piece of stone work, with a small vestry ten feet by six. The body of the main building, which is thirty six by twenty four feet, contains a hall twenty feet by sixteen, with a little office, two chambers that look to the sea, each sixteen feet by twelve, and a staircase, leading to a gallery containing two chambers, each of which may be parted into two, and all in very bad order. Adjoining to the building is a storehouse of twenty four feet by twelve, thro' which you pass into a kitchen of the same length, and seven feet wide. The whole edifice was out of repair, as well as the sugarworks belonging to it, which, together with the water mill, were not only wretchedly situated, so as to be subject to every inundation, but also most incommodiously designed. The whole was the choice and contrivance of father *John Temple*, an *English* friar, and redounded but little to the honour of his judgment.

Description of *St James's* cove, and convent.

In a bad repair.

The chief cause of this indigent state of the house is ascribed to the missionaries, its late possessors, who, through want of œconomy, ran it very much in debt; however, new regulations, and good management soon recovered it, and it is at this time not only newly built, but considerably endowed.

Reasons for it

Pere *Labat*, to whom we are obliged for great part of this account, being appointed to the parish of *Macouba*, a good way East of *St James's* cove, set out, attended by a Negro boy about seventeen. He was provided with a bottle of wine and a loaf; his servant was well acquainted with the road, and the good father was by this time a little skilled in the lad's gibberish. At the *Grande Ance* he met with the kindest reception from the curate, who would fain have detained him all night. Passing the river *Capot*, he entered upon two fine plantations in a flat level country, three or four fathom above the sea, and extending about two leagues to the foot of a mountain of easy access. From the river *Capot*, where *Basse-Point* commences, to the great river which separates *Macouba* from the *Preacher's* parish, lies the richest and most secure tract of land in all *Martinico*. The plantations are almost all divided by little rivulets, or deep ditches, which answer the same end; and though they render the roads very difficult, yet at the same time they are not without their convenience, for they may serve as trenches in time of war to stop the progress of an enemy, who, if perhaps he has got footing upon one quarter, will from these obstacles find it hard to prevail in another.

Journey to *Macouba*. Another journey of Father *Labat* *Grand Ance*.

Rich tract of land.

Our missionary arriving at length at his parochial church, found here a female slave, who told him that, by ringing the bell, the schoolmaster, who lived at the sea side, and

Father arrives at his parish.

and kept the keys, would be quickly roused. The sound had its effect, and he soon appeared, together with the churchwarden; and as the place was quite in disorder, the said officer of the parish intreated his reverence for that night to accept of such entertainment as his habitation afforded. The good man heartily closed with his proposal, and accordingly followed him through a steep, narrow way, hewn through the rock to the strand, not without shuddering at every step, for had his horse once slipped, he must inevitably have broke his neck. However, on assurances that such an accident had never happened, and that the horse knew the road, he afterwards passed and repassed it without the least fear. By the sea side he found besides the schoolmaster, a surgeon, and some other inhabitants, with magazines filled with sugars, and other commodities for exportation. Here, in a large opening, as it were cut between two steep banks, falls the river *Macouba*, about two feet deep, and forty feet in breadth. The churchwarden, whose house was here pleasantly seated, was the same gentleman whose life, as we observed, had been saved at *Marigalante* by the timely arrival of General Coddington. The parochial church of *Macouba* is dedicated to *St Anne*, whose picture hangs over the altar; the depth of this church is twenty feet, its breadth sixty, the two chapels which form the arms of the cross are each seventeen feet every way, and the choir is twenty four by twenty. The chapel on the right is dedicated to our Lady of Rosary, and serves for a confessional; that on the left, sacred to *St Anthony of Padua*, is used as a vestry.

Macouba river & church

Father visits a missionary.

After residing some days at *Macouba*, our author visited the missionary at *Basse-Point* parish, whom he found prepared to receive him and fourteen or fifteen of his parishioners, who escorted him, in a very hospitable manner, having been previously supplied with all the necessary provisions from a foreknowledge of the intended visit.

Basse-Point church and town.

The parochial church of *Basse-Point* is dedicated to *St John Baptist*; formerly *St Adrian* was the patron, but how he came to be dismissed we are not told. This church is all of stone, prettily finished, sixty feet long and twenty four broad, has no wings, is too low, and spoiled by adhering to the old custom of fixing the altar in the East, by which means its flank, instead of its front, looks towards the street. The town is small, consisting of no more than twenty houses, inhabited by merchants, mechanics, and officers of the customs. The curate's house is small, but neat and convenient, with a garden in good order, and a meadow inclosed for his horse, as cattle may graze abroad all the year.

After residing a month at this parish our author now returned to *Fort St Peter*, to report the state in which he found it to his superior, and to consult about the manner in which he was to be supplied with provisions. Here he took the opportunity of a passage boat to carry him down to *Fort Royal*, where he had long wished to pay his respects to the governor, Count de *Blenac*. The boat belonged to a free Negro, who made the course from fort to fort, and back again the same day. He exacted a crown a head, allowing each passenger a servant gratis, or hired the whole boat for six crowns. This carriage is very commodious, for though it be but seven leagues by land, the roads are so intricate and inconvenient, being a continued chain of dangerous and craggy ascents and descents as to be hardly passable; the distance by sea is computed at nine leagues. About two in the morning he left *Fort St Peter's*, in company of four other passengers, with five Negroes to manage the boat. Two leagues to the leeward of *Fort St Peter*, they were overtaken by a sudden gust of wind and rain, and put into a small bay, and going ashore, found refuge in the natural hollow of the steep beach till the clouds were passed. Then they re embarked, and the tired missionary tells us, that if he fails to describe the coast, it was because he fell asleep, and waked not till he arrived at *Fort Royal*, when it was near nine in the forenoon, and, as his coming had been notified to the governor, he was soon after introduced, and treated in the most cordial manner: That gentleman, who knew our author's skill in mathematics, and particularly in fortification, used many arguments for inducing him to stay at *Fort Royal* to oversee the new works. But this he absolutely declined, insisting that the principal acting engineer, who had been sent thither by the ministry, was, doubtless, a man of sufficient knowledge and integrity to acquit himself properly of his charge.

After a conference of two hours, the captain of the guard was ordered to conduct him through the fort, and shew him every part of it. After which review, the governor insisted on his company at dinner. The engineer, whose name was *Cailus*, was a *Languedocian*, a great master in his art, and one, who, according to our author, if he had been

been permitted to pursue his own plans without controul, would have made the place almost impregnable; but the greatest geniusses are too often counteracted by knavery or folly; and the advice of the most disinterested person is least regarded. Such is the case every where, as well as at *Martinico*, and it will be so always. The fortification, had already a multitude of defects, owing to the ignorance of a fellow, who, with scarce any capacity, was, thro' interest, made surveyor of the building, and had intirely deviated from the plan of *Blondel*, proposed in 1675, pretending that to pursue it would be too expensive. But that which he substituted in its place so abounded in faults, that vast sums and great labour were ineffectually wasted to correct them.

Blanders of an engineer.

Joining to a neck of land, about 20 fathoms broad, connected with the continent, is seated an eminence, or peninsula, every where else surrounded by the sea, which lies at least 16 fathoms beneath it. Here stands the fort on a loose and gravelly foundation, which easily crumbles a little below the surface. This neck of land is defended by two small demi-bastions, and a small half-moon covering the curtain, with a ditch filled with water, a covered way palisadoed, and a glacis. The gate of the fort is on the side of a demi-bastion opening upon the rock, with a narrow stair-case cut in the rock, leading to a platform, on which are some pieces of cannon. This stair-case brings you to another of a similar nature, by which you are conducted to a second platform mounted with cannon. The side of the fort towards the rock is secured by a double wall well flanked. On the side of the sea is only a parapet, with embrasures. There is a third terras, or platform, above the entrance, upon which some cannon are placed, which command an eminence that overlooks the fort on the opposite shore. The garrison in time of peace consists of seldom less than 400 marines. The last mentioned battery appeared to our author particularly useful, as otherwise the fort might be considerably annoyed from the eminence before mentioned, called the *Capucin Morne*, in possession of an enemy.

Fort Royal described.

As the intention of this short voyage was now fully answered, our reverend author returned to his parish by the same vehicle that had brought him to *Fort Royal*. He takes no notice of any particular part of the coast, except the *Casse Pilote*, a quarter intersected by little hills, and craggy heads of land; but the spaces between are savannas, planted with cassia, which was formerly a good commodity; but the tree is now so common, being cultivated in every part of the *Basseterre*, that it is no longer thought worth gathering. Some of the parishes have been formerly under the inspection of the secular clergy, but they have been supplanted by the Friars, and Jesuits, who have now, more particularly the Friars, the pastoral care of all the *French* islands. The king pays the curate in brown sugar, and his income runs from 9 to 12000 lb. which, reduced to coin, does not amount to a considerable sum. Their habitations are, however, for the most part, very commodious, and the people, who stand in great awe of them, are continually making them presents, so that they seldom need to purchase any thing.

Casse Pilote quarter.

Parishes by whom governed.

As the religious orders on these islands are subject to no episcopal jurisdiction, whether *American* or *European*, they are accountable for their proceedings to a superior general, who is vested with all necessary spiritual powers by the congregation de *propaganda fide*; and they have many great and particular privileges conferred upon them by a papal bull; such as, in particular cases, to dispense with breach of oath, with keeping of ill-gotten goods, and even to pardon wilful murder; from all which, and many other crimes, they are at liberty to absolve, certain acknowledgments being made to the church. This submission answers every end, and without it hell is pronounced rather too good an asylum for the delinquent, who, if he be an infidel or pagan newly converted, is still allowed to keep as many wives as before, being obliged, however, to give the preference to such of them as chance to be Christians.

Privileges of religious orders.

Our author being now settled in his parish, had leisure to review the neighbouring places, and, among others, he gives us the following account of *Trinity* quarter. The town is about two leagues from *St James's* cove; part of the way is pleasant enough, till you reach two hills, which are high and craggy, covered with a red earth that glisters after a little rain. The river *St Mary* is also to be crossed, which is dangerous, not only because it often shifts its bed, but as it swells considerably, if the sea happen to be a little higher than usual. *Trinity* harbour is a large gulf, flanked on the South-west by a neck of land, at least two leagues long, and ending in a point called *Pointe de*

Trinity quarter described.

Town.

St Mary river

Trinity harbour.

Pointe de la
Carvelle,

de la *Carvelle*. The other side is secured by a promontory above 1300 feet long, which joins to the main land by an isthmus about 240 feet broad. At the bottom of the harbour is a chain of rocks and shoals, which are plainly seen at low water; and here a small battery might be very easily raised. A battery upon the promontory, the surface of which is flat, protects the entrance of the harbour; for all ships are obliged to pass under it within reach of pistol-shot. Here the curate has a house, too far indeed both from the town and the church; but this is but a small inconvenience, when weighed against a fine air, elegant situation, and delightful prospect, in the judgment of a pampered Friar. The town, in 1694, consisted of rather less than an hundred houses, most of them of wood, and forming a curve line, by bending round the harbour. It is, since that time, considerably improved; the houses are now many of them of stone, and there are some handsome back streets; the church has been rebuilt in a fine taste. The town owes its thriving condition principally to the vast quantities of sugar, cocoa, and cotton raised in these quarters, by which merchants were encouraged to settle, by reaping a considerable profit, and ships invited to make it their mart by finding a quick sale for their cargoes from *Europe*, and a ready and cheap supply of country commodities. As this quarter is extremely populous, the sale on both parts must be naturally quick, the demand being equally eager on either side; and it is reasonable to suppose, that the people would rather chuse to supply their necessities, and dispose of their crops at home, than at *Basseterre*, which is considerably distant. Besides the port being a good bottom, and well sheltered, ships can no where be more secure in case of an hurricane.

Curate's
house.

Town impro-
ved.

A good mart.

Cul-de-Sac
Robert bay.

Points, islets.

Cul-de-Sac Robert is a bay about two leagues deep, flanked by two points of land, *Pointe de la Rose*, and *Pointe des Gallions*. The mouth of it is covered by a small island about a league in circumference, called in the maps *Monsieur*. The property of this islet is vested in the order of *St Dominic*, to which it was presented by the heirs of Governor *Du Parquet*, to whom it originally belonged. There is another small isle a little more to the Eastward, between which and *Monsieur* the sea forms a canal, and the two together not only break the force of the waves as well as winds, but also conduce to make the harbour equally calm and secure. Thus we see this harbour has three inlets; two between the islands and the main land, which are shallow, and admit only of small craft; and one between the two islands, of a good depth, and fifty or sixty fathoms wide. Fancy cannot frame a finer port any where; it is not only capable of containing a multitude of shipping, but those of the heaviest burthen will in many places find water enough to ride so close to the shore, that you may cross it on a plank. The parochial church, dedicated to *St Rose*, stands on an eminence to the west, it is a neat edifice of stone, pleasantly situated, and has a prospect of the whole bay, is free from flies and other vermin, and watered on one side by a running stream.

Bay excellent
for shipping.

Church of St
Rose.

Gallion river.

Returning from thence to *Trinity* bay, the river *Gallion* must be crossed, which is generally done in a canoe, tho', by taking a sweep by the sea-side, you may pass near its mouth on horseback over a bank of white sand, without wetting the horse's belly, when the sea is low. The passage indeed is at any time dangerous, not only on account of the sharks and becunes, or paricotas, that haunt it, but also because about three leagues within land, where it becomes more rapid, and consequently more shallow, in many places it forms whirlpools, which have occasioned the loss of several slaves. The breadth of it is from 30 to 35 fathoms.

Tides be-
tween the
tropics and in
the Mediter-
ranean.

As our author talks often of the sea running low and high, he thinks it necessary to observe that, whatever may be advanced to the contrary, there is undoubtedly a constant ebbing and flowing between the tropics, and even in the *Mediterranean*, under the influence of the moon, and that it is far from being imperceptible. Of this, he says, he is convinced from constant and close attention to the motion of the waters between the tropics for more than 12 years: Nor was he less attentive to the changes of the *Mediterranean* sea, during six years residence at *Civita Vecchia*.

Gallion har-
bour.

Between *Trinity* and *Robert* harbours lies *Gallion* harbour, or bay, flanked by *Pointe la Carvelle*, a branch of which to the Eastward takes the name of *Tartanne*, and separates the Greater *Gallion* bay from the Lesser, hence often called *Tartanne* bay.

Cul-de-Sac, or
Francois har-
bour.

As our missioner made no regular progress through the island, but traversed it backward and forward as necessity or pleasure dictated, the reader must not be surprised if, from the river *Gallion*, we proceed to the *Cul-de-Sac*, or *Francois* harbour, which

is four leagues from *Poinée a la Rose*; and were it not for a moving sand at the mouth of it, which shifts with the tides, and the situation of which, especially in the time of floods cannot be ascertained, this bay would be better than that of *Robert*, because larger and deeper. It is fronted by three small islands, one of which furnishes a white stone used in the sugar furnaces, though it neither resists fire so well as the grey stones of *Bassterre*, nor the red found about *Trinity* bay. The reader will please to observe, in the course of this work, that we use *Bay*, *Harbour*, and *Cul-de-Sac*, as synonymous terms; for example, *Cul-de-Sac de la Trinité* we sometimes render *Trinity* bay, &c.

Our author mentions a *Rivière François*, so called after the harbour in this place, near forty fathoms wide, and very deep. The sea water, he says, mixes with it, and communicates to it a brackish or rather saltish taste, two miles from its mouth. Its bed, like that of the other rivers of *Martinico*, is upon such a declivity, that a little rain converts the stream to a torrent. It abounds with excellent fish, but the sharks and paricotas often disturb the sport of fishing.

The channels seems streightened by the mangroves that encroach upon its limits; but they yield a most agreeable shade, and help to render this quarter almost inaccessible to an enemy. For no part of it would require to be covered by an armed force, except where openings are made for canoes to pass up and down for the conveniency of merchandise, and these might be easily secured. Yet this advantage is not without some bad consequences; for it not only entirely prevents the heat of the sun, but gives birth and animation to such swarms of muskettoes, wasps, and other sorts of troublesome flies, that they darken the air, and spread themselves over the dwelling houses in such quantities, as to render staying within doors impossible. However they may be chased away with smoke, and the wind is often kind enough to do that good office.

At the *Preacher's* quarter, you see a customhouse, a small fortification, mounted with cannon, and defended by a company of soldiers, with a good magazine, and a parochial church, dedicated to *St Joseph*, and belonging to the Dominicans. The town is but small, for, excepting two or three plantations in a level spot or two, the whole quarter is very mountainous and uneven, perhaps the most so of any in the island, consequently neither fertile nor populous. It takes its name from a large rock lying off the point, bearing some resemblance to a preacher in a pulpit.

Carbet quarter is also very mountainous; as it formerly belonged to governor *du Parquet*, it is sometimes, even to this day, called the quarter of *Monsieur*. It is watered by a fine river, in which is a small island, where that gentleman built a house of brick, and resided several years, when he conferred it on the brothers of *Ignatius*. Here are some plantations of manioc and tobacco; and an indifferent edifice of stone, dedicated to *St James*, is the church belonging to the parish.

The parochial church at *la Case Pilote* is under the protection of the Holy Virgin. Facing the road appears a fine piece of flat fertile soil, and here is also a small garrison, some storehouses, and a customhouse for weighing tobacco. In the neighbourhood you have a prospect of a savannah, almost two leagues long, at the foot of a mountain, where cows, oxen, and goats, breed wonderfully, and thrive very fast.

Every parish has its magistrate, or magistrates, who decide in causes of property, or disputes of any kind happening within their particular precinct. An appeal lies from them to the sovereign council, composed of the governor general, the intendant, the lieutenant governor of the island, twelve counsellors, a procurator general, and the king's lieutenants, who have each a right to a seat and a vote. Their decisions are liable to the examination of the board of trade in *Europe*, and they are sometimes set aside. In the absence of the governor general, intendant, and lieutenant governor, the eldest counsellor presides, collects opinions, and pronounces sentence. This council sits twice every month at *Fort Royal*. The seats of the counsellors are not sold, they are given to merit, often to interest; and the secretary of state for the plantations, signs their commissions.

These counsellors are most of them substantial planters, few of them know any thing of law, and are somewhat like the jurymen of *England*. It is unnecessary to speak here of the climate of this island, which differs but little from that of the rest of the *Antilles*, of which we shall hereafter give a concise natural history by itself, under which head, the reader may expect to find us treat of the disorders peculiar to the place, and of the various products and particular properties of the soil.

A General

A General History of the first settling of Martinico, with the various Difficulties, Wars, and most material Transactions.

Avarice motive to settlements.

AVARICE is not the growth of this century, the mind of man has been in every age actuated by a desire of riches, continually inspiring a contempt of danger, and a passion for the most difficult undertakings. A review of the first plantations of *St Christopher's* and *Guadaloupe*, affords us a strong proof of this position. The difficulty, dangers, and expence of raising and keeping together five or 600 men, and sending them on a voyage of near 2000 leagues, to clear a land covered with wood, void of every necessary, to cultivate a soil in itself unwholesome, and to face, without shelter, all the disadvantages and inclemencies of an inauspicious climate, required an uncommon stock of prudence, activity, and resolution.

M. d'Enambuc carries the first colony to Martinico.

M. d'Enambuc, in the settling of *St Christopher's*, shewed himself master of all these qualities. It was his intention afterwards to have planted *Guadaloupe*; but having communicated his design to M. d'Olive, his lieutenant, that gentleman made his own use of the confidence, and obtained a patent in his own favour from the company.

Martinico was now the island of consequence that remained without culture, M. d'Enambuc, therefore, who had, from a private adventurer, raised himself to great power and wealth, and was besides well respected wherever he was known, determined to take immediate possession of it, and to clear it, and people it in the name of the king, and under the direction of the company.

Assembling therefore, at *St Christopher's*, about one hundred hardy fellows, who were accustomed to changes of weather, different climates, and hard work, and consequently well adapted to clearing of woods, working of ground, and building of houses, he embarked with them for *Martinico* in July 1635, and landed there on the sixth day after.

Fort St Peter.

He had furnished himself with a good cargoe of necessary provisions, besides manioc, pulse, all sorts of grain, and potatoes, &c. to put in the ground, with various necessary utensils, and implements fit for the improvement of land. His first task was to erect a fortification, with cannon for its defence, which he dedicated to *St Peter* and *St Paul*, having landed on the octave of their festival. Having completed this with some other buildings, and seen the plantation in a promising way, he returned to *St Christopher's*, leaving M. du Pont, a man of merit and courage, to act as his lieutenant; charging him, above all other considerations, to keep peace with the Savages.

Natives quarrel with the French.

These barbarians, uneasy at the progress of a new settlement, not only murmured openly against it, but even picked a quarrel with the planters, in which some were killed on both sides. After this fray no person went out of the fort without being well armed, a precaution useful to the preservation of their lives, and which occasioned the destruction of many treacherous *Caribbeans*, who, however, continued every day to parade well armed about the fort, in hopes of an opportunity to surprise it; but in this they were deceived. Hence therefore they had recourse to such of their neighbours at *Dominica*, *St Vincents*, &c. as were enemies to the *French*, in conjunction with whom they presented themselves before the fort in a body of 1500; and having carefully reconnoitred the place, without perceiving any preparations to resist an attack, they supposed that the garrison, intimidated by their numbers, were afraid to shew themselves, and therefore pressed forward with shouting, and in a disorderly manner, imagining they should carry their point without any opposition. But, in the mean time, du Pont had prepared for their reception, keeping all his men out of sight, except one to each of three pieces of cannon, which he had charged up to the mouth with musket balls, broken nails, and old iron. The guns were so well served that, on being fired, they made a dreadful slaughter among the assailants, and filled them with such a panic, that they fled in the utmost disorder, not even staying to carry off their dead and wounded, as was their usual custom.

Repulsed from the fort.

Sue for peace

This unexpected defeat so terrified these Savages, that the *French* were now at liberty to improve and extend their plantations without disturbance, since the fugitives did not so much as think on returning for a long time after, until at length they sued for peace in very abject terms. They plainly perceived that this was their best way of proceeding, for the colony grew daily so much in strength and riches, that it was out of their power

power to hurt it; and ships found it to their advantage to lade and unlade daily, as the port was good, the products of the soil excellent in their kind, and the markets quick. *Du Pont* received the deputies of the *Caribbeans* with great mildness and civility, acquainting them, by his interpreter, that it was with regret he had found himself obliged to repel force by force; that they had sought the quarrel themselves, and consequently deserved the loss they had sustained; that it was his most sincere intention to keep upon peaceable terms with them, and preserve a perpetual course of mutual and amicable correspondence. Nay more, he assured them he had their interest warmly at heart, and should embrace every opportunity to convince them of the truth of his declaration. The *Caribbeans* answered in the same friendly strain, and peace was at length concluded about the end of the year, to the general joy of the colony and the *French* settlements, as well as to the great satisfaction of their adversaries.

Conclude a peace.

Du Pont seeing his endeavours thus successfully crowned, determined to pass over for a few days to *Guadaloupe*, to give an account of his proceedings to *D'Enambuc*, to procure a reinforcement of inhabitants, and a fresh supply of provisions for present use, seeds for the ground, implements for cultivating it, and every thing necessary to promote the interest of the infant plantation.

He had scarcely got out of port, when a violent storm arose, which drove his ship ashore upon the coast of *Hispaniola*, where he, together with all his equipage, fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*, who, judging from his appearance that he was above the common rank of prisoners, selected him from the rest, and shut him up in a close prison, where he remained three years, not the least syllable of his fate transpiring; and all his retinue, as well as the ship's crew, being so well secured, that none of them had means of escaping, it was supposed he had foundered at sea, and *Du Parquet*, nephew to *D'Enambuc*, was ordered to *Martinico* to command in his room.

Governor taken by the *Spaniards*.

Du Parquet appointed to succeed him.

This young gentleman, who had been carefully trained up under the eye of his uncle, and commanded a company at *St Christopher's*, was every way qualified for his new appointment. He landed at *Martinico* with about fifteen attendants, well inured to the climate, and a few servants. Through his great affability and other talents the country increased both in trade and people, though not till after some time; for the woods so abounded with serpents, that almost every tree which was felled appeared to harbour one, and the people were discouraged from clearing the ground, because the bite was yet without remedy, and its effect was found mortal in two days at farthest. The report of this pest gained ground daily, so that sailors were afraid of venturing ashore, and business was for the most part transacted on the water.

Venomous serpents.

M. du Parquet had now been upon the island three months, and gained entirely the affection of the people, when a *French* ship of 250 tons chanced to anchor in the road; twenty of the boldest passengers resolved to go ashore, to take a view of the island, despising the dangers represented by their more timid brethren. The governor received them with open arms, treated them with the utmost hospitality, shewed them the improvements he had made, and so fully convinced them of the advantages to be reaped by such people as might settle on it, that, on their return on board, they influenced the rest of the passengers to such a degree, that they mustered up a body of sixty-two, who, in spite of all remonstrances, determined to go not a step further, but to fix their standard and try their fortune on this very spot.

Colony reinforced.

The new colony soon became of consequence enough to command the due attention of the *West India* company, who had heard so much of its thriving condition, and the abilities of the commander, that they dispatched to him a commission, nominating him their Captain General of *Martinico*, with power to act as he should think best for the service of the crown and colony; and this commission, dated in Dec. 1637, was to continue unrevoked and in full force for three years.

Governor commissioned by the *W. India* company.

The following extract of a letter to President *Fouquet* shews the state of the place in 1639:

"The affairs of *Martinico* are in a thriving way. The care of *M. du Parquet*, under whom every thing proceeds regularly, merits the greatest praise. He has built houses about *Fort Royal*; others, as choice directed, have taken them, and the place begins to enlarge itself considerably. Here are 700 men fit to bear arms, and you will judge of the resistance they are capable of making, in case of an attack, when told they have not among them four rounds of powder. The palisades about the fort are repaired; but all the cannon are dismounted, and the carriages

Letter on the state of the colony in 1639.

A DESCRIPTION of the ISLAND

" unfit for service. There is but one carpenter upon *Martinico*, and there are but few on the other islands. This is no small deficiency ; it is incumbent on you, by sending some people of that trade hither, to remove it. Thus have I shewn you its temporal, but what shall I say to its spiritual state ? There are but two secular priests here ; these are removed at a great distance from each other ; and there are two Friars in this quarter. If any one of the four should ever arrive at the office of chancellor of *Sorbonne* I will renounce my spirit of prophecy ; their incapacity is deplorable."

Du Halde & Fromenteau declining,

D'Enambuc dying, his lieutenant *M. du Halde*, a gallant *Gaseen*, who had lost an arm in the service of the crown, was appointed to succeed him. But tho' he accepted of the commission for the present, he begged to be excused from holding it, because of his very bad state of health. *M. de la Grange Fromenteau* was afterwards named for this important charge by the company ; but he declined it, as not having a sufficiency of fortune to equip himself. He accepted however of the lieutenantancy under *M. Du Poincy*, who was induced to fill the post.

Du Poincy succeeds *D'Enambuc*.

Du Poincy, who had been long a knight of *Malta*, and held benefices under the order, which had formerly yielded him an annual revenue of 20,000 livres, always maintained the character of a man of strong parts, and had given many proofs of his courage both against the infidels and the enemies of his country. He was powerful both in money and friends, having often served the *French* crown in the rank of a vice-admiral, and his birth was illustrious. He had been for some time out of business, on account of a dispute between him and the archbishop of *Bordeaux*, who commanded in chief the *French* marine, which detained him at *Paris*, and therefore the more readily agreed to acquiesce with the honours that sought him, and not only confirmed *De la Grange* in his lieutenantancy, but also advanced him, as a loan, 4000 livres, to equip him for his voyage, on which otherwise he would not have been able to proceed. This kindness, and every other part of his conduct towards *La Grange*, argued great benevolence and generosity, which, as is too commonly the case, were repaid with ingratitude in the sequel.

Arrives at *Martinico*.

Poincy, provided with a commission, constituting him Captain General of the island of *St Christopher's* for the company, and Lieutenant General of all the isles in behalf of his majesty, set out from *France* in a ship called the *Little Europe*, accompanied by a large body of soldiers, planters, and mechanics, in the beginning of the year 1639. On Feb. 11, he came to an anchor off *Martinico*, after a prosperous voyage, and was received on his landing with every honour due to his rank and quality, the cannon of the fort firing, and the soldiers under arms double lining the beach as he passed ; and the next day his commission was read in public, and he was sworn into his authority. The governor then ordered the gates of the fort to be flung open to him, acknowledged him as his superior, and promised to deport himself as in duty obliged. After this he departed for *Guadaloupe* and *St Christopher's*, with all his train, at each of which places his reception was the same.

Natives jealous of the *French*.

Guadaloupe now felt severely the ill understanding that subsisted between their governor *D'Olive* and the Savages, which put the *West India* company to much trouble and uneasiness, and caused great bloodshed on the land. At *Martinico* the case was very different, thro' the prudence of Gov. *Parquet*, who took care to avoid the like misfortunes, by cultivating, as much as possible, the friendship of the *Indians*. But not all the presents this officer made them, nor the sweetness of his manners, nor the equity of his administration, could extinguish the sparks of hatred against the *French*, which lay, as it were, smothering in their breasts. The flourishing state of the *French* colonies, their continual acquisition of strength, from an increase of inhabitants and commerce, and their daily encroachments on land which belonged to others, gave them invincible umbrage, which they did not conceal but with the utmost difficulty, and only waited a fair opportunity of commencing hostilities by surprising their enemies in a state of weakness or neglect.

Commit some acts of violence.

Matters, however, had like to have come to an open rupture in July 1659 ; for some of those barbarians discharged a flight of arrows from the land of *Dominica*, upon a bark which carried *Parquet*, who made no return but a smile of contempt. However, on his arrival at home, he was somewhat alarmed, when he found that they had carried off by force two of their fellow natives, settled on a neighbouring plantation. Irritated at this proceeding, he seized upon their chief, who was 120 years old,

old, and ordered him to be manacled hand and foot, in which state he was threatned to be kept until the two persons who had been carried off should be restored. After remaining four or five days in custody, he contrived to get off his irons, and fled to the woods, where a serpent bit him by the shoulder, and he died of the wound. His death once known, it was no longer to be supposed that the *Caribbeans* would observe terms of peace, and therefore *Du Parquet* took such effectual measures for defence of himself and all the inhabitants, that the *Indians* did not care to carry any of their schemes into execution; but, after due deliberation, brought back their plunder, and humbly begged to live upon the same terms of amity as before.

Chief of the
Savages killed
by a serpent.

Indians seek
peace.

The wisdom of *Du Parquet's* proceedings had such an effect upon the captain general, that, in order to encourage him, and increase his income and authority, in July 1640, he created him captain of the new companies raised at *St Christopher's*; an appointment not incompatible with his residence at *Martinico*, where, in 1643, he was confirmed governor and seneschal by a fresh letter from the *West India* company.

Parquet ap-
plauded and
rewarded.

M. *du Thoisly* being ordered to supersede *Du Poincy* in the government of *St Christopher's* and the generalship of the islands, was acknowledged by M. *Parquet* at *Martinico*, and *Houel* at *Guadaloupe*. But *Poincy* not only refused to abdicate in his favour, but even took up arms to oppose him. The two governors in *Thoisly's* interest agreed to make a descent in his favour upon the *Cabesterre* of *St Christopher's*, in which they succeeded so far as to make prisoners *Poincy's* two nephews. *Poincy* soon after attacked and defeated this party, headed by *Parquet*, who was forced to save himself in the woods, and afterwards claimed protection of the *English*, who delivered him into the hands of his enemies, as we have before remarked in our account of *Guadaloupe*. The government of *Martinico*, was during his absence, assumed by M. *de la Pierrie*, the next in command, who acknowledged *Thoisly's* authority, disclaimed all connexion with *Poincy*, and was acceptable to the people.

Esponsing
Thoisly's party
falls into the
hands of his
enemies.

Pierrie com-
mands in his
absence.

Houel finding that *Poincy* was likely to keep his ground at *St Christopher's*, and that *Thoisly* might in consequence find it necessary to settle upon *Guadaloupe*, which would be a curb upon his ambition, took every possible step to oppose his measures, and make his residence irksome to him, until at length he was forced to return to *Europe*, as has been before observed. Previous to his embarkation, a captain of a ship from *St Christopher's* to *Martinico* brought with him a seditious manifesto, exclaiming against *Thoisly's* authority, and the imposts demanded by the *West India* company, as insupportable burdens. This libel was maliciously dispersed about the island, and bred ill blood among the people, and kindled such a flame among them, that multitudes of people in the *Preacher's Parish* assembled together on the twenty sixth of June 1646, and tumultuously demanded of *Pierrie* an exemption from taxes. The flame was

Thoisly returns
to Europe.

Insurrection
in Martinico.

fed by some of *Poincy's* incendiaries, who, intermixing with the malecontents, artfully kept alive a notion that the rights of the company were unjust and tyrannical, and represented *Thoisly* as a rapacious minister, sent among them to assert those supposed rights by foul if they could not be obtained by fair means, and not only so, but to load them with fresh taxations. The whole island was now concerned in the dispute, and divided into two parties, both united against the rights of the company; but one of them, and that the more powerful, declared against acknowledging any longer the authority of *Parquet*, still confined at *St Christopher's*, as supposing him too strongly attached to the interest of the company. The ringleader of the mutineers had been formerly a glover at *Paris*, and this upstart now called himself General *Beaufort*. The sedition grew to such an head, that it bore down all before it, and *Pierrie* was obliged to temporise, by declaring openly for neither party, though policy enjoined him seemingly to be of *Beaufort's* side. Madam *St André*, the wife of *Parquet*, whose marriage was not yet publicly known, suffered greatly during these commotions from the brutality of the blind mob. July the 7th, they fell to plundering the company's magazines, those belonging to many private merchants underwent the same fate, and devastation spread its ravage every where in the *Preacher's quarter*, without remorse or distinction. On the 9th, while the acting governor was fixing the rates of a *Dutch* ship, the rabble pulled the company's house down to the ground, and he narrowly escaped with his life. The day following, General *Beaufort*, at the head of the seditious, burned down several habitations belonging to people whom they supposed ill affected to their interest. August the 6th, General *Beaufort*, with twenty five ringleaders of the rebellion, each having a musket on his shoulder, and four pistols,

tols stuck in his girdle, gave notice to *Pierrie* that, out of an inclination to restore peace to the island, they had drawn up certain articles of accommodation, with which they attended for his perusal and concurrence. *Pierrie*, who had marched out of the fort to meet them, having perused the paper, ordered wine to be brought, that all might drink the king's health, previous to business, as a testimony to the world that they meant not by their proceedings to violate their duty to the king, but to free themselves from the tyranny and impositions of the *West India* company. When he had drank off his glass, with a loud shout, he raised his musket, as if to crown the toast with a volley of small arms, his attendants, in number eighteen, doing the same; but suddenly levelling his piece he shot *Beaufort* through the head; the rest had taken such good aim, that each of them brought down his man, and the remains of the rebels, in vain endeavouring to save themselves by flight, were pursued, and every man slaughtered; those who were disabled by wounds having their brains beaten out. This piece of nicely executed justice had been before concerted between *Pierrie* and *du Fort*, together with *Mad. St Andre*; but, as it too often happens, it degenerated into a massacre, for the executioners of it marching directly into the *Preacher's Quarter*, there butchered seven or eight people, half of whom had no manner of concern in the disputes on either side. A boy of fifteen, who had only carried letters for *Beaufort*, was murdered in his father's arms. One *Petit*, a native of *Calais*, who was dragged from his asylum, being exhorted, before death, to reconcile himself to heaven, time being offered to him for his preparation, wickedly answered, *If God does not choose to protect me, may five hundred Devils hurry me away!* He was then shot, and his body flung into the sea.

Suppressed
by one bold
and politic
step.

Desperately
wicked
speech.

Pierrie con-
firmed.

Parquet re-
turns to his
government.

Pierrie now applied himself, with great assiduity, to restore peace to the island, which he had thus effectually cleared of faction. In his endeavours he was seconded by *Thoisy*, who dispatched to him an act of indemnity and oblivion, by which all delinquents in the late insurrection, of what kind soever, were pardoned, and his authority confirmed.

In February 1647, *Parquet* returned to *Martinico* amidst the general acclamations of the people, and was re-instated in his government. He had been exchanged for *Thoisy*, whom his enemies had for that purpose delivered into the hands of *Poincy*, and councils were held on putting him to death, though at last it was thought best to send him to *Europe*, which was accordingly done.

Savages re-
new war.

The Savages, impatient and uneasy at the prosperity of the *French*, found a pretext for beginning a new war in 1654, in which all the *French* settlements soon shared. At *Martinico*, where the governor had taken every possible precaution against them, they invested his house with 2000 men, his wife happily escaping, under an escort of soldiers, to fort *St Peter*, where she was delivered of a child, occasioned by the fright, before her time. The attacks of the barbarians were gallantly repelled, and with the assistance of large dogs, who fastened on, and tore them down, as they ran, they would have been totally defeated, had they not been joined and encouraged by some fugitive Negroes. These miscreants, who knew every turn of the island, ran from quarter to quarter, burning the houses, and murdering man, woman, and child, tearing infants from the womb, and dashing their brains out against the stones. Nothing now but desolation reigned in the island, the confusion was inexpressible, the public good was no longer regarded, the inhabitants fled on all sides; those who despaired of safety in their houses, sought it in the woods, and there perhaps fell victims to the savage fury of the enemy; it was impossible to rally them; the authority of the officers was no longer recognised, and *Martinico* seemed irreparably sunk in the abyss of destruction, when it was relieved by the special interposition of providence.

Dismal state
of affairs.

Dutch bring
relief.

Four *Dutch* men of war, who had been used to trade on the island, coming to an anchor in the road, and seeing great signs of confusion and irregularity upon the coast, and conflagrations in several places within the land, detached 300 armed soldiers to the shore, who found *Parquet*, to whose worth the *Dutch* captains were no strangers, closely besieged in his house by the Savages. They made no more to do but immediately attacked them, and put them to a speedy flight, compelling them to seek refuge in the *Cabesterre*. The governor, now relieved, and furnished with military stores, of which he stood much in need, pursued them thither, defeated wherever he came up with them, and at length forced them to evacuate the island. In one of his excursions, an officer, named *Orange*, detached after a party of the enemy, was forsaken by his soldiers, in the midst of an engagement; however he gallantly sustained the combat, though

Bravery of
an officer.

though wounded with five arrows, till night, when he saved himself in an adjacent thicket, and remained there safely four days, when he was found by a detachment of his friends sent in quest of him; during that time he had drawn out the arrows with his own hands, and discharged the poison from his wounds by incisions made with a pen-knife.

The Savages were obliged to sue for peace the year following, and policy dictated the granting it. A little before this there had been a most dreadful hurricane at *Guadaloupe*, and, though it did not reach *Martinico*, yet this island suffered greatly by an earthquake. Of this disaster we find the following account in a letter from one of the missionaries.

Peace with the Savages.

'We had an earthquake here some days ago, which filled us all with a general consternation. As I had never before been in any such situation, I sustained the first effects of it without perceiving what it was. I thought my head wheeled round as I was writing, and that the house was turned topsy turvy. Finding this phenomenon repeated, I imputed it to a swimming in my head, and, imagining the bed would give me ease, was about to lie down. The earth beginning now to shake again, I was thrown upon my face; and when I rose I could hold by nothing, but was tossed from side to side like a drunken man. I now saw it was something extraordinary; but more so when I heard the foundation of the house crack, and the joists rattle one against the other. Being alone, I went out to seek for our good friend *Orange*. I now could plainly hear the cries of the people, who had taken refuge in our chapel; and no sooner did they see me at a distance, than they cried out in tears that all was lost, and that the island was about to be swallowed up by an earthquake. These words alarmed me, for till then I had no manner of fear. I now reflected upon the repeated shocks I had felt, and, I own my weakness, it filled me with as much dread as any of them. I begged of them, however, to implore the mercy of God, and do some acts of contrition. During the *Miserere mei Deus*, which we all sung, we were thrown from our posture by a more violent shock than any we had yet felt, and we imagined that it would have swallowed us up quick, and the cries of the congregation were loud and piercing. For eight minutes after, or thereabouts, the chapel remained leaning prodigiously to one side, when a shock, not less terrible than any of the former, set it again upright. This was the last fit of an earthquake, which lasted two full hours. Imagining all was over, I hastened to the mountain, where I found every thing in strange disorder. *Parquet*, who had known many other earthquakes whilst he had resided in this quarter of the world, owned he had never felt any so great, or by which he was so much impressed; and he is a man of strong resolution. When he perceived the first shock, he was stretched on a couch in his hall, extremely afflicted with the gout. He was about to order himself to be moved, but had not time to call any of his people; for a second trembling shook his house, which was of freestone, so strongly, that fearing it would tumble about his ears, and forgetful of his gout and the blisters which were upon him, he fled almost naked to the bottom of his garden, his wife and family following; and they were just coming in when I arrived. You will perhaps be surprised when I assure you that this violent effort of nature was felt as sensibly upon the water as on land. The vessels in the harbour had been equally agitated; two of them, being driven from their anchors, were obliged to make out to sea, where the waves ran to a prodigious height, and they were so rudely tossed that they almost despaired of life.'

Account of an earthquake.

In 1656 great disorders were committed at *Guadaloupe*, by the insurrection of the slaves, which spread itself to *Martinico*, where, though they did not openly dare to fall upon the planters, they yet deserted in great numbers, and found refuge among the Savages, who furnished them with small craft to carry them over to the *Spanish* islands. A wide road being discovered in the hills, through which they were supposed to escape, twenty five men were dispatched that way, under conduct of an officer; and another party was sent by sea to search for the fugitives among the Savages, who denied having seen them. Yet they soon after made use of them to favour their irruptions, and that they themselves might be the more effectually concealed, they dyed their skins like those of the Negroes, to whom they taught the use of bows, arrows, and bludgeons. The boldest of these Negroes composed the vanguard upon any excursion, carrying in one hand a torch to set fire to every house in their way, and in the other a bludgeon to knock all the Europeans on the head.

Desertion of slaves at Martinico.

Hospitalities of
the Savages.

These distractions continued above a year, and the Savages were grown to such an height of insolence, that they ventured to come down upon the inhabitants in open day. On *August 29, 1657*, they publicly appeared upon the *Morne de Riflet*, burned many houses, and shot some people with arrows. The alarm was soon given, and though the inhabitants quickly turned out, headed by their officers, they could not prevent the death of one planter, into whose house two of his old Negroes forced their way, and revenged the injurious treatment they had received at his hands by killing him with a billhook. The Negroes of *M. d'Orange*, on the other hand, fought like lions both against their fugitive brethren and the Savages, who could neither by promises nor threats compel them to quit the house which they defended, and by that resolution preserved from the flames.

Peace renewed.

The French finding that, in spite of all treaties and negotiations, the Savages not only received their fugitive slaves, but even lent them their canoes to make their escape, drove them at length entirely off the island. In *October*, however, they again sued for peace, by the mouth of one of the most considerable among them, named *Nicolas*, followed by a train of people. It was the 18th when *Parquet*, though in a very bad state of health, caused himself to be carried out in a litter to meet them. Presents were given on each side, and a young boy by way of hostage, after which the deputation departed. The next day they appeared upon the *Cabeserre* in the same manner as before the war, and *d'Orange*, whom they most feared, and who had acted against them with most vigour, went boldly into their tents, confidently eat and drank with them, and made them promise to harbour no more fugitives. Their desertion, after this conference, was but rare. *M. du Parquet* being now grown old, his spirits broken with care, and his body violently afflicted with the gout, and other disorders, died on the third of *January 1658*, to the general grief of the island.

Death of
Parquet.

His government, devolved on his widow, conferred on her children.

Immediately upon his demise his widow was acknowledged superior, or first magistrate, in the island, the usual oath to that end being administered unto her, until the return of a special messenger, whom she had sent to *France* to solicit the government of *M. d'Enambuc*, her eldest son. Accordingly in *September*, in the same year, a commission was granted by the king and council to her eldest, or, in case of his death, to her second son, if the survivor, of the government of the island. *M. Vanderogue*, their uncle, being appointed regent until one of them should be of age.

Fresh disturbances.

While this important affair was under debate at *Paris*, the island was reduced to the brink of ruin by the proceedings of some malecontents. The principal promoters of the disturbance were never publicly named, though they were suspected, and the chief agents, *Sigalis*, *Plainville*, and the *Vigeons*, were known to be but machines, actuated by some hidden spring. They inspired the people with discontent on account of some proceedings of their late governor, which they took upon them to arraign, and to charge to his wife's influence over him. When therefore they had drawn up a formal process, they summoned the widow before a council, the members of which were selected from among themselves, having previously renounced their oath of fidelity to her, and refused any longer to acknowledge the authority of such officers as she had appointed. As they had promised her safe conduct, if she answered their citation, the unhappy lady submitted; but they immediately seized upon her person, telling her the mask was now flung aside, and carried her prisoner to the *Preacher's* parish, where she suffered not a little from their insolence. Here they compelled her to sign a paper, in which, among many other opprobrious articles, she was forced to renounce all share in the government, and even to promise to use her interest at court to procure a confirmation of their proceedings, and a general amnesty. In return she was restored to all her goods, honours, and possessions. This act being signed, and lodged in the hands of *M. de Gourfelas*, who had been *Parquet's* lieutenant, and had, during all this bustle, acted so cautiously, that it was hardly possible to discover to which party he leaned, the sedition was appeased, and each side laid down their arms as readily as they had taken them up.

Mad. du Parquet compelled to sign a treaty.

But the flame of discontent was once again like to be kindled by the following accident: One of the lady's servants, more imprudent than the rest, declared in the public market place, that she had been compelled to sign the agreement, and that it was her firm intention to seek redress, by laying the state of her case before the king. The malecontents hearing this flew again to their arms, and the island seemed to be anew threatened with commotions. However they subsided on clearing the island of the chief

of *Parquet's* staunch friends, who were first formally divested of all employments. *Madam du Parquet* might perhaps have met with worse usage, but the chiefs of the conspirators feared that by so doing they should run a hazard of being discovered, wherefore she was set at liberty, and the affairs of the island went on with their usual tranquility.

New com-
motion hap-
pily appeas-
ed.

The reader cannot forget the peace that was concluded with the Savages not many months before the death of the late governor, nor how little regard these barbarians paid to treaties, on the least prospect of advantage, or opportunity of bathing their hands in blood by infringing them. There were some of the inhabitants, who, without seeming to remember their repeated acts of treachery, daily ventured among them, either to fish or hunt upon the *Cabeſterre*. One day it chanced that several of them, coming thither as usual to hunt, went up the country early in the morning after sport, and left only three of their number to take care of such game as they brought down. These three the Savages murdered with their clubs, and then staved their canoe. Those who had been on the chase returning and seeing this butchery, and themselves deprived of the means of returning home, betook themselves to the woods and fastnesses, in order to avoid the same treatment, and four days after reached the parish of *Cafe Pilote*, almost dead with fatigue. The Savages, fearing a rigorous retaliation of their villainy, ventured to send a canoe filled with their people to the fort, to exculpate themselves, and to lay the blame on some foreigners inhabiting either *Dominica* or *St Vincent*, who had come thither by chance. As disputes ran high here at the time of their arrival, revenge was a point that could not demand a present attention; their excuse was therefore admitted, and they were dismissed with assurances that they should suffer nothing from this accident.

French mas-
sacred.

Savages ex-
culpate them-
selves.

They were so well pleased with this answer, that shortly after, when all things were quiet, Master *Nicholas*, one of the most gallant and stoutest of these people, came to the fort with seventeen others, and sat down, without the least jealousy or suspicion, to drink brandy with some *Frenchmen* whom they knew. Their confidence being observed by one *Beaufseil*, a rough hot-headed fellow, and one of the principal people concerned in the disorders so lately quelled, he determined immediately to avenge upon them the death of his countrymen, who had been so lately massacred upon *Cabeſterre*. For this purpose he collected among the storehouses, which are also houses of refreshment, a company of seventy or eighty men, to whom he communicated his design; and they came into it the more readily, as the interest of every individual, as well as the public safety, seemed to prescribe the necessity of such an example; and though the action cannot be justified by the laws of religion, it seems to be requisite according to those of policy. *Beaufseil* and his associates, having armed themselves with muskets and other weapons, surrounded the bustling-houses in which the *Indians* were making themselves merry. The unfortunate wretches, roused from their security, endeavoured in vain to find safety in flight; five were shot in the marketplace, seven in *Mad. du Parquet's* plantation, one among the sugar-canes, and three were committed prisoners to a dungeon belonging to the guard. The brave *Nicholas* striving to make way to his canoe, received a musket-ball in his body, which however did not hinder his gaining the water, most of the assassins pursuing him to the very brink, and incessantly discharging their pieces at him, though to very little purpose, for he avoided them by diving, and returned their fire with stones, which he brought up with him from the bottom, and courageously hurled at their heads, not without some effect, till at length he received a musket-shot in the eye, and was seen no more. Two of these unhappy creatures had the good fortune to escape, and bear these melancholy tidings to their brethren.

French avenge
themselves on
the Savages.

Bravery of a
Savage.

Beaufseil and his companions, inflated with the success of an exploit which had been conducted without a leader, and with no regularity, now meditated an affair of much greater consequence, which was no less than the intire expulsion of the barbarians from the *Cabeſterre*, and so from the whole island. They openly asserted the necessity of this expedition, and expatiated upon the advantages of carrying it into immediate execution. All the officers, as well as the inhabitants, concurred in this opinion; but the secret support of *Beaufseil* and his friends unexpectedly failing them, they found themselves far removed from the head of this undertaking, and their fury in some measure bounded by *M. Gaurſelas*, who acted as lieutenant governor in the name of *Mad. du Parquet*, without a competitor. This minister assembled all the officers and principal inhabitants

inhabitants in council, laid before them the injuries they sustained by the refuge their run away negroes found among the Savages, the manifold losses they themselves had sustained from their treachery; their cruel and unprovoked assassination of many of the inhabitants, and their continued infraction of treaties. These premises duly considered, war was declared against them in form, and their absolute expulsion resolved.

Six hundred men were immediately selected from among the companies of the island, one third of which number was dispatched to the *Cabejerre* by water, under the command of M. de *Loubierre*, under whom was *Beaufeileil*, who being detached at the head of a party with orders to reconnoitre the *Preacher's* quarter, and then proceed to the rendezvous at *Cabejerre*, returned back, pretending he had found no people there. Perhaps he acted thus out of spleen; or, it may be, the commander, to rid himself of a turbulent fellow, had given him cross instructions. The rest of the forces were ordered to proceed in two divisions by land, taking different roads. The Savages, apprised by their scouts of the approach of this army, made a show of resistance, and came on with the war-whoop; but, after some slight skirmishes, their vigour seemed to decline, and at length they fled in seeming confusion. The *French*, encouraged by this advantage, would have pursued them, had they not been restrained by an officer, who suspected some treachery, and the rather so as night was impending. After some time halting, he proposed to change the rout they had intended, and march directly, by another road, to attack the enemy in their huts, at a time when they were least expected. This advice was highly prudent; for, had they proceeded according to their first plan, they had certainly been cut off, at least the most part of them, the Savages having dug deep pits in the roads through which they intended to pass, the bottoms of which were covered with poisoned arrows stuck upright; and these snares were so artfully covered with old trees, and loose turf, that they could not possibly have been discovered but in their fatal effects. As soon as *Gourfelas* came in sight of their huts, the Savages, who did not expect him on that quarter, imagined themselves surrounded by a different body of men from those with whom they had engaged the preceding evening; and their scouts signifying, by two handfuls of sand thrown over the head, that their numbers were not to be reckoned, such a panic ran through them, that they would have fled without resistance, had not the bravest of them made a stand, and covered their canoes, while the women, children, and aged embarked. However, they kept their ground not long, for the first fire threw them into disorder, of which the *French* taking the advantage, charged them sword in hand, and soon dispersed them, so that they fled on all sides, some to the woods, and some to the beach. The victors, instead of following them, staid to burn down their huts, putting all they met to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. Those that made their escape got off to *Dominica* or *St Vincent's*: Thus, about the latter end of 1658, *Martinico* was entirely freed from those people, who had done the planters so much damage, and given them such frequent cause of uneasiness. A wooden fort was immediately erected upon the *Cabejerre*, to prevent their settling here any more, and a chapel built, and dedicated to *St James*, out of compliment to the late governor, whose name was *James*. *Beaufeileil* was arrested for not having appeared at the appointed rendezvous, and being stigmatised as a traitor, and a disturber of the public peace, was banished the island, together with *Plainville*, *Vigeons*, and others of his associates, who were however permitted to withdraw their effects. The various troubles *Mad. du Parquet* had undergone having brought upon her a paralytic disorder, she embarked for *France*, to try the mineral waters of *Bourbon*, but died in the voyage.

Savages routed and expelled from the island.

Beaufeileil banished,

Death of *Mad. du Parquet*.

Vanderoque assumes the regency.

Is succeeded by M. *Clermont*.

Tracy, governor of the *French Antilles*.

In the latter end of Nov. 1659, M. *Vanderoque* arrived here from *France*, according to the royal appointment, to act as governor during the minority of his nephew; but he had little of the easy carriage, address, and winning deportment of his brother; so that he died, not much regretted, in *October*, 1662, and was succeeded by M. de *Clermont*, who was next of kin to the minor.

In Nov. 1663, M. *Alex. Prouville de Tracy*, of the king's council, and counsellor of state, late commissary general of the forces in *Germany*, and lieutenant general in the army, was appointed, with an almost uncontrollable power, lieutenant general and general governor of all the islands, settlements, &c. under the *French* dominion in *America*, in the absence of the famous Count d'*Estrades*, who bore the title of viceroy of *America*, and was at this time ambassador in *Holland*. A man of *Tracy's* character

was at such a crisis absolutely necessary in a commission so highly important. He was a personage celebrated for resolution, prudence, conduct, and had done honour to every service on which he had been employed.

Guadaloupe was now torn to pieces by intestine divisions, and disputes between the proprietors; and the government of *Martinico* was administered by tutors, who rather consulted their own interest than that of their pupils, or the advantage of the island. The only remedy for these disorders, which required much integrity and resolution in the practice, was, entirely to alter the scheme upon which the islands had been hitherto governed; to oblige the old company, or proprietors, to dispose of their rights at a market price; to vest the property of the whole in the crown; and to commit the administration of the public affairs of this part of the world to the management of a new company, called the *West India* company, with the king at their head.

New scheme of government.

The new lieutenant general had the good fortune to carry this design into execution, and we have given a cursory view of his prudence and manner of proceeding in our account of *Guadaloupe*; but this history will throw still stronger lights on his character, as we shall find in the sequel. The power vested in this gentleman of sending home from *Guadaloupe*, not only *Houel* and all the proprietors of that island, whose complaints for a long time past against each other had been very troublesome at court, but also all other governors who should appear to him to have been culpable, gave great weight to his authority, and much ease and smoothness to his proceedings.

Executed by the new governor.

After a voyage of more than three months, during which he touched at the *Maderas*, *Cape Verde* islands, &c. *Tracy* arrived at *Martinico* in safety, on June 2, 1664, and landed amidst the loudest acclamations of the people. This welcome reception was in great measure owing to the following accident: No sooner had his ship, which had been some time expected, according to intelligence from the *Dutch*, appeared in the road, but some officers and inhabitants came on board, to prefer a complaint against the governor on account of some ill treatment, and they were received with such courtesy, affection, and strong assurance of redress, as made the place ring when they returned on shore with the praises of *Tracy*. He came to an anchor between *Carbet* and *Fort St Peter*, and sent notice of his arrival to the governor regent *Clermont*, who received the message with proper respect. At his landing, which was on *Whit-Monday*, he was saluted by the cannon of the fort, and of all the ships in the harbour; and when he came ashore, the inhabitants, who were all under arms, complimented him with a regular discharge of their muskets. He took up his residence in a large arsenal of the town, and proceeded to administer the proper oaths of fidelity to his people, and establish courts of justice, in which he himself heard causes with such impartiality, that deprived, even those who were cast, of the power of murmuring. The number of causes which he heard in a day are incredible, as well as the speed and calmness with which he dispatched them; for which purpose he had two doors to his hall of audience, one to give entrance to the plaintiff, defendant, and every thing relating to them; the other, to give them egress. How differently slow and deliberate are the judiciary proceedings in *England*, where scarcely any cause of importance is dismissed in one court, till there seems almost a moral certainty that it will make its appearance in another. Indeed the *English* slow and lingering method of deliberation and regularity produces incessant murmurs and complaints: On the other hand, *Tracy's* quickness, and extra-formal way of proceeding, left no room even for murmur itself. In the whole course of his administration in this place he shewed himself judicious, loyal, generous, disinterested, and inflexible. Having settled peace among the inhabitants, reformed the œconomy of the island, which was deeply indebted to the *Dutch*, and confirmed *Clermont* in the government, he published an ordinance tending to promote the cause of religion and virtue, which are always inseparable, and then embarked for *Guadaloupe*, where he landed on June 23d, 1664.

His just and prudent administration.

The islands, about this time, suffered great want of necessaries by a prohibition to traffic with the *Dutch*; and on this account they began to grow uneasy under their new regulations, so that it was feared some disorders might ensue, when they were a little satisfied by the arrival of five ships, freighted with all sorts of necessaries by the new *West India* company, and bringing besides *Clodoré*, who was sent from *France* to supersede *Clermont*.

Clermont superseded.

Clodore new
governor of
Martinico ar-
rives.

Clodore arrived in the beginning of the year 1665, and was publicly presented in his new character to the people on February 19, by *Tracy* with an eulogium upon his qualifications, which he answered very modestly; and he was extremely well received, the cannon of *Fort St Peter* were discharged in honour of him, wine given to the populace, and an entertainment prepared for the better sort of people. As the inhabitants were not yet in the best humour, *M. du Abierre*, a man of great sagacity and estimation, was allowed to continue in the post of lieutenant, which he had long filled; though the new company had sent over one *M. du Chesne* to fill up that employment. *Clodore* was sworn, together with his lieutenant and several new officers, after them the different states of the island, as the clergy, nobility, sovereign council, and the lower order, took their respective oaths of fidelity.

New regula-
tions occasion
discontent.

On the 17th of *March* following, several new regulations were published by the lieutenant general, tending to strengthen and confirm the public good. The inhabitants of *Martinico*, who had always been inclined to broils and disturbances, and of late had lived very irregularly, having scarcely acknowledged any superiority since *Parquet's* death, perceiving that they must for the future submit to restriction, shewed some reluctance, whence they, who were best acquainted with their manners and disposition, prognosticated a mutiny at hand. The day before *Tracy* departed from *Guadalupe*, some of the boldest and busiest among them murmured loudly, and in the night several shots were fired, for which no account could be given. The officer advised the lieutenant general to double his guard, which he would by no means permit. The following day all things wearing a beautiful aspect, he set sail for *Guadalupe* with a fair wind. The next evening *M. de Boc* being in the *Preacher's* quarter, a place remarkable for mutiny, and settling a magazine, was set upon by a party of malecontents, headed by one *Rodomon*, a very insignificant fellow, who abused the new company, and him as their servant. The commissary gave them good words, and by degrees retreated to his shallop, which floated near the beach, with which he pushed off, glad to have escaped with his life, being pursued by a volley of stones, the insurgents crying *To arms, Down with the company, Parquet for ever!* *M. de Boc* reached the fort, terrified almost to death, and made his report to *Clodore*, who, with great presence of mind, immediately saw what was to be done to prevent a general insurrection, to which this seemed only the prelude. Having assembled forty stout men, among whom were twenty eight veteran soldiers, and two serjeants, on whom he could depend, he ordered the colonel of the militia to attend him, who obeyed his summons, and sent a message to the *Sieur de Francillon*, who commanded at the *Preacher's* quarter, to meet him with the best inhabitants of his division, at the place of arms, in order to quash the insurrection, which *Rodomon*, in the mean time, endeavoured to promote, by going from house to house, attended by five or six of his associates, and raising volunteers. The governor's next step was to make sure of the person of young *Parquet*, then about 13, of whose presence, if they had seized him, the mutineers might have made some use. Wherefore he ordered *Clermont*, his tutor, to remain near him, under forfeiture of his head; and an officer offering to argue with him, as he marched out, he courageously answered, "Sir, sedition is on foot, and it must be subdued; ask no questions, but follow and obey me; it is your duty, and him that first flinches I'll shoot through the head, and save the provost the trouble." This resolute behaviour, quashing all remonstrance, and abashing cowardice, he proceeded on his way, and the people followed him in silence.

Insurrection.

Governor's
resolute
speech.

He soon reached the *Preacher's* quarter, whither the fame of his preparations had speeded before him, and made such an impression upon the malecontents, that they immediately dispersed to their several homes. Here he found *Francillon*, who received him at the head of about fifty of his company, though it seems he had been represented to him as a man of no integrity, and one who had winked at *Rodomon's* escape. But the governor had taken his measures so well, that this fellow was brought prisoner to him in about a quarter of an hour, to the astonishment of his private adherents, who imagined him in sufficient safety to be called upon in future commotions. This piece of service had been performed by a lieutenant, who seized him with his own hand, after venturing upon his levelled piece, which happily missed fire, on which he struck it from him. *Clodore* immediately sent an account of the whole affair by his lieutenant to *Tracy*, who was on the point of sending him 200 armed soldiers to support his authority, but desisted on finding there was no need of them.

Mutineers
disperic.

Chief seized.

However

However, he sent back the lieutenant instantly, with orders to hang *Redomon* out of hand, which sentence was accordingly put in execution, after he had first sustained some slight torture, and his head, stuck upon a pole, was erected in the midst of his scene of villainies. The judgment of confiscation of his goods was reversed in favour of his wife, an honest *Irish* woman, who knew nothing of his schemes, and was big with child. Three of his principal associates were condemned to be hanged, and a fourth sentenced for four years to the galleys, whither they were all sent, the sentence of death against the rest being moderated. Young *Parquet* was transported by the first ship to *France*, *Clermont* being permitted to act upon the island as his attorney. *Clodoré* got himself great honour by his whole conduct in this affair; he received the public thanks of the new company by letter, and the great *Colbert* wrote to him in the warmest terms of approbation.

Though this activity and resolution, joined to the exemplary punishment of the insurgents, established peace for the present on the island of *Martinico*, the tranquillity was but of short duration; the seeds of mutiny still remained in the ground, and we shall find them before long shooting into stalks, and affording *Clodoré* new opportunities of signalling his great talents. As the number of Negroes imported had of necessity increased considerably of late, their desertion had been proportionably great. They had now got together between three and four hundred in a body, who had chosen among themselves a chief, called *Francis Fabulé*, a Black of extraordinary stature, and martial deportment. They were armed with darts and arrows, and in the night constantly pillaged some houses in distant quarters, going in gangs of thirty or forty together, and bringing off every thing that was portable, particularly arms, ammunition, and provisions. As yet they had killed no body, and this was imputed to the lenity of their commander, to whom therefore a free pardon and his liberty were offered, if he came and surrendered. This he promised to do; but some accident or other from time to time preventing his coming, the governor in council concluded to declare war against these miscreants; but it was found scarcely practicable to prosecute it, as the woods were very thick, and here and there interspersed with precipices, almost impossible for an *European* to climb: besides, the Negroes were not only well acquainted with all the windings and fastnesses, but also too swift of foot in general for any *Frenchman* on the island.

After mature deliberation on the difficulties attending an open war, *Clodoré* be-thought himself of another expedient, which was to give a considerable reward to any person who brought in a fugitive slave within a certain limited time, to be paid by the master or owner of the slave, who was also assured of his pardon. This method had the desired effect; many slaves were brought in; the terms on which they were restored were faithfully observed, and most of them ever after continued faithful to their respective owners.

In five or six months *Francis* himself gave notice, that he was willing also to yield upon terms. The governor readily embraced the offer, and caused him to be informed, that he might depend upon his liberty, provided he would bring in with him as many fugitives as he could conveniently collect. Though he could at first gather but seven, he boldly ventured with them to the governor's quarters. "You have given me your word," said he, "for my security, and I rely on it: If I have not brought back as many Negroes as you might have expected, it is because I chose to delay no longer the opportunity of convincing you of the confidence I put in a man of honour and a soldier. I am weary of living wild, and in a state of perpetual alarm, not that I fear, but that I like it not. Though I now submit, I shall not desist from doing you more service."

This surrender of the chief gave the governor great satisfaction; he caressed him heartily, gave him his liberty, permitted him to carry a sabre, accommodated him with an apartment in his own quarter, and ordered the stipulated rewards to be paid him. *Francis* afterwards made daily excursions into the woods, and never returned without bringing with him some fugitives, for which he always received the promised recompense, till by this kind of trade he soon became worth something considerable.

Shortly after, certain imposts of the company, which the islanders refused to pay, excited a general insurrection at *Cafe Pilote*, and four hundred men were assembled in a body to oppose the governor's officers, besides detached parties that paraded in different places. But such was the speed and activity of the governor, that he had formed a choice

Suppressed by
the vigilance
and activity
of the gover-
nor.

Fate of the
ringleaders.

a choice and stanch little army, with which he marched to meet the rioters, who, though superior in number, were afraid to engage him, and pursued them from post to post, till at length they dispersed themselves in the woods. By a stratagem he got into his hands the ringleaders, two of whom he ordered to be hanged, and one of them, tho' he broke the rope twice, was tucked up a third time. Their heads were cut off, and fixed upon poles opposite to a magazine which they had been about to plunder. The rest were condemned to the galleys; but the ship, in which they were sent for that purpose to *France*, was taken by an *English* man of war, as belonging to the states of *Holland*, and carried to *Jamaica*, where she was condemned as a legal prize, those villains swearing her to be *Dutch* property, and being in return set at liberty. Those who had begun the disturbances at *Cafe Pilote* had laid their measures with such precaution, that a general insurrection seemed inevitable. They knew that the malecontents were every where the stronger party, and could they but have once effected a junction with those of the *Cabesierre*, the fate of the island would of course fall into their hands, so that many people, otherwise peaceably inclined, would in their own defence have been obliged to join them. Had they succeeded in this point, their next was to have cut off the governor, and all the officers of the new company.

Commotions
in the *Cabes-*
terre.

The sedition at *Cafe Pilote* was now scarcely suppressed, when *Clodoré* was advised of fresh disturbances in the *Cabesierre*, where the malecontents had not only forced *M. Massé*, otherwise a man of great honour, and one of the principal people of that quarter, to head them, but were also soliciting, by one of their emissaries, *M. Roy*, of the *Preacher's* quarter, to take the title of Syndic of the people. A letter was also sent by one *Rosselan* to Capt. *Valmeniere* of the cavalry, whose reputation for honour and arms was sufficiently established, inviting him to declare himself Protector of the people. The letter he delivered to the governor, and *Rosselan* being seized and examined, after they had made him confess all that he knew, was sent prisoner on board a ship in the road; and great discoveries were also made by a man who had held frequent conferences with the malecontents, and had been betrayed by his wife.

Suppressed
without
bloodshed.

The farther *Clodoré* examined into this affair, the more dangerous and deeply laid it appeared. He now sent a lieutenant with twelve soldiers to the *Cabesierre*, under pretence of taking into custody the company's commissary, of whom loud complaints had been lately made; but his real errand was to carry a letter to *M. Massé's* son in law, who was captain of a company in that quarter. This letter contained some gentle expostulations upon *Massé's* conduct, and very solid reasons assigned for inducing him to alter it. The lieutenant did honour to the trust reposed in him; for, after a long conference with *Massé*, he persuaded him to go with him to the governor, and account for his conduct, promising he should not be detained. *Clodoré*, however, thought it impolitic to abide by the promise, and therefore confined him on board a ship. He was not indeed kept long in custody, many people, both clergy and laity, taking upon them to vouch for his conduct, and his son in law becoming surety for his future deportment. Thus, without noise or bloodshed, *Clodoré*, by his sagacity and resolution, totally suppressed a scheme, the best of any devised for overturning a constitution.

Causes of
commotions.

After all, it must be allowed that there was some sort of reason for these repeated scenes of trouble and uneasiness, which were fomented by the merchants, who would have been glad to see the company's authority extinguished, under pretence that their exactions devoured all the profits. The new company, as well as the old, had not been so careful in supplying the islands with necessaries, as they might have been if they had really studied their own interest, and afforded their commodities as cheap as those which came from *Holland*.

They never reflected that every thing must have a beginning, but formed to themselves vast notions of the profits to be instantly drawn from the new-found world, and finding some sort of disappointment, grew cold in their assistance, at the very time when the utmost warmth was necessary. Besides, their commissaries and principal officers had hitherto paid more attention to making their own fortunes, by the most rapacious means, than either to the happiness of the people, or interest of their masters. For these reasons the name of the company became odious, and we are only to wonder that their chain of injudicious measures did not only absorb their property,

but

but even prove the absolute destruction of those infant colonies, which have since proved jewels of immense value in the crown of France.

In Nov. 1665, *Clodoré* took absolute and full possession of the island in the name of *Parquet's* property in the *West India* company, who had purchased of the guardians of *Parquet* all his right, title, and property in and to the same, for 40,000 crowns. *Martinico* sold.

In the beginning of 1666 the company began to open their eyes a little upon their own interest, and send to the islands several ships laden with variety of merchandize, provisions, and ammunition, all which were extremely necessary, as the trade of the islands began to grow more extensive, particularly of *Martinico*, where they now raised sugars with success. But their correspondence with *Europe* proved at this time a little precarious on account of the war, which this year broke out between *France* and *England*, in the course of which the *English*, being driven off *St Christopher's*, two or three hundred of the inhabitants, who were natives of *Ireland*, and Catholics, chose to retire to *Martinico* and *Guadaloupe*. Island better supplied and flourishing.

In July happened still another insurrection in this island, occasioned by the company's failing to supply the stipulated necessities. The whole *Cabesterre* was in arms, and had seized two brave officers, in whom *Clodoré* had put particular confidence. He was apprised of their actions by a letter from Capt. *Verpre*, which he received from the hands of a Negro, who had travelled eight very difficult leagues in four hours. He instantly gave directions for assembling all the forces, and such of the inhabitants as he could trust, and to hold themselves under arms, in readiness to march with the first orders; after which he sent one of the missionaries to persuade the malecontents to abandon their ill-concerted schemes. The father did his office with great fervour and cogency of reason, though to very little purpose. The ringleaders of this sedition were one *Daniel Josselin*, an insolent illiterate tobacco-twister, and another fellow, called *La Rivierre*. Insurrection in the *Cabesterre*. Ringleaders.

The governor soon found himself at the head of five hundred men, on whom he thought he could rely; these he divided into two parties, one, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, headed by *M. de Valmeniere*, was ordered to march to the *Montagne Pelée*, where the insurgents were supposed to make a stand, while the governor with the rest marched round to the *Cabesterre* by another road, where, by suddenly charging the rioters in these parts, he expected to make them fall back upon their principal post, and thus put themselves between two fires. Governor marches against them.

When *Valmeniere* arrived at his place of destination, he found the insurgents posted upon the summit of a hill, and not to be approached on that side but by a steep narrow defile, through which but one man could pass at a time. As he was an experienced officer, he saw that there was nothing to be done but by altering his position; so that the wind, which was pretty strong, should blow full in the face of the enemy; and he gained his point by winding round the bottom of the hill, where, finding a spot fit for his purpose, he made a halt. Stratagem.

Perriere and *Bouillon*, two officers, who had been made prisoners, and forced to take commissions among the seditious, persuaded about twenty stout fellows, who were under their command, that these troops were not the governor's forces, but the friends whom they expected from the *Preacher's* quarter. Under this supposition the two officers held a party with *Valmeniere*, in which they assured him that their party were no more than scare-crows, who were easily intimidated. At the same time a report, which had the desired effect, was artfully spread, that *Clodoré* was not arrived; that this detachment was led by *Valmeniere*, who was commanded not to fight till farther orders; and that he was ready to parley. On this several of the insurgents foolishly quitted their posts, to confer with a man whose hands they imagined tied up, as well as that he was master of a force vastly inferior to their own. Malecontents over-reached.

While this passed, *Perriere* and *Bouillon*, under pretence of being more secure, had extended their authority, and formed separate companies in order of battle; so that the communication between the seditious was intercepted, the governor's troops having imperceptibly advanced on all sides. The two officers then, with great firmness, asked the rioters if they knew their commanders? They answered in the affirmative. Then know them to be, said they, the king and *Clodoré*. This unexpected declaration, like an explosion of lightning, joined to the confusion into which they saw themselves thrown on all sides, intimidated them to that degree, that they acquiesced without murmuring, and marched off to join *Valmeniere*, who compelled them directly

rectly to lay down their arms. The consternation now became general; the malecontents that resisted were killed or disabled; some strove to find safety in the swiftness of their heels, and were as swiftly pursued. *Daniel Joffelin*, after receiving a deep wound with a backsword over the ear, and another in the throat, together with *La Rivierre*, escaped among the crowd, but were soon retaken. A multitude of the fugitives, who had made their way to the woods and fastnesses, many of them without knowing where they were, in endeavouring to find an egress, got into the midst of *Clodore's* party, who now advanced with speed, and, as had been concerted, effected their junction with *Valmeniere*.

This dangerous revolt being by these vigorous measures entirely defeated, the governor returned with his victorious troops to the fort, where he published a reward of two negroes a-piece for *La Rivierre* and *Joffelin*, and these unhappy wretches were delivered up, for the reward, by some of their associates on whose fidelity they had relied. *Joffelin's* wounds being deemed incurable, and his life despaired of, he was tried out of hand, and condemned to be hanged, which sentence was immediately put in execution. A third of these desperadoes, who had been equally guilty, kept the woods for some days in misery, till he perished at last in great agonies by the bite of a serpent. As for the rest of the malecontents, some were heavily fined, and others condemned to serve the company as slaves for three years.

Much might be said in behalf of these unhappy people, who found themselves in many things grievously oppressed, and reduced to want many necessaries, even provisions, which the *Dutch* always furnished at a reasonable price: And yet the company, who had prohibited that traffic, had not substituted one of equal efficacy in its place. The intention of the insurgents was to restore the trade with the *Dutch* islands, to depose all the company's officers, renounce their authority, declare themselves servants to none but the king, and to chuse a governor from among themselves. They had their eyes for this post on *M. de Nabuc*, or *M. de Valmeniere*, or *M. de Clodore*.

Some short time after this disturbance, the appearance of Lord *Willoughby's* fleet threw the island into some consternation, from which they were freed by his shipwreck, as has been already observed; and, had not that been his unhappy fate, *Clodore* had taken such measures for defence as must have baffled all his lordship's designs.

In 1666, *M. de la Barre* was constituted commander in chief of the *French* forces in *America* both by sea and land; and, after some disputes with the inhabitants of *Martinico*, in which he had like to have embroiled them anew by changing some of *Tracy's* ordinances, he drew up and signed some new regulations, which for the present made them very easy.

In July 1667, a strong *English* squadron made five different attacks upon *Fort St Peter* and the neighbourhood, and was forced to draw off with six hundred men killed, many more wounded, and several vessels considerably shattered by the fire of the fort. Soon after, news arrived of a peace between *England* and *France* by the treaty of *Breda*.

In 1674, *France* and *Holland* being then at war, the famous *Dutch* admiral *De Ruyter*, made an attack upon *Fort Royal*, which then scarcely deserved the name of a fortification; and the town itself was then little better than a morass, covered with weeds, and some sorry houses of the same materials standing by the seaside, which served as warehouses to stow the goods belonging to such vessels as careened here during the stormy seasons. *Ruyter* found no resistance here, but his troops landed very quietly under Count *Stirum*, and immediately fell to pillaging these warehouses, which they found well stocked with wines and brandy, of which, like true *Hollanders*, they drank so immoderately, that they were incapable of obeying command, when their general would have led them to an assault. A ship of *St Malo's* of twenty-two guns, and a man of war of forty, which anchored close under the fort, made such a terrible fire upon the drunkards, and were so well seconded by the fort, that above nine hundred of them were killed, among whom was the commanding officer, Count *Stirum*; so that the officer next in command was obliged to order a retreat, and to cover his men with entrenchments.

Ruyter, who had cannonaded the fort all day, came ashore at night, and finding with astonishment more than 1500 of his people killed and wounded, immediately resolved to embark the rest of his forces under cover of the night. In the mean time,

M. de

Punishment of
the principal
delinquents.

Grievances &
intentions of
the malecon-
tents.

Id Willough-
by's fate.

Barre com-
mander in A-
merica.

Fort St Peter
attacked by
the English
fleet.

Fort Royal
attacked by
Ruyter.

Dutch re-
pulsed with
great loss.

Dutch reim-
bark.

M. de St Martha, governor of the island, held a council, in which it was resolved to abandon the fort, after nailing up the cannon; as there was reason to fear that the enemy, who had broken down most of the palisades, and levelled great part of the intrenchments, should, when sober in the morning, drive the inhabitants from their posts, and carry the place by assault.

These things could not be so secretly transacted, but that the noise of them reached the ears of the *Dutch*. Instead of supposing that it arose from nailing up cannon, transporting men, provisions and ammunition in canoes to the other side of the fort, they imagined it to proceed from preparations making for a sally, which in their present situation must have been fatal to them: Wherefore they hastened their embarkation as much as possible, leaving behind them all their wounded, baggage, and part of their arms. Their decamping, which was overheard by the *French*, was mistaken for their making ready for an attack by the morning light, and gave new wings to their hurry of embarking. The terror on both sides being thus equally diffused, both the fort and the coast were soon cleared, the former being, however, still possessed by a drunken *Swiss*, who had chanced to tumble into an obscure corner, and there out-slept all the noise and hurry. And when he was awakened by the sun rising, he was sufficiently astonished to find himself sole lord of the fort and its precincts, without either friend or enemy in sight.

The Marquis *d'Ablimont*, who commanded the forty gun ship, and was entirely ignorant of this double retreat, began to renew his fire as soon as day broke; but neither seeing any body within view, nor hearing any noise either in the fort, or in the enemy's camp, which was sheltered by the reeds, sent a serjeant and some men ashore for intelligence. After reconnoitring all the avenues, without finding any thing, but dead, wounded, and drunk, they made their report; and an officer with a guard was dispatched to repossess the fort, the governor and inhabitants were recalled, and measures have been since taken to put the place in a better condition of defence. Such is the account of this enterprize as given us by the *French*; if it be true, (and we have reason sometimes to suspect their veracity) it was one action, perhaps the only one, that reflects no honour on the great *Ruyter*.

In 1693, *France* and *England* being then at war, an *English* fleet attempted a descent upon several quarters of the island, and at length set 3000 men ashore in a cove about a league to the windward of *Fort St Peter*. Captain *Colletti*, with a company of regulars, and some militia, opposed their landing at first, and afterwards disputed the ground with them inch by inch; and, though he had but 300 men, acted so effectually as to stop them in some measure, till the arrival of Count *de Blenac* with a sufficient body of troops, who forced them, in five days after their landing, to a shameful retreat, in which they were forced to leave behind 300 prisoners, besides deserters, and five or six dead, with arms, ammunition, and baggage.

In *October*, 1695, the island suffered much from a most dreadful hurricane, of which we shall give a brief account. The word *Hurricane* signifies a tempest, or violent wind, that sweeps all points of the compass, carrying with it inevitable destruction. It seldom lasts longer than twenty-four hours, and its greatest force is spent in twelve or fifteen, within which time it scatters horrid desolation. It is commonly preceded by a dead calm, and a settled sky; shortly after, the horizon appears charged with clouds, which gradually increase, and the sea begins to swell, though there is scarce a breath of air. The birds fly backward and forward, with many marks of restlessness, and approach dwelling houses and other places of shelter, though contrary to their usual custom, as if they were at a loss for a place of security. The beasts gather in herds together, paw the ground, and look as if they were much terrified, but more especially before an earthquake.

The effects of an hurricane are much more to be feared when it is accompanied by rain, because then, the earth being softened, the trees, canes, manioc, &c. are more liable to be torn up, than when the soil is dry and firm. Heavy thunder has been sometimes known to disperse the rain, and allay the wind; but, in the year we now mention, it was quite otherwise: The rain had fallen very seasonably, and the time of hurricanes was supposed to be elapsed. But on *Sunday*, *October* the 2d, it rained much more heavily than usual, with strong gusts of wind, and loud claps of thunder; it continued thus till *Friday* about six in the morning, when it ceased of a sudden; but on *Monday* following, about two o'clock in the afternoon, it blew most violently from the

South

South; before seven, it shifted from thence to S. West; W. and N. and before midnight it had traversed all points of the compass, with incredible fury. The wind then a little abated, and the rain lasted till nine the next morning. At noon the horizon cleared up on all sides; the wind began to blow most refreshingly from the East, and the weather now became as fine as it had before been terrible.

Damages.

While the wind blew from the West, the sea overflowed its banks with such violence, that, in conjunction with the waters of the river *St Peter*, it carried away a battery of eight guns at the mouth of that river, with part of the wall of the fort, and of the governor's apartment, and a western angle; six or seven vessels of burthen, and several barks, were driven ashore, and beat to pieces. The gallery at the fort, which was near 800 paces long, was entirely ruined. All the houses in this quarter, three or four excepted, were carried away, and only two magazines, which had strong walls supporting weighty terraces, outlasted the force of this devastation. What a melancholy scene now opened itself to the smiles of one of the most delightful days that ever cheered the world! Trees in some places torn up by the roots, and piled upon one another in the ruined highways; others standing, still true to their tough roots, without branch, leaf, or even bark. The best plantations entirely destroyed; fine houses levelled with the earth; the labour of years fallen the prey of a ruinous moment; and even the domestic animals frightened into wildness, and flying from their friendly owners to the woods. After the rains were gone off, such plenty of ducks, teal, plovers, sea-larks, and various sorts of water-fowl, were found about the fields that were not overflowed, that they might be taken with the hand.

English privateer makes a descent.

On the night of *October 15, 1697*, an *English* privateer, of eight guns, and seventy men made a descent at *Marigot*, then consisting of no more than eight houses, and as many sugarworks. Sixty of the ship's crew were landed in two canoes without any opposition; for the night being very gloomy, and the sea running high, with no sign of an enemy in the evening, the inhabitants had retired to rest without the least concern. The sailors, leaving two men to guard each canoe, divided themselves into two bodies, the largest of which advanced, with all speed, towards the huts of the Negroes belonging to the next plantation, the Negroes being the booty which had invited them thither; the rest invested the town with as little noise as possible. In the first house which they attempted, an armed *Negro*, hearing them speak *English*, discharged his piece at random, and killed one of them. The fire was imprudently returned by a pistol shot, and the master of the house, roused by the noise, which was increased by the barking of the dogs, and suspecting how matters stood, made his escape, but first spread the alarm by discharging his fusée. The *English* now directed all their force against a very large house, which, from its appearance, seemed to be the first in the town, and after much difficulty forced the door, when, to their great disappointment, they found it to be only a sugarwork. By this time most of the Negroes had made their escape, or hid themselves among the reeds and thickets, where they lay squat. Some of the principal people of the town now directed their course to the water side, in order either to destroy the canoes that had landed the *English*, or, at least, to render them useless. The inhabitants, a little recovered from their sleep and surprise, began to assemble, and firing upon the enemy, killed two; one of their own number being slightly wounded. The increased noise of the fuses intimidated such of the sailors as were pursuing the Negroes, and put them in mind of their canoes, to which they thought it now high time to retire, for, in case these had been destroyed, they would have found themselves exposed to the fury of an enraged people, from whom they had but little reason to hope for quarter. The resolution of retiring was executed as soon as conceived; they found their canoes in imminent danger, one of the men who guarded them being already killed, and the three others having withdrawn to some adjacent rocks for shelter from the same fate. The *French* who pursued them, not being strong enough to attack twenty men, suffered them to embark, and then fired on them briskly. Being now reinforced, they attacked the other body of sailors, who were making to the seaside with seven or eight slaves, whom they had made prisoners, and dragged along with great trouble. The sailors finding a strong force against them, quitted their prey, and made as fast as they could to the water side, where, throwing down their arms, they desperately plunged, and swam to their canoes, leaving behind them seven of their people dead, and one man wounded and a prisoner.

Sailors disappointed.

Intimidated.

Reimbark in confusion.

One

One of the dead luckily had about him the privateer's commission, or else the prisoner would have been hanged as a pirate.

In about six days, the same privateer attempted a descent at the *Mouillage*, but was so warmly received by Pere *Labat* and his people, that he thought it best to steer off, not indeed without some loss. The commander of this unsuccessful frigate was called *George Roche*. Vain attempt of another descent.

On the 10th of *December* 1704, a corsair, that had been chased by an *English* ship of war, alarmed the country with the news that an enemy's squadron was on the coast. The same day the fleet appeared in sight of *Fort Royal*, consisting of twenty two large ships, as many transports, seventeen barks, six galliots, and some double shallops. This spectacle threw the whole island into a consternation, as there was not strength enough upon it to repel four or five thousand men, should such a number have chanced to land, and, even as it was, a vigorous attack might have exposed both *Fort Royal* and *Fort St Peter* to absolute destruction. The alarm was every where spread, and the inhabitants quickly in arms; but all would have been to no purpose, had the enemy really landed. Happily for the *French* they had other designs, and pursued their course sounding the coast. One of the shallops landed some of her people at two or three coves, where they pillaged a few houses, and carried off a bark laden with sugar. About two in the morning of the eleventh, the whole fleet were within cannon shot of *Fort St Peter*, but, to the great joy of all the inhabitants, there was no sign of it at day break. Alarm from appearance of an *English* squadron.

In 1708, *France* being still engaged in an expensive war with *England*, and *Holland*. The *English*, by means of promises and presents, prevailed upon the *Indians* of *St Vincent*, to renounce their alliance with the *French*, which was of many years standing, promising, not only considerable succours, but also disclaiming any share in the booty they might make; a day was appointed for a large body of these *Indians* to join the *English* and land upon the island of *Grenada*, and after plundering the island to attack the remotest quarters of *Martinico*. This intended invasion was not so secretly conducted, but that it reached the ears of *M. de Mackault*, governor general of the islands. The effects that might ensue from it were more easily foreseen, than a proper remedy found out to prevent it. From an enterprize of such a nature, the inhabitants of strong towns and fortifications, or quarters, well peopled and regularly guarded, have nothing to fear; on the other hand, every thing is to be apprehended for the more distant quarters, or for houses that lie scattered up and down, which, as they can make little or no defence, are liable to be surpris'd in the night. English excite the *Indians* to a rupture with the *French*.

After mature deliberation, on all these points, it was agreed that *M. Collett*, of whom we have lately spoken, was the properest and most likely man to overturn the newly concerted project of the *English*, to restore the *Caribbeans* to a proper way of thinking, and prevail on them to renew their ancient friendly intelligence upon a firmer basis than ever. This gentleman had already acquired some authority among them; they loved and respected him highly, because that wherever he met them, whether in the neighbourhood of his own house, or elsewhere, he took care to regale them cheerfully, giving them plenty of drink, and never dismissing them without a handsome present. Collett chosen to defeat the design.

The good of the community soon prevailed on *Collett* to accept of this important and dangerous commission. The governor gave him full power to act as his own discretion should dictate; and the intendant gave orders that he should be furnished by the merchants with whatever commodities he should judge fit to dispose of as presents, or otherwise, as might to him seem most proper. On such occasions as this, good cheer and agreeable presents are the most powerful reasons that can be used, none other being understood by the *Caribbeans*, or carrying with them the smallest force of conviction. His reputation among the *Indians*.

Collett finding every thing prepared for his embassy, left *Fort St Peter* on the 29th of *November*, with a large train of attendants and officers, and reached the *Basseterre* of *St Vincent*, on the 30th, about midnight. The sea running high, so that his vessels could not reach the shore near enough to afford a conveniency of landing, he leaped into the water and waded to land, calling out, at the same time, to a party of *Savages*, that stood on the beach, to tell them who he was. The report of his arrival spread among them like wildfire, and nothing was to be heard for some time but their encouraging one another to save what belonged to their good cousin *Collett* from the danger of shipwreck. In effect, they soon brought all his attendants and baggage to land, and He undertakes the charge.

moored his vessels close under the shore. *Collett*, after landing, was quickly conducted to their principal huts, whither their chiefs from every quarter hastened to see him, and give him such testimonies of friendship as were consistent with their manners. His first step was to divide among them store of liquor, and some good eatables, which he had brought with him for that purpose. He then desired that notice should be given to all the chiefs of the Negroes, as well as the *Indians*, that their cousin *Collett* was come to visit them, and desired their presence immediately at his quarter, having something of a very particular nature to communicate, which concerned them all. When they were all assembled, which was in a short time, first getting himself painted red with rocou, for their better liking and resemblance, he feasted them plentifully, won their hearts with his presents, and then acquainted them with the occasion of his coming. His deportment and speech were so much to the purpose, that they not only renounced all alliance with the *English* on the spot, but burned all the preparations which lay ready on the shore for the expedition, to the value of 10,000 crowns. Nay he even persuaded them to bind their new treaty of alliance by giving hostages for their fidelity, to which they unanimously agreed.

Feasts and harangues *Indians* and *Negroes*.

Induces them to renounce their alliance with the *English*, and give hostages.

Thus, by the address of one gentleman, a tempest that hung big with destruction over the *French* colonies, was entirely dissipated; and the island of *Martinico*, during that war at least, felt nothing more to create its distraction.

Attacked by an *English* squadron commanded by *Commodore Moore*.

This island enjoyed peace and tranquility till a large fleet of men of war and transports commanded by *Commodore Moore*, with Generals *Hopson*, *Haldane*, (late governor of *Jamaica*) and *Barrington*, arrived on the 15th of *January*, 1759, off *Port Royal* harbour. The next morning the men of war destroyed the batteries, and drove the enemy from their entrenchments at *Pointe des Negres* on the West part of the said harbour; and the troops landed without opposition, and lay under arms all night. On the 17th, in consideration of the intricacy of the roads, difficulty of communications, and distance between *Port Royal* and *Pointe des Negres*, General *Hopson* proposed to *Commodore Moore* to land the heavy cannon, stores, provisions, &c. at the *Savannab*, which is before *Port Royal*; and, in case that could not be done, desired, that the boats might attend, the same evening, to bring off the troops, as soon as the moon was up: The commodore having found the above proposal impossible, until the West part of the fort should be silenced by the batteries raised by the troops on shore, made an offer, not only of landing the heavy artillery at *Negro Point*, where the troops then were, but also of transporting the same, wherever the general pleased, by the seamen belonging to the men of war, without any assistance from the land-forces: The troops were, however, reembarked that night.

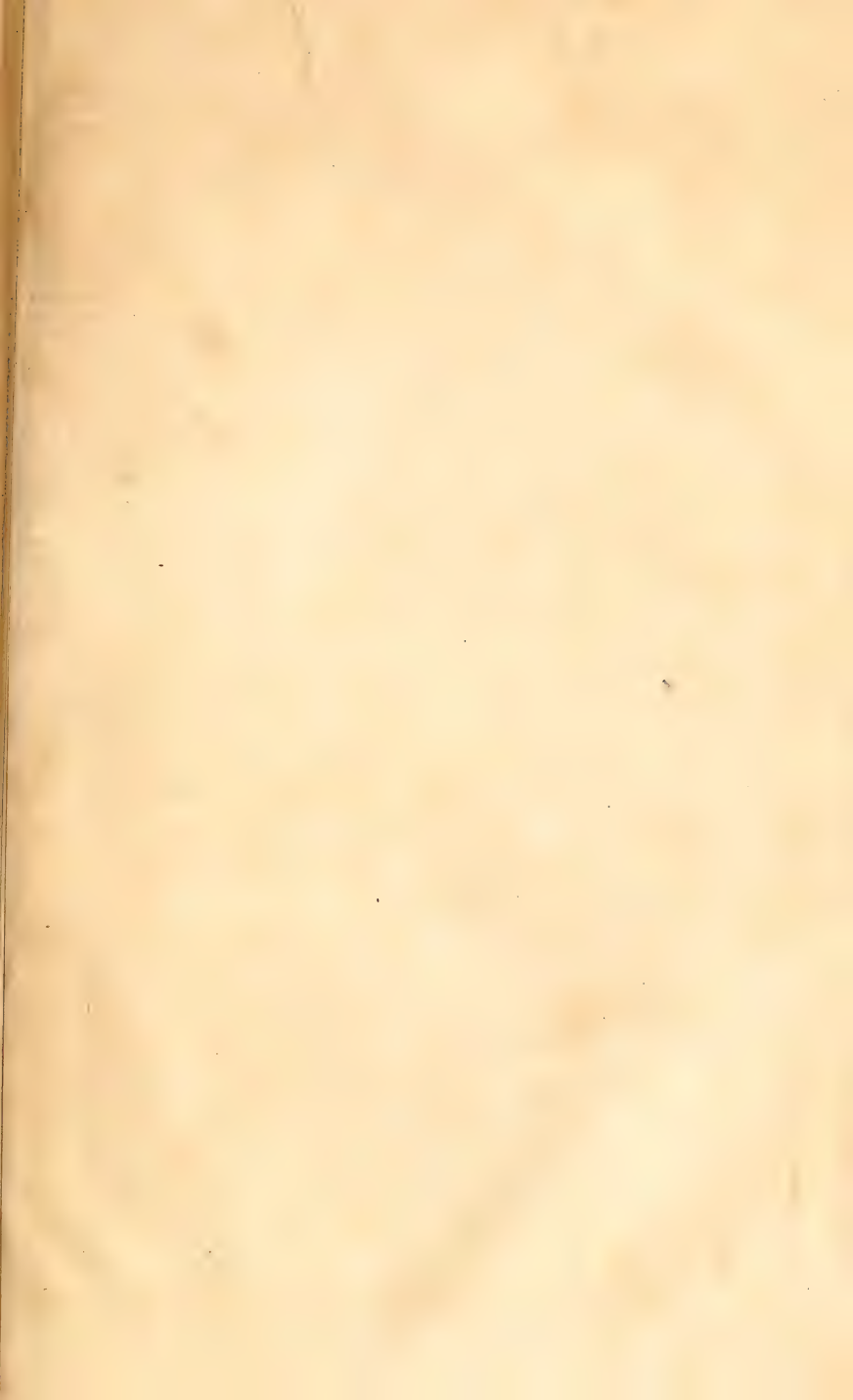
The next day, the general acquainted the commodore, that the council of war was of opinion, it would be most to his majesty's service to proceed to *Fort St Pierre* with the troops, in order to make an attack upon that place, and that no time should be lost.

It appears accordingly, that, on the 19th in the morning, his majesty's fleet entered the bay of *St Pierre*, when the commodore, having examined the coast, represented to the general, that he made no doubt of destroying the town of *St Pierre*, and putting the troops in possession of the same; yet, as the ships might, in the attack, be so much disabled as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any other material service; and, as the troops, if it should be practicable to keep possession of the above town, would also be much reduced in their numbers for future attacks; he thought it advisable to proceed against the town and fortress of *Basseterre* in the island of *Guadaloupe*, and, in case of success, to keep possession of it; and afterwards, by all possible means, endeavour to reduce the said island, which would be of great benefit to the sugar colonies, as *Guadaloupe* is the chief nest of *French* privateers, constantly infesting the *British* islands, and destroying the trade from *North America*, which supplies provisions, &c. The commodore, for these reasons, submitted it to the general's consideration, whether it were not better immediately to turn their arms against that place, as the more important; and the general gave his opinion in the affirmative.

Retire from the island.

It is not our province here to enter into an examination of the merits of these proceedings, we shall contrast them with a copy of a letter said to be written by a *French* officer at *Martinico* after our squadron drew off, and leave the reader to judge for himself.

"We had been told, for a long time, says he, that we were to expect a very serious visit from the enemy; but we began to be less alarmed at it, as our last advices informed









us, that the extraordinary preparations which they had been so busy about in *England*, were actually suspended. It was universally reported, and believed, that the enemy had a greater object in view than *Martinico*, from so formidable a squadron, and such a number of transports, when it arrived upon our coasts, and convinced us, that though we had long been neglected by our mother country, there were, notwithstanding, some people in the world who had us in their mind.

French officer's account of the descent.

A country so distressed, that its inhabitants would gladly have given two bushels of coffee for one pint of beans, could but ill accommodate guests, so numerous, and of such importance : but we had been taught to feed upon resentment for some time, and therefore could not be at much loss for provision proper for their entertainment, tho' notwithstanding our best endeavours, we were but ill provided : Some bad entrenchments thrown up about two months before, at *St Pierre's*, and at a place called *Casnavire*, where we thought it most probable the enemy would attempt to land, made up the sum total of our abilities for receiving them.

From so little preparations being made, we concluded that we had no reason to expect an attack, or that we should have at least a month's notice of it beforehand.

Both the shepherd and his flock were in a profound sleep when the wolf, in the shape of an *English* squadron, made his appearance on our coasts, and at a time when he was least expected. One would imagine it could be no longer a doubt what they were, and what were their intentions ; but even yet we appeared incredulous, and, after the example of *M. Beaubarnois*, we concluded what we saw to be no more than a fleet of merchantmen. This fleet, however, appeared on the 19th of *January* in the bay of *Fort Royal*, with their boats in tow, and every thing prepared for a debarkation ; and then we began to be convinced what sort of merchandize they dealt in.

At this instant *Fort Royal* had all the appearance of falling an immediate sacrifice. Four companies of infantry, consisting of no more than one hundred and twenty men, and the major part of them more like apparitions than soldiers, thirty-six bombardiers, eighty *Swiss*, and fourteen officers, were her whole force ; and a hundred barrels of beef were to serve for all the support as well as comforts of life ; no water in the cisterns, a very few of the utensils necessary for the service of cannon, no spare carriages, no wadding, no match, but a few shot, and hardly any landgrage : This was her condition.

This fort, which hitherto had been the safeguard of our fleets, now stretched her arms towards the harbour, and in the day of her distress claimed the protection she had been used to give. The assistance she could have was but small ; no more than one ship and two frigates could help her ; and in her then unhappy situation, when she could do nothing herself, the smallest vessel might have been of use. But in the day of adversity how hard is it to find a friend ? The two frigates had themselves to take care of, and having *M. Beaubarnois's* leave, they only waited for the darkness of the ensuing night, which they thought long in coming, to make their escape. Accordingly they abandoned the unfortunate fort to her destiny, while the more generous *Florissant* staid to share her fate.

Towards the evening of the 15th, a bomb-ketch approached to examine what vessels we had lying in the basin, when a shot from the fort carried away one of her masts, and obliged her to retire.

On the 16th, about nine in the morning, one of the enemy's ships stationed herself before the battery at *Point Negro*, and three more before that at *Casnavire*, which were silenced in a short time.

Being masters of these two small batteries, they began their landing, and advanced three hundred paces from *Point Negro*, where they raised a redoubt on their right, and another in front close to a road leading to a small wood.

Between the 16th and 17th, in the night, they ranged their army in order of battle, and sent some platoons a-head, by the side of the water that surrounds the *Morne Tortouefson*. The principal view of the enemy was to possess themselves of this post, which commands *Fort Royal*, the harbour, the road, and the town. The general despaired of maintaining this fort, and had resolved in the morning to blow it up ; but nothing happened to be in readiness ; and, though workmen were employed for that purpose, the mines could not be got ready in time ; there was therefore a necessity of defending the *Morne Tortouefson* against the *English* to the last extremity.

It

It is impossible to describe the disorder and confusion among our people. The troops, already fatigued by a forced march, had neither bread nor water; and it was twenty-four hours before any was distributed. Thus, in a post disadvantageous in itself, without cannon, without a leader, spent with fatigue and hunger, were we exposed to meet a body of regular troops, well disciplined, and which, in the morning of the 17th, came marching towards us in two columns, and in good order, with two field-pieces, which opened their way against men who had nothing but their fusils; and the general happening to arrive just as the enemy had begun firing upon this confused company, thought it prudent to retire, and carried away with him many, who, for want of experience, did not know what to do with themselves. In this dilemma every man followed the advice which his own courage suggested: it was the only necessary thing we did not want, and in a business of this sort an heroic courage supplies every other deficiency. The gentlemen, and every body that was able, put themselves in the best order they could for fighting; but being ignorant of the art of war, they knew nothing more than to rush upon the enemy and fire away. People in *Europe* say, that hunting, or the chase, bears some resemblance to war; and I am sure our war upon that day was a perfect image of a hunting match. The people formed little parties, and engaged in platoons as well as they could; and the *English*, finding themselves attacked from every quarter, soon gave way, with the loss of a great many men. It is not our custom to carry off scalps, and we contented ourselves with their grenadiers caps; but I cannot help observing, that the threatening motto of *Nec ardua terrent* ill agreed with the behaviour of those that wore them. Their platoons, supported by a body of their troops, having advanced near a wood, were briskly fired upon; and, among others, the party which had passed the water before-mentioned, retreated and rejoined the main body of their army. One of their principal officers put himself at their head, to try to regain the post they had quitted, but he was soon killed.

During this time the bomb-ketches approached, and threw several bombs into the town and fort. One of them fell within twenty feet of the *Florissant's* stern, which shewed the critical situation she was in: But there was a necessity for posting her in that manner, both for defending one side of the town, and for blocking up the entrance into the *Cul-de-Sac*. One of the bombs thrown from the fort carried away the flag-staff of one of the frigates, which obliged them to retire.

Monf. *Lignery*, an officer of distinction and merit, and one in whom the island placed the highest confidence, had the command of *Fort Royal*, and behaved with such activity, that none of the enemy's ships came within reach of his guns, without paying dear for it.

His majesty's ship *Florissant*, commanded by M. *Morville*, lay in such a manner as to prevent any disembarkation at the Savanna next to *Fort Royal*, and to fire upon the town, in case the enemy should possess themselves of it.

M. *Morville* sent into the fort one of his officers and some men, with the best of his gunners, and formed a company with two officers and some of the marines, who desired to go as volunteers, whom he sent to the *Morne Tortueson*, where the greatest push was expected; and, that nothing might be wanting that the ship could furnish, he sent provisions and ammunition to the camp; in short, there was not one of the king's officers, who did not give the highest proofs of his zeal and ardour, and shew as much warmth for the preservation of the country, as if they had all had estates in it to defend.

The officers of the garrison distinguished themselves very much; and M. *Mabaut*, a captain in the infantry, threw several bombs with good success.

On the 17th, in the morning, we took two prisoners that had been wounded, which were carried to the fort, and an *Irish* soldier, who had deserted, came in to us. Being carried before the general, he gave the following account: "That the enemy left *Portsmouth* the 15th of November, and arrived at *Barbadoes* the 3d of January, where they embarked 150 Negroes: That they had asked at *Barbadoes* a reinforcement of a thousand men, which the government promised, if there was occasion, to send to their assistance: That one of their hospital ships, which had on board five of their principal surgeons, was not arrived, and, it was reported, had run foul of another ship in the night, and sunk; That one of their transports, with 150 *Higblanders*, was taken by two *French* frigates in the chops of the channel: That it was public in *England*, that C—— M—— had represented the island of *Martinico* in the most deplorable

plorable circumstances, without provisions, or hopes of having any, by the care he had taken to prevent neutral powers from furnishing supplies : That he had made the court of *London* believe he should meet with little resistance in attacking it ; and it was probable, many of the inhabitants, reduced by want, and in hopes of better treatment, would surrender themselves."

This deserter added, that the general and principal officers of the *English* army had remonstrated to Mr *M*—, that they found things very different to what they had been represented ; that they saw no enemy to fight with, and yet bullets were flying about them from every leaf and bough they came near ; that the country was full of ambuscades ; and that, if they proceeded further, they must be all cut to pieces. Besides this, they were eat up with insects, and scorched to death by an insupportable heat ; and as there was no prospect of succeeding in the attempt they were upon, they determined to embark again.

What this deserter told us was soon verified ; for in the night time, and when we were expecting some grand effort from the enemy, they embarked with all imaginable precipitation, insomuch that at the dawn of day we found in their intrenchments a large quantity of the implements of war, such as powder, guns, cartridges, shovels, pickaxes, wheelbarrows, and chevaux-de-frize. I imagine we must have killed and wounded them four hundred men, with a loss on our side of only twenty-one killed and wounded.

Thursday the 18th, their fleet got under sail, and made several tacks off the road till night came on. The next morning we found they had steered their course for *St Pierre's*, where every think was in readiness to give them a good reception.

In fight of the road of *St Pierre's* the fleet stood to and fro some time, as if there had been an intention of bombarding the town, which was then full of nothing but fighting men, as every thing else had been moved out some days before. In standing in too near, one of the men of war ran aground almost a-breast of the little battery at the mouth of *Dry Gut*, which plied her very warmly, and she on her part returned a brisk fire. Other vessels were sent to her assistance, and eight shallows to tow her off, which at length they effected, though they must certainly have lost a great number of men. On our side we lost only two matroses. In the ensuing night the fleet left us, and sheered towards *Guadaloupe*.

We had made most excellent dispositions against the next day. A little work was raised at the *Morne Tortuefon*, and we had got some field-pieces there, which would have put us upon a footing with the enemy ; all disorder and confusion was rectified ; the ardour of our people for action was great ; in short, every thing gave us an assurance of success, when the enemy robbed us of the glory of a victory by running away.

A Description and History of the Island of GRENADA.

FORTY leagues South of *Martinico*, and twenty-five from the continent, to which it is nearer than any other *French* island, in North latitude 12° , lies that of *Grenada*, near ten leagues long, not more than five broad, and upwards of thirty in circumference. *Columbus*, the first discoverer, gave it the name of *Grenada*, in honour of a province of that name in *Spain*. The great bay on the W. or *Grand Cul-de-Sac*, which gives it the figure of an irregular crescent, is formed by two points of land that run a good length into the sea, of which the Northern is much the widest. The true entrance of this harbour is W. S. W. its bottom is free from rocks, for the most part level, and so deep, that vessels may lie close to the shore. This island was by the *Caribbeans* always preferred to the rest of the *Antilles* for its variety of game, and plenty of fish.

In 1638, *M. Du Poincy*, having heard a very good character of *Grenada*, from a certain person who had touched here in a voyage from the continent, entertained some thoughts of planting it, but was deterred by its distance from *St Christopher's*, and the multitude of Savages who were said to inhabit it. *Sieur Aubert* finding the misunderstanding between him and *Houel* likely to increase, and tempted by the description he

Its latitude & bigness.

Whence named.

Great bay.

Poincy's and *Aubert's* designs on this island abortive

had heard from all hands of the advantages that might accrue to the proprietor of it, sent hither a man of sagacity to examine the situation, soil, and properties ; but his disputes with *Houel* still increasing, he turned his thoughts another way.

West India
company's
grant not ex-
ecuted.

In 1645, the *West India* company, who were no strangers to the character of the island, made a grant of it, with ample commission of governor to settle and inhabit, to *M. Noailly* ; but lowness of circumstances obliged him to cede it, the year ensuing, to *Beaumanoir*, whom he had chosen for his lieutenant. Either inability, or some other cogent reasons, prevented this gentleman also from carrying the commission into execution.

Du Parquet
effects a set-
tlement.

Hence the honour seemed entirely reserved for *M. du Parquet*, with whose character the reader has been already sufficiently acquainted. This sagacious personage had so well demeaned himself, that even the Savages, as well as the *European* inhabitants of the *Antilles*, held him in high estimation ; nay, the former of these, who resided upon *Grenada*, having heard that he had some design of making an establishment among them, petitioned him to put it in execution. As he was well acquainted with their inconstancy, he took them at their word, knowing that a trifle would change their minds, and induce them to oppose him. Wherefore he published his intention of going on such an expedition, and promised an exemption from all taxes and imposts to every person who chose to bear him company. Volunteers enough soon offered, out of whom he chose two hundred, such as masons, carpenters, smiths, and other artificers necessary in establishing a colony. Most of them he knew to be able men, skilled in the manufactures of the climate, and particularly the culture of provisions, without trusting to the chance of fishing, fowling, or hunting. He prepared a sufficient quantity of cassava root, pease, grain of all sorts, and flesh meat well cured, to last his people for three months : He armed each man with a gun, a pair of pistols, and ammunition, and carried with him, besides every thing proper for working the soil, three barrels of brandy, two pipes of fine *Madeira*, with glasses and other toys to traffic with the *Indians*.

Lands on the
island with
his people.

His people, who were embarked in two vessels, landed safe in *June* 1650. The chief or captain of the inhabitants affected to receive them with great pleasure. *Parquet*, having erected a cross and the royal arms of *France*, under a general discharge of the cannon of the ships, gave orders for erecting wooden habitations, and clearing the ground. The captain of the Savages, whose name was *Kairouané*, having told him jocely, that to secure his property it was necessary he should purchase the place of the ancient inhabitants. *Parquet* seized the hint, and entered into a treaty with him directly for the sale, agreeing with him, in the name of his brethren, to become sole lord of the island, in consideration of a certain quantity of glasses, toys, knives, and hedge-bills, which were immediately produced and delivered into the custody of Capt. *Kairouané*.

Purchases the
property from
the Savages.

Settles a go-
vernor.

When he had distributed the ground in proper portions among his followers, he returned to *Martinico*, having first settled the government of *Grenada* upon *M. Le Comte*, a gentleman of good temper, and martial genius, whom he left with two hundred men in a wooden fort, palisadoed round, and defended by some pieces of cannon, intended as well to intimidate strangers from intrusion, as to awe the Savages, who were still left in possession of their huts and plantations ; a liberty the governor had soon cause to repent of ; for these barbarians, who did not dare openly to insult the new proprietors, resolved, without noise, to cut off all such as they could find wandering from the fort, or hunting in the woods. In this manner they massacred several, and obliged the rest, not only to be more circumspect, but to go out for the future in armed bodies.

The *Caribbe-
ans* of the
Basse-terre
treacherous.

Parquet, informed of their treachery, immediately sent thither a reinforcement of three hundred men, and positive orders either to destroy the Savages upon the place root and branch, or at least to drive them all off the island. This matter was not easily carried into execution ; for, when they found themselves vigorously pushed, in consequence of several bold attacks made upon them, they sheltered themselves under the covert of a high ragged rock, surrounded by horrid precipices, and accessible only by one steep winding path, the entrance of which they carefully concealed. It was however at length found out by the *French*, who surprised and fell upon them with such fury, that but forty were left alive, who preferred jumping from the top of the rock into the

Severely pu-
nished.

the sea before trusting to the mercy of the enraged victors. By this action *Parquet* was left in fair and quiet possession of the *Basse-terre*, or low lands, which are at least half of the island.

The *Indians* of the *Cabesterre*, by remaining a good while very peaceable, and seeming as it were insensible of the fate of their brethren upon the *Basse-terre*, lulled the *French* into a foolish security, founded upon a supposition, that the disastrous fate of the latter would fully intimidate them from again making war. A very short time convinced them of the fallacy of their opinion; for their total destruction had been absolutely resolved in a full meeting of the *Caribbeans* assembled for that purpose. Their resolution soon appeared in their scouring the woods and sea coast in parties, and murdering, without distinction, all the *French* who fell into their hands. *M. Le Comte* soon prepared to punish severely this perfidy; and, putting himself at the head of one hundred and fifty men, he surprised their chief rendezvous on the *Cabesterre* by break of day, where, without regard to sex or age, he put them all to death; and then spreading himself suddenly over this whole quarter, he carried with him every where the same inexorable fate. Nor was it possible for any of those wretches to escape, the governor having beforehand taken possession of all their canoes, so that those who had fled to the woods, in passing from thence to the sea-side, met death from the hands of the victor, who now remained sole master of the island.

Revenged by
extirpation.

The joy of this expedition was indeed clouded by the loss of *Le Comte*, who was drowned in his return, while exerting an act of generosity. His canoe being overset, all the people who were in it endeavoured to save their lives by swimming. Among them was the governor, who was got out of danger, when he ventured into the water again to save, if possible, an officer, his particular acquaintance, whom he saw hardly able to keep his head above water. He laid hold of his friend, now just spent, who clung so fast to his arm, that both sunk together.

Le Comte
drowned.

The news of his death very sensibly affected *Parquet*, who lost in him a near relation, as well as a brave officer. As he did not chuse to entrust the care of this infant government to *M. Le Fort*, though next in command, as being too fierce, arrogant, and impetuous, he conferred it on *M. de Valmeniere*. When the new governor had arrived, and his commission was read, *Le Fort* answered very haughtily, That he himself was conscious, if nobody else was, of the great services he had done upon the island, in consequence of which he never could have thought that *Parquet* would have put any one over his head, or that of his intimate friend *Le Marquis*, who ought also to rise in his turn; that he honoured *Valmeniere's* commission, but could never acknowledge him as governor.

Succeeded by
Valmeniere.

Who is op-
posed by *Le*
Fort.

On the dismissal of the assembly *Le Fort* and *Le Marquis*, with some of their partisans, retired to their houses, which they had fortified against the Savages, and *Valmeniere* took possession of the fort. The state of the colony was now very melancholy, being divided into parties, each of which wanted but little provocation to lift the hand to the throat of its antagonists. To put an end to these differences, *Parquet* sent positive orders to *Le Fort* and his adherents, to submit to the governor's authority, and these orders were seconded by a body of one hundred *Walloons*, who had been formerly in the *Dutch* service at *Brasil*, and being driven thence by the *Portuguese*, had enlisted under him. *Le Fort* not only refused obedience, but even armed his people, and posted them round *Valmeniere's* place of residence, which was fortified, and also seized a bark belonging to the *Spaniards*, which had put into their neighbourhood to take in water. Notice of this piece of piracy being given to the governor, he sent his company of *Walloons* to demand the restitution of it. But *Le Fort* refused to parley, or to admit them to his house, unless by two at a time. The *Walloons* then attempted to force their way, but their commandant was wounded in the first onset by a pistol-shot. All peaceable measures were now laid aside; the fight grew hot; some on each side were killed and wounded, and the number would have been still greater, had not *Le Fort* happily received a wound in his foot, whereby he was for the present disabled from acting, and soon after taken prisoner, together with *Le Marquis*, and both were conducted to the fort, and the bark was restored to the *Spaniards*.

Distractions
on the island.

Le Fort re-
bellious.

Taken priso-
ner, and

Advice of these transactions being transmitted to *Martinico*, a lawyer was immediately dispatched from thence to try the malecontents; and *Le Fort*, finding by this proceeding that an ignominious death was inevitable, saved the judge the trouble of his process by swallowing poison, administered by an *Indian* who attended him; but he refused

Poisons him-
self.

refused in his latest moments to be reconciled to *Valmèniere*. *Le Marquis* was condemned to be hanged, but appealing to the council at *Martinico*, the sentence was reduced to banishment and confiscation of effects; *Parquet*, however, generously mitigated the latter part of it.

Colony begins to flourish.

Valmèniere continued to exercise his authority with great wisdom, prudence, and success, and the colony grew every day more prosperous, to which the fertility of the soil, the great plenty of game of all kinds, and the goodness of its tobacco, which was rather better than that of the other islands, exceedingly contributed. A succession of men of *Valmèniere's* character would soon have rendered it a place of considerable consequence. The public tranquillity was sometimes, indeed, interrupted by the incursions of the Savages, to which he always had the good fortune to put a quick and severe check. The greatest objection against the place, was its lying out of the common road of shipping, whence it was often in want of necessary imports, to procure which, it was necessary to keep a bark well manned, constantly in pay to ply between it and *Martinico*, without which, the garrison and inhabitants would often have been reduced to great distress.

Chief disadvantages of the island.

Count de Cerillac purchases Grenada.

The Count de *Cerillac*, encouraged by the accounts he daily heard in *Europe* of the profits reaped by the proprietors of the *Antilles*, and being of an adventurous disposition, commissioned *Pere le Tetre* to make purchase for him. *Grenada* was the island chosen, and the success which the reverend father had in prosecuting this affair will best appear from a few extracts of a letter written by him on the subject to the Count, in 1657; nor can they be thought digressive, as they more fully illustrate the advantages accruing to the possessor.

Advantageous character of the place by *le Tetre*, in 1657.

'The land is very fine, well adapted to subsist a good colony, and has the advantage of a fine harbour. The island is as large again as that of *St Christopher's*, the harbour and river of the *Basseterre* are overlooked by hills, in some places divided by narrow strips of fruitful vales; the inhabitants are in this quarter. The whole face of the rest of the country is very agreeable, and open enough for horsemen and chariots. You cannot go a league without meeting two or three rivers, or fountains; except towards the salt pits, where however the water, which is saved in pits, is not bad. The sun is so nourishing here, that no other of the *Caribbeans* can boast of trees so strait, high, massy, and beautiful. Besides plenty of fish, they have variety of game, particularly that of *Tinadillo* or *Tatou*, of which the inhabitants are very fond and prefer it to mutton. The harbour is very safe, it will hold at least fifty vessels, and a bank of sand divides it from a fine pond, where many more might ride securely in all weathers. The inhabitants are about three hundred, most of them armed with muskets. In the fort, which as yet is of wood, there are several fuses, and about a dozen pieces of iron cannon that will carry twelve pound balls. *M. du Parquet* imagines there is a pearl fishery dependent on it, which, if true, will make it still more valuable. As he is disposed to part with it, he at first insisted on 100,000 livres to be paid in ready cash. However he has at length agreed to accept of 30,000 crowns, half in hand, and the rest in lawful interest to be paid at the end of one year, reckoning from Midsummer day next ensuing; after which you must be answerable for every shilling to be expended upon the place, to which you must also send somebody to take possession in your name. The bargain seems so advantageous to all your friends, that if it be properly improved, they imagine that in three or four years, you will not only clear your principal, but even ten times the sum; for *Parquet*, by his conduct, cedes to you, not only the sovereignty of this island and its contingences; but also undertakes to put you in possession of all the public buildings, slaves, hired servants, cannon, arms, ammunition, provision, utensils, and, in short, every thing belonging to the island.'——It must be observed that, in return for the trouble to be taken in managing these matters by *Pere le Tetre*, the order of *St Dominic*, the habit of which he wore, was to have the mission of the island, exclusive of all other religious societies.

Price of the purchase.

Count prepares for the voyage.

Count de *Cerillac*, on receiving of this letter prepared every thing for his voyage, and having raised four hundred men, and amassed a sufficiency of provisions, and all kinds of necessaries, he proceeded with them to *Honfleur*, where he found the ship, which he had engaged, and expected to be ready for sea the eighth of *October*, wanted as yet two months repair. This was but the beginning of his misfortunes, for his recruits, whom he had put on board two vessels lying in the road to keep them together, suffered

suffered such extremity that many of them died; while the more substantial of his train, who remained ashore, having consumed their last halfpenny, were obliged to live upon their moveables, and embarked in so wretched a condition, that, had the ship made the voyage, the best part of them must have died upon the way. But by the contrivance of the ship's owner, who had already fingered a good deal of the count's money, the was run upon a bank, and having thereby sprung a leak, put back to rest. The knavery of this transaction was so palpable, that a company of the most considerable traders at *Havre* offered, not only to stand by him, if he would break his contract, but also to furnish him with three stout vessels, and a reinforcement of useful men for his colony. These advantageous offers, through a sort of infatuation, he rejected, and after having without success, endeavoured to borrow money of the Capuchins, under colour of securing to them the mission of *Grenada*, which he had before granted to the Dominicans, in about a month he found the ship once more fit to make her voyage, and embarked his people in confusion and haste, for he feared lest the master should play him some new trick. He put to sea when the wind was cross, and the heaviness of the clouds threatened bad weather, nor could he be delayed by any persuasion. The night brought on with it a violent storm, which lasted three days, during which, the ship sprung a leak, and above twenty of his people dying were flung overboard. At length, after much hardship, they put in at *Portsmouth* in *England*, where the ship was condemned, and most of the people either died or deserted. Among the latter was the son of the count himself, who was, however, soon taken and brought back to his father. From *Portsmouth* he went up to *London*, where he commenced a suit against the captain of the ship, whilst the poor friars in his train being totally neglected, and reduced to the last extremity, with great difficulty found their way back to *France*. Having reduced his affairs to some regularity, he laid aside all thoughts of the voyage himself for the present, and committed the remnants of his people, and the government of his island, to the care of his lieutenant.

His repeated misfortunes and disappointments.

This officer did very little honour to authority, for his behaviour was rude, indiscreet, and overbearing; so that, rather than be subservient to his humours, many of the inhabitants withdrew with their effects to *Martinico*. His insolence growing at length intolerable, the people of the island were unanimous in seizing upon his person, when, after a formal trial for male-administration, he was sentenced to be hanged. The unhappy officer, finding that all defence, remonstrance, and supplication, were in vain, begged at least that, in regard to his being a gentleman, they would order his head to be severed from his body. This favour could not, however, be granted him, as it was an office of too nice a nature for their executioner, wherefore they were kind enough to order him to be shot. It is not to be supposed that any, but the lower sort of people, were concerned in this execution, the richest planters were withdrawn from the island, and the officers had retired to the *Basseterre*. In the whole court where he was arraigned there was but one man that could write, whose name was *Archangeli*, he, who collected the informations, and conducted the trial, being a farrier, who made his mark.

His lieutenant governor's ill conduct & fate.

The court, informed of this strange and unprecedented process, sent over a ship of war with a commissary on purpose to examine into the affair, and some troops to assist his proceedings, and punish the guilty. The commissary being arrived set about taking depositions, and found that none were concerned but persons of the lowest rank, most of whom had hidden themselves. Wherefore he did not push his inquiry with any great vigour, so that, in short, no body was punished except *Archangeli*, who was only obliged to quit the island, and retired to *Marigalante*. Here he joined the *English* in 1692, and undertook to guide them to the place where the governor and principal inhabitants had retired. Our historian does not tell us whether or no he fulfilled his promise, but we are inclined to believe the negative, because the enemy caused him, together with his two children, to be hung up at the church door, the divine providence punishing both his barbarity and perfidy.

His judges prosecuted.

Count de *Cerillac* arrived here soon after the death of his officer, whose imprudent conduct he imitated in such a manner, that he became the aversion of the people. Nor was that of his son, whom he invested with his authority, when business called him to *France*, less blameable. Hence *M. Tracy*, when he arrived in this part of the world, was burthened with such complaints of the exactions and tyranny of the family, that he determined to administer justice to the people in person. With this

One of them an object of divine justice.

Count's male-administration.

Tracy arrives
on the island.

Remedies
disorders.

Constitutes
Vincent go-
vernor.

Cerillac
sells his pro-
perty.

Mild admini-
stration of the
new governor

Cultivation
of the soil ne-
glected.

Indians medi-
tate mischief.

Resolution of
the governor.

Intimidates
them.

They sue for
peace.

view he embarked in November 1664, at *Guadaloupe* for *Grenada*, attended by Captain *Vincent*, an officer of great honour, and most respectable characters, together with twelve soldiers commanded by a serjeant, and near fourscore staunch planters from *Guadaloupe* and *Martinico*, who, relying upon the lieutenant general's great prudence, intended, under his influence to settle there. After touching at *Martinico*, where he made some necessary regulations, he arrived at *Grenada*, November 22, 1664, and found it in strange disorder. The inhabitants who were rated at five hundred when the count took possession of the island, being reduced to one hundred and fifty, and those not in the most flourishing circumstances. Famine was legible in all their faces, as their general subsistence was only on game, which some of them knew not how to procure. His first step was to settle all the differences that reigned among them, for their desperate circumstances had neither made them friendly nor unanimous. In the next place he consented to pay them eighty thousand weight of tobacco for debts due from Count *de Cerillac*; and then proceeded to divide some land among his followers, most of whom were well able to improve it.

Having thus disposed matters, he constituted Captain *Vincent* governor of the island, and put him with his serjeant and twelve disciplined men into the fort, having obliged the young count to evacuate it, and to promise that he would be contented to live private in a separate house. After some time, he sent him and one or two of his father's confidants to *France*, and they were soon followed by his brother, the lieutenant general thinking it better for the island to be freed from the whole family. In August 1665, the old count *de Cerillac* was compelled at *Paris* by authority, to sell all his right and title, whatever in the island, to the *West India* company for 100,000 livres tournois, 25000 paid down, and the remainder in two payments at the end of six and twelve months, bearing proper interest.

The inhabitants now began to breathe a little under the prudent conduct of M. *Vincent*, who gave them leave to fish and hunt, without any constraint, both upon this and the neighbouring little islands; a liberty of which they had been debarred hitherto by Count *de Cerillac*. They lived now, not only more at their ease, but drew large profits from their tortoise and flesh meat, for both which commodities, they soon found enough of buyers.

Grenada would have now flourished greatly, had the cultivation of it been studied by the company; but while the rest of the *Antilles* engrossed their attention, this island seemed to have been totally neglected; having scarcely more than one bark belonging to a particular inhabitant, which carried their game, tortoise, and tobacco, to the other islands, and brought them back in return some necessary commodities. Sometimes the people were supplied by ships, which by chance touched here, in their way to the continent; but these succours were so weak, and so rare, that the richest of the planters withdrew one after another to the other islands, and all *Tracy's* fine hopes gradually fell to the ground.

The Savages who had regained their footing on the island under the count, began to meditate the destruction of the colony, when the arrival of *Tracy* prevented their progress, at least for that time: But now seeing the *French*, as it were leaving one another in the lurch, they resumed their design, and thought the weakness of the colony would favour their treachery. With this view some of their chiefs, under pretence of friendship, gave the governor notice that war was designed against him by the Savages of *Paria*. This wise magistrate, plainly perceiving that this was but a counterfeit name, a colouring assumed to conceal the perpetration of their own villainies, answered them roundly that he cared not who they were that should dare to commence hostilities; for so long as he knew them to be Savages, he would, without distinction, avenge himself of every Savage that might fall into his hands, without considering his class or denomination. He then, by proclamation, forbid the inhabitants from going abroad singly or unarmed, and interdicted all commerce with the Savages. Seeing their machinations turned upon themselves, and the *French* ready and forward to attack them, they sent a deputation to the governor, intreating him to live at peace with them. His answer was, that he would not commence hostilities, but was determined to prepare at all points against them, and that if their motions even denounced a rupture, he would listen no more to deputations, but put, indiscriminately, every man of them to death. This menace frightened them effectually, and after much sollicitation peace was granted them with

so high an hand, that they were ever after afraid to do the slightest thing to offend either *Vincent*, or his colony, but kept with them upon the most amicable terms.

It would be an injustice to the memory of this gallant commander, should we omit to relate his manner of seizing on the island of *Tobago*, from whence the *Dutch* had been lately driven by the *English*, who had left in it a garrison of fifty men. *Vincent*, tho' very weak, could not think of lying idle; and as his mind was always bent on something that might procure him renown, *Tobago*, at present, appeared to him a very fair field for gathering lawrels. Wherefore, in *August* 1666, having hired a bark lying at anchor in the bay, he embarked on board it twenty-five volunteers and two drums, commanded by an officer, whose name our author forgets, and turned them adrift to seek their fortunes. They arrived happily, and landed without discovery at a place called *Courland Cove* on the island of *Tobago*. Leaving nine men to take care of their vessel, the officer, with the remaining fifteen and two drums, marched towards the fort. About night-fall they came to a plantation not a musket-shot from it, and killed the centinel before they were discovered; for here was a guard of fourteen other soldiers, who saved themselves by a postern door, of which the officer was ignorant, otherwise he had cut off their retreat. At break of day one of the drums, who was a very acute fellow, beat the chamade, and summoned the commandant to surrender with his garrison to the *French* army, who were encamped, as he said, near at hand, otherwise they were to expect no quarter, intimating, at the same time, that expedition would obtain for them more favourable terms, the ships which lay on the other side of the island, as well as the army, being bound upon much more important service. The commandant was not only weak enough to come out of the fort armed with no more than a sword, tho' he saw a fusee upon the shoulder of the drum, which is contrary to the rules of war; but after demanding time to consider of the terms of capitulation, to ensure which he gave hostages, had the imprudence to accompany the drum to a neighbouring eminence, whence he was promised a view of the *French* army. Here the drum presenting his piece, made him surrender his sword, and led him prisoner to his officer.

With this valuable prize they marched to the fort, and after a gasconading summons of surrender, the garrison submitted to lay down their arms, and become prisoners of war. This done, the officer and his fifteen men took possession of the place, which might, with such a garrison, have held out a tolerable siege. Besides fifty prisoners, the victors found themselves possessed of several pieces of cannon, variety of excellent arms, and a good booty, with all which they loaded their bark, and returned with a joyful welcome to *Grenada*. *Vincent* kept a garrison here till the month of *March* 1667, when he called it off, first setting fire to every thing that might have proved useful to an enemy.

Though we have related this story as we find it set down by father *Tertre*, we would not presume to offer it to the reader as true in every circumstance, but would rather chuse to suppose the credulity of the honest Friar abused by some braggardly soldier.

In 1674, the *West India* company were obliged to dispose of the island of *Grenada* in favour of the king; and these frequent changes, together with the damp cast upon it by the neglect of those whose interest it was to act otherwise, reduced it so low, that in 1705, when *Labat* was here, the colony was almost dwindled to nothing. At the head of it was *Bellair*, a soldier of fortune, bred to the sea, a man of no family; but brisk, penetrating, and enterprising. He had been formerly in the service of *William III.* of *England*, who was an excellent judge of military merit, and made him governor of *Bergen-op-zoom*, on which he had seized as an equivalent for his principality of *Orange*, of which the *French* king had possessed himself. In the war of 1688, being detected in some under-hand dealings with the *French* ministry, he was obliged to desert his government; and taking refuge in *France*, was entrusted with the command of a king's ship. Being in company with several others, in *June* 1693, they came up with the *English* *Smyrna* fleet, and finding his commodore not in a humour to come to close quarters with the enemy, he bore down upon them, without waiting for orders, and took a forty-gun ship richly laden, the cargo of which he immediately divided among his officers and crew. The former part of his conduct was applauded at *Versailles* as an action of great gallantry, and the act of disobedience was not once mentioned. The latter part of his behaviour was indeed justly

Tobago seized by the governor.

Manner described.

Fort summoned.

Folly of the commandant.

Fort surrendered.

Fact scarce credible.

Grenada ceded to the crown.

Bellair governor.

His character and fortune.

justly condemned, as favouring more of the Buccaneer, than of a king's officer : on this account therefore he was suspended for twelve months, at the end of which he was restored with honour, and served many years after with an unblemished character, until, the government of *Grenada* chancing to be vacant, he was dismissed from the sea service, and appointed, at his own request, to that charge.

The fort of *Grenada* was not at this time of much consequence ; its situation was high, and the air about it wholesome ; but an eminence, from which it was divided by two pretty large streams, commanded it at between three and four hundred paces distant. Its front is to the North-east, and from point to point of the demi-bastions that compose it, the measurement is nearly forty-five toises, or fathoms. Here are neither covered way, palisadoes, nor glacis ; there is nothing to defend it but a shallow indifferent ditch. In viewing it round you find some saillant and other angles in poor order, and on the side of the harbour a demi-bastion, with six pieces of cannon, which have little better than the name. The garrison, consisting of about thirty-five marines, lay in huts raised within the walls ; and the apartments of the officers, and even of the governor himself, were mean and inconvenient. The eminence on which the fort stands is on all sides steep and craggy, except to the North-east, where there is a good handsome flat, bounded by a river, beyond which, on another eminence, are situated the church and the curate's house. And they were now employed in transplanting hither the old town, formerly seated between a neighbouring lake and the sea side, which might be easily joined by a small ditch, and would make an excellent harbour for shipping, the lake being deeper and lower than the sea any where near the beach.

All the environs of both the port and the bay, tho' not very high, are however steep and craggy, and very near one another, the sections being extremely small, yet kind and capable of cultivation. The soil produces indigo, sugar, rocou, millet, and variety of grain. There are, moreover, some fine spots of pasture land, fit for the nourishment of cattle. The inhabitants breed numbers of poultry, and may be termed a sort of civilized peasants.

The situation of the town, on its new foundation, appeared much more commodious than the former, and less liable to the insults of an enemy. *Labat* observes, that nothing could be more easy than putting the town and harbour in a state of defence. Redoubts fixed upon the eminences that more immediately command the mouth of the channel, which is but sixty fathoms wide, and upon that which projects most upon the anchoring place, would be of much more service than the fort itself. *Labat*, who was a good engineer, and a man of understanding, also affirms, that were this island in the hands of the *English*, it would soon wear a very different face. " No nation, says he, knows better how to improve a natural advantage, and *Grenada* in their possession would have been flourishing and wealthy, instead of lying waste, without commerce, inhabitants, or manufactures. The planters are poor, their houses little better than huts, their furniture and accommodation rather worse, and, in short, the place, at this juncture of time, seems to have been degenerated almost into as bad a state as when *Parquet* first purchased it from the Savages."

It appears, however, that it has been since much improved ; the people are more wealthy and polished ; the fortifications are numerous, and as strong as any upon the *Antilles*. If it is less known, it is because it drives a close but profitable trade, particularly with the continent ; and the *French* at this day are well convinced of its value, which their present policy teaches them to improve to the best advantage.

The mission was for some time served by the Capuchins, whom Count *de Cerillac* particularly favoured, and from whose tyranny the Dominicans, to whom it fell by right of contract, retired. They have been since restored, and for their maintenance they have a tract of land four leagues North of the fort, called *Le fond du Grand Pauvre* ; it is about a thousand paces broad, and of a considerable length. Here they have a very large habitation, a large sugar manufactory, and a water-mill.

We cannot conclude this account of *Grenada* better than by observing of it in general, that when cultivated and well inhabited, it must be a delicious retreat. The air is for the most part wholesome, but new comers are liable to a disorder called the *Grenada fever*, that often degenerates into a dropsy. Here is plenty of excellent water, good flesh meat, delicate poultry, fat and tender ; great quantities of game, and abundance of fine fish.



justly condemned, as favouring more of the Buccaneer, than of a king's officer : on this account therefore he was suspended for twelve months, at the end of which he was restored with honour, and served many years after with an unblemished character, until, the government of *Grenada* chancing to be vacant, he was dismissed from the sea service, and appointed, at his own request, to that charge.

State of the
fort in 1795.

The fort of *Grenada* was not at this time of much consequence ; its situation was high, and the air about it wholesome ; but an eminence, from which it was divided by two pretty large streams, commanded it at between three and four hundred paces distant. Its front is to the North-east, and from point to point of the demi-bastions that compose it, the measurement is nearly forty-five toises, or fathoms. Here are neither covered way, palisades, nor glacis ; there is nothing to defend it but a shallow indifferent ditch. In viewing it round you find some. saillant and other angles in poor order, and on the side of the harbour a demi-bastion, with six pieces of cannon, which have little better than the name. The garrison, consisting of about thirty-five marines, lay in huts raised within the walls ; and the apartments of the officers, and even of the governor himself, were mean and inconvenient. The eminence on which the fort stands is on all sides steep and craggy, except to the North-east, where there is a good handsome flat, bounded by a river, beyond which, on another eminence, are situated the church and the curate's house. And they were now employed in transplanting hither the old town, formerly seated between a neighbouring lake and the sea side, which might be easily joined by a small ditch, and would make an excellent harbour for shipping, the lake being deeper and lower than the sea any where near the beach.

Grenada of a
fertile soil.

All the environs of both the port and the bay, tho' not very high, are however steep and craggy, and very near one another, the sections being extremely small, yet kind and capable of cultivation. The soil produces indigo, sugar, rocou, millet, and variety of grain. There are, moreover, some fine spots of pasture land, fit for the nourishment of cattle. The inhabitants breed numbers of poultry, and may be termed a sort of civilized peasants.

New town
better situa-
ted than the
old.

The situation of the town, on its new foundation, appeared much more commodious than the former, and less liable to the insults of an enemy. *Labat* observes, that nothing could be more easy than putting the town and harbour in a state of defence. Redoubts fixed upon the eminences that more immediately command the mouth of the channel, which is but sixty fathoms wide, and upon that which projects most upon the anchoring place, would be of much more service than the fort itself. *Labat*, who was a good engineer, and a man of understanding, also affirms, that were this island in the hands of the *English*, it would soon wear a very different face. "No nation," says he, knows better how to improve a natural advantage, and *Grenada* in their possession would have been flourishing and wealthy, instead of lying waste, without commerce, inhabitants, or manufactures. The planters are poor, their houses little better than huts, their furniture and accommodation rather worse, and, in short, the place, at this juncture of time, seems to have been degenerated almost into as bad a state as when *Parquet* first purchased it from the Savages."

Encomium on
the *English*.

Island of late
much im-
proved.

It appears, however, that it has been since much improved ; the people are more wealthy and polished ; the fortifications are numerous, and as strong as any upon the *Antilles*. If it is less known, it is because it drives a close but profitable trade, particularly with the continent ; and the *French* at this day are well convinced of its value, which their present policy teaches them to improve to the best advantage.

Dominican
mission and
settlement.

The mission was for some time served by the Capuchins, whom Count *de Cerillac* particularly favoured, and from whose tyranny the Dominicans, to whom it fell by right of contract, retired. They have been since restored, and for their maintenance they have a tract of land four leagues North of the fort, called *Le fond du Grand Pauvre* ; it is about a thousand paces broad, and of a considerable length. Here they have a very large habitation, a large sugar manufactory, and a water-mill.

General cha-
racter of the
island.

Grenada fe-
ver.

We cannot conclude this account of *Grenada* better than by observing of it in general, that when cultivated and well inhabited, it must be a delicious retreat. The air is for the most part wholesome, but new comers are liable to a disorder called the *Grenada fever*, that often degenerates into a dropy. Here is plenty of excellent water, good flesh meat, delicate poultry, fat and tender ; great quantities of game, and abundance of fine fish.

PLAN
of the
TOWN and FORT
of
GRENADA.
By
M^r de Caylus
Engineer General
of the
FRENCH ISLANDS.

British Fathoms.
55 30





Of the GRENADILLES.

The island of *Grenada* is surrounded, especially on the North, with several small islands, called the *Grenadilles*, the chief of which are, *BECOUYA*, or *Little Martinico*, *CANUAOUAN*, *L'UNION*, *CARIUACOU*, *DES MOUSTIQUES*, *FREGATE*, and *LE DIAMANT*. These islands are as it were reservoirs of every thing that can contribute to make life comfortable in this climate. They look like delightful gardens, adorned with tall strait trees at such a regular distance, that carriages might with ease pass between them : They abound with all kinds of birds to delight the ear, or feast the appetite ; and fish of most kinds are caught in the surrounding seas. Among these islands *Cariuacou* has a commodious port.

Their situation.

Plenty and delights.

Becouya, or *Little Martinico*, is the largest and most Northern of the *Grenadilles*, lying more contiguous than any other to *St Vincent*. Its circumference is thought to be twelve leagues, and it derives its name of *Martinico* from its resembling that island in producing many vipers and other kinds of serpents, the effect of whose bite is much to be feared. It does not appear from the accounts before us, that the *Europeans* ever formed any regular plantations upon this island, or on any other of the *Grenadilles*.

Whence called *Little Martinico*.

A Natural History of the ANTILLES.

CHAP. I. Of the Air, Seasons, Winds, Mines, &c.

HERE are few subjects which can be arranged under the article of a *Natural History of the Antilles*, but what are common to all the islands of that denomination, wherefore we chose to make a distinct chapter of each class, by which means we have for the most part, avoided interrupting the thread of our narration by digressions, and have the advantage at the same time of gratifying the curious enquirer into the operations of nature, with a compact and united view of what will best gratify his inclination, or reward his searches. Some things indeed may possibly be thought proper to have been classed here, which have appeared in the preceding part of this work, placed there by accident, or perhaps propriety. These we shall not repeat, brevity as well as entertainment and instruction being the mark at which we aim. All then that remains for us to do in this chapter with respect to the air, temperature, change of seasons, winds, and hurricanes, is to observe that what we have to say of them will be found by recurring to our accounts of *San Domingo*, *Guadaloupe*, &c.

Introduction.

It seems to be past doubt that all these islands have mines of gold and silver ; but the working of them would be double what they are worth. According to *Tertre*, there are grains of gold found intermixed with the sands of the *Father's River* in *Guadaloupe*, and he speaks, from his own knowledge, of a pound of ore found at *Houelsburgh*, which, tried chymically, yielded some gold ; but that it all at length evaporated in the process, being overcharged with a volatile sulphur. There might be silver raised in *Guadaloupe*, *St Kits*, &c. but it would not pay the trouble. The case would be different with regard to iron, the best mines in *Spain* not producing more excellent iron ore than those of the *Antilles*, where yet it is unaccountably neglected. Sulphur is also found in plenty here, as well as the *Terra Sigillita*, and a fine bole, resembling the armoniac ; both these have their peculiar efficacy in medicine. Here are variety of crystals of no great value, with alum, salt formed in pits, stones fit for building, and earths that may be easily wrought into bricks.

Mines.

CHAP. II. Of Pulse, Plants, Shrubs, &c.

Most sorts of pulse known in *Europe*, as common beans, *French* beans, pease, &c. Pulse thrive very well in this part of the world. Here are cultivated two particular sorts of pease, called *Angola* pease, though it is not certain they were brought from *Africa* : for it is as likely they were brought from the continent belonging to *Spain*, or that they were known and cultivated by the old Savage inhabitants. The root is very tough ; the main stalk, which branches out into many smaller, is strong, and twines round

Angola pea.

the highest trees, running up like ivy; the leaves are not so thin, nor slender, as those of the common pea; the flower is white, and pretty, twenty or thirty hanging to a branch of not more than half a foot length; a pod rises from the flower about three inches long and one broad, containing the pea, which is more palatable of itself than ours with sauce. If they can find nothing to clasp to, they push themselves forward in different directions to thirty or forty feet on the ground.

Sweet-scented pea.

In their garden hedges, alleys, and pastures, they plant a sweet-scented-pea, little larger than coriander seed, of a flesh colour, speckled with black, and produced from a yellow agreeable flower. They are very hard to shell, and grow upon a sort of a shrub, that rises, without any prop, to ten or twelve feet. In the sand by the sea side there springs up a large brown pea, thought to be dangerous, and therefore never gathered.

Cure for barrenness.

The Savages have a sort of medicine, not unlike a mushroom reversed, which prevents barrenness. Its cup is scarcely large enough to hold more than a lentil; it contains at its bottom three very hard seeds, and grows in woods and moist places upon a sort of rotten stem. As much of this mushroom dried and reduced to powder as will lie upon a crown piece, is an effectual remedy, as they tell us, in all cases of barrenness.

Powder to help women in travail.

To help women in childbed, for they have few midwives, they use a sort of mushroom pulverised, the smell of which is very grateful; a small quantity infused in a glass of white wine is efficacious.

L'Herb aux-fleches.

L'Herb-aux-fleches, or the arrow herb, was first discovered by some friendly Savages to M. Aubert, and is endowed with wonderful virtue. Its root peeled, and applied to a wound caused by a poisoned arrow, entirely draws out the venom, stops the progress of a gangrene, takes away all kind of inflammation, and also cools the sting of the wasp, which, in *Guadaloupe* more especially, is very painful. The leaf of this herb is as long as the palm of one's hand, and about three inches broad, of a bright green colour, shining, and soft as fatten; the flowers small and longish, violet without and white within; the leaves composing the flower are separated; they close at night, and expand themselves with the rising sun.

Cats-skin, or fleurs de Con.

About the houses of the planters grows in great plenty, an herb resembling our peltory of the wall, but rather thicker and flatter. Its leaves are green, small, smooth, and indented, growing two together, and inclosing a small knot of hairy flowers, red and green, called *cats-skin*, and sometimes *fleurs de con*. If care is not taken, this herb, which requires no cultivation, will soon over-run a garden. It is full of milky juice, a drop of which is certain death to a serpent, whenever it touches him. Bruised, care being taken to preserve its moisture, and applied to a wound from the bite of a serpent, it draws out the poison, and perfects the cure. Given in powder, it strengthens the heart, and preserves it from being affected by the venom.

Dysentery Plant.

There is also a prickly sort of shrub, that bears a green berry about the size of a coriander; it sticks to one's cloaths, and the leaves powdered, and infused in proper liquid, are good against a dysentery.

Nightshade cure tooth-ach

The Savages prescribe two sorts of plants as a cure for the tooth-ach; one of them appearing to be a species of *solanum*, has small hairy leaves, shaped like those of the *morrell* [garden nightshade] with a little white flower, and a red seed; the other is a stronger plant, with round tough leaves, and white flowers resembling in some measure *liverwort*, and it differs but little from the *cicuta* [deadly nightshade]. These herbs immediately deaden the pain of the tooth-ach, but instantly inflame the jaw, and the whole side of the head to which they are applied; so that the use of them may chance to be attended with the worst consequences.

Dangerous.

Senna.

Senna is found in all the sandy spots of the *Antilles*; its uses in bilious and inflammatory cases, particularly those of the fundament, are well known. It is also a native of *Egypt*, *Alexandria*, and several parts of *Turkey*; being a shrub of two or three feet high, with woody stalks, bearing a five leaved yellow flower, veined with purple, and several crooked *stamina* in the middle.

Sargazo, or vitis marina.

Great part of the seas hereabouts, and elsewhere in the *West Indies*, are covered thick with the *sargazo*, or *vitis marina*, by which the navigation of small craft is often rendered dangerous. It rises about an inch above the surface of the water, shooting out fine slender stalks, one interwoven with another; the leaves are long, thin, serrated, and reddish; the berry flat, and empty. If it has any root, a point yet undecided, it

is at the bottom of the sea. It is used in fallads, and good in all disorders of the kidneys, urethra, the nephritic colic, and scurvy, and may be taken in a decoction.

Pepper, sometimes called *pimentum*, sometimes *capsicum*, is a spice which the French ^{Pimento, or} have been taught to like by the Savages, who take it in every thing of nourishment. ^{Capicum, or} It gives a high relish to sauce, assists health, and promotes an appetite. Flung on a fire in a close room, the smoke has the same effect as kindled charcoal; for it obstructs the breath, chokes up the lungs, and causes suffocation if fresh air be not introduced. ^{pepper.} Vinegar applied to the nostrils is a restorative in this case.

Ginger, a plant originally a native of the *E. Indies*, is now so plentiful in the *Antilles* and *Caribbees*, that we import thence the greatest part of what we use. ^{Ginger.} There are two sorts of ginger, the male and female; the leaf of the female is the smoother. The root creeps about on all sides, being divided into points as thick as one's thumb, and running three or four palms deep in the earth. This part of the plant, properly cured, is put up in boxes, and transported for its medicinal virtues to many parts of the world. It strengthens the stomach, promotes concoction, comforts the brain, assists the memory, helps eyes that are weak through aqueous humours, stimulates venery, and expells wind. It is said to have the strength, but not the quick penetration of pepper, and to keep its heat longer. The taste is biting, and it makes an excellent sweetmeat when green; it is consumed in the kitchen as well as the dispensatory. Great care must be taken to preserve this root from the wood-eater, for which reason it is found in the shops whitened with chalk, or stained with oker; and, when first taken up, either covered with mud, potters earth, or prepared with vinegar, and attentively watched.

The *China occidentalis*, or *false China root*, which grows in all the islands, is for ^{Falsè China} the most part inferior to that brought from the East, but in scrophulous disorders, ^{root.} and consumptions arising from them, it is preferred by many physicians. It has long climbing branches, a little prickly, with large, firm, fibrous, roundish leaves, pointed, but not prickly. The fruit is black, round, of the size of a juniper berry, and the root is full of knots, white without, and red within. It has little smell, or taste; in which it resembles the Eastern root. Sir *Hans Sloane* thinks it a species of *Smilax*, or the rough bindweed.

In some, but not in all of the *Antilles*, there is found a shrub, the leaves of which ^{Sensitive} shrink from the touch, and close all along the branch affected. ^{Plant.} *Tertre* says it differs in many things from the common sensitive plant, of which however it must be a species. The leaf is rank poison, and has no antidote but its root. The stalk is woody, small, and brittle, growing about two feet high, pushing out branches with small tendrils, bearing dark green leaves, striped with red, extremely small, very narrow, and almost touching each other. Where the branches divide from the main stalk, there springs a cluster of deep blue flowers, to which succeeds a pod, containing a flat, black, shining seed.

Tobacco, a commodity in which all the islands drive a considerable trade, is too ^{Tobacco.} well known to need here any description. They also reap large profits from indigo, ^{Indigo.} which they cultivate very carefully. It would engross too much of our time to describe the manner of preparing it for sale. Let it suffice to observe that it is the *fecula*, or sediment of the *emerus Americanus filiqua incurva*. Dyers consume vast quantities of it, and some physicians in certain cases administer it, to the amount of a dram, while by others it is deemed a poison, and the internal use of it in *Saxony* totally prohibited.

Every nation, nay, every class of people has its prejudices and peculiar opinions. *Europeans* wonder how it is possible to find nourishment from any preparation of a root, a spoonful of the juice of which is poison; and indeed it must be owned a kind of paradox. On the other hand, the Savages are astonished how a nation can subsist without this root, which belongs to the *manibot* shrub. Of the *manibot*, or *cassado*, or ^{Manioc,} *cassava* tree, or *manioc*, there are two sorts, the white and the red; of these the former is the better, the juice being less poisonous; but then it ought to be used when but four months old. It grows to the height of five feet, sometimes higher. ^{which yields} The stalk is knotty, twisted, and brittle; with a pith like that of elder. The leaves resemble those of the lupine; the flowers are of a pale yellow, edged sometimes with light purple. The root, which is like a parsnip, full of milky juice, is ground fine in a strong iron mill, then pressed to extract all humidity, and exposed in a place where ^{the Cassava} it ^{bread.}

it can be thoroughly dried. After this they pass it through a sieve, and put it over the fire in a copper pan, keeping continually stirring it till they know it to be perfectly cured. Of this they make their loaves, like the oaten bannocks of *Scotland*, which are well tasted, very nourishing, and as good as wheaten bread. People afflicted with dropsies find it serviceable to them. This shrub is vastly infested with worms and ants, and sought, and greedily eaten by beasts, wild as well as tame, to which it proves very nourishing, tho' destructive to the human system. There are many different preparations of the manihot, both physical and culinary, which are too tedious to be here inserted. It is generally allowed that the simple juice expressed, is present death to all animals; but it loses its malignance, if kept twenty four hours.

Its effects.

Potatoes.

When the manihot chances to fail, or to be destroyed by the hurricanes, the people find the loss fully supplied by potatoes, of which the *Antilles* produce the finest in the world, and the inhabitants justly esteem them a most wholesome food.

Yams.

The igname, or yam, is a species of potatoe, but more close-grained, mealy, and white. It resembles the root of a small tree, and commonly weighs between two or three pounds; sometimes indeed they run to twenty pound. When dug they must be put in a dry place for the air to winnow them, or covered with fine sand. They will keep above a year, and are pleasant and nourishing either roasted or boiled; in the latter case, the skin should be taken off before they are eaten.

Sugar-cane.

The cane which yields sugar, is a native both of the *East* and *West Indies*; it grows to the height of six or seven feet, is of a greenish yellow colour, about an inch in circumference, jointed in several places, full of a white sweet pith. The root is not so woody as the common cane, but abounds with a pleasant juice; the *Indians* use it as bread, when dried to powder. Sugar is possessed of very balsamic qualities, and resists putrefaction so strongly, that it is found necessary in conserves, electuaries, syrups, confectios, &c. and in all substances that require to be preserved a long time.

There is an account in the *Philosophical Transactions* abridged, Vol. V. p. 311, of a *Bedfordshire* gentleman, who lived to an hundred years of age in a sound habit of body, which was chiefly attributed to his using sugar with every thing he eat. When the late king of *Sardinia* was opened upon his death, his heart and other intestines were found remarkably perfect; which the physicians ascribed to the virtues of sugar, it being his daily practice to eat at least half a pound without any thing else. The sugar cane is liable to the yellow blast, which is caused by a sort of insect, corroding and destroying the vesicles. This blast is most destructive in dry years; for the rain washes away those insects, and destroys their eggs.

Sugar how made.

The juice of the ripe cane being pressed out in a mill, is boiled several times, and shifted each time into a different copper, until, with skimming and evaporation, scarcely remains more than one seventh of the juice, which now assumes the appearance of a thick fyrrup, casting up little or no scum. When it is judged to have attained the proper consistence necessary to become sugar, it is poured into a brass cooler, and kept gently stirring, that the air may be thus equally admitted to every part, and the sugary particles disengaged from the molasses. It is afterwards put into earthen moulds of a pyramidal form, which having a hole left open at bottom, are set over other vessels to drain and purge, and after some time exported to *Europe*, where their contents are farther whitened and clarified. From the different skimmings, mixed with water and molasses is extracted rum, which, being more oily, is reckoned more wholesome than brandy, as not stimulating so strongly the coats of the stomach; made into weak punch it preserves the bowels.

Ananas, or pine-apple.

The Anana, or Pine-apple, is remarkable for the beautiful tuft of green leaves which crown it, and seem to mark, in a manner, its sovereignty; and also for its most exquisite flavour, which, in the opinion of the nicest judgment, exceeds that of all other fruit. It is produced by an herbaceous plant, whose leaves are indented, not unlike those of the aloe, but more thin and juicy: It is supposed to derive its name from its resemblance to the cone of the pine-tree. The plant thrives wonderfully in all these islands, whither it is supposed to have been brought from the *East-Indies*. It is now cultivated in most gentlemen's gardens in *England* by means of hot houses. There are several sorts of this fruit, which have different degrees of goodness, the best of them being, according to the nicest judges, the sugar-loaf pine of *Barbadoes*. The anana, when ripe, emits a very fragrant smell, and is soft when pressed. When ripe, it will not retain its fine flavour, even on the plants, above four days; and it should be eaten soon

soon after gathering, for it will not keep above twenty four hours. There is a juice extracted from it, as strong and spirited as malmsey; it cheers the heart, exhilarates the spirits, and provokes urine, but endangers miscarriage.

The Karata Penguin, or wild Annal is a fruit of a whitish colour like an apple, but rather more tender, and springs in clusters from a plant furnished with hard, stiff, prickly leaves, bending inward, thereby reserving the dew and rain for its better nourishment, and growing sometimes to the height of nine feet. It is common every where in the *West Indies*, but seldom matured in *England*. It very faintly resembles the anana in flavour, but is a grateful acid, gives a high relish to punch, and is a good medicine in fevers, though dangerous for pregnant women. Wild anana.

Here are two sorts of water melons, one with a whitish green pulp and black seeds, the other with a red pulp, and red seed. They thrive in dry, rocky, grounds, are used as a desert, and eaten with wine, being cooling and diuretic, and therefore given in fevers; the seed is used in emulsions and provokes sleep. Water-melons.

The root of the Colocynth, or belly-ach weed, is whitish, oblong, and deep, creeping on the ground, and bearing leaves at two or three inches distance. The clavicle, or tendril, is not long, but creeps away from its root, and fastens on such stones as lie in its way. The colocinth, or colocoynth, is an extraordinary remedy against the belly ach, and often prescribed in a dropsy. Colocynth.

The Aloe, which grows in all the islands, springs from a root, that runs into the ground like a stake. The stalk is tender, red in the middle, and bears a thick flat leaf of a large circumference, and beset on both sides with blunt prickles. This plant has a strong scent, and is very bitter; the juice has many uses in medicine, and often distils from the plant like a tear, for which reason a pavement is made round to hinder it from sinking in the earth. In order to obtain it, sometimes the stalks are cut before the seed is ripe, and sometimes the leaves. It is good in conglutinating wounds. The aloe is of an inspissating, condensing, and gently warming quality; it is a gentle purge, operates without disturbing the stomach, which it strengthens, and excites an appetite. It stops spitting of blood, and carries off the yellow jaundice; mixed with vinegar and oil of roses, and rubbed on the temple, it eases the pain in the head. The leaf stripped of the outer skin is an excellent remedy for a green wound. Aloe.

CHAP. III. Of Trees.

In some of the islands, particularly *St Domingo*, it is impossible to dig above a few feet without meeting with a kind of freestone, tobacco-pipe clay, and potters-earth, or, lastly, a bed of sand. But it often happens also, that the good soil runs to a considerable depth; and, what will at first sight perhaps seem very surprising, this last is often most destitute of trees. There is however a very apparent reason for this peculiarity, which evidently proceeds from the drought that prevails for three or four months together in three fourths of the island, and disables the deep soils from furnishing trees with a proper supply of juices for their growth and nourishment; whereas in the shallow soils the rains and dews are retained by the hard bottoms that lie under them. The skilful planters, however, always prefer the deep to the shallow soils, as these last are sooner exhausted. But let it not be concluded from what I have said of the shallowness of most of the soils of this island, that they are incapable of producing any but very small trees; on the contrary, they produce the strongest and the tallest; and this is one of the wonders of the country. Manner in which trees cast their roots.

There are no trees here whose roots penetrate above two feet into the earth, and few have their roots near that depth, though spread horizontally, in proportion to the weight they are to bear. The cassia-tree indeed must be excepted, for it casts its roots much in the same manner with our trees in *Europe*; but it is to be observed that it came originally from another country. Soil preferred by the planters.

It is reported, that as *Columbus* was one day giving queen *Isabella* of *Castile* an account of several peculiarities he had observed in this country, and was speaking of the trees, she interrupted him with a serious air, saying, "I am very much afraid that the men born in this country will resemble the trees, and want solidity, constancy, and sincerity." But *Columbus* might have answered, that the trees made themselves amends for the shallowness of their roots by the horizontal extent or number of them; and that probably the future inhabitants would likewise find means to compensate in one point for defects in another. Remark on the cassia-tree.

Fig and palm
trees.

The fig-tree spreads its roots to the greatest distance, extending above seventy feet. The palm-tree, on the contrary, has very short roots, but their shortness is counter-vailed by their numbers; whence it is that this tree, though generally one hundred feet high, is as little subject to be blown down as others. If this little depth of the roots of trees were observable in such places only, where freestone, the solid rock, or other such obstacles lie immediate in their way, one would be inclined to think such an obstruction the only reason of their sinking no deeper; but it is the same thing every where. We must therefore look out for some other cause; and I think we may perceive it in the extreme dryness of the land below a certain depth, whither the most constant rains are not allowed by the sun to penetrate. Providence therefore has wisely ordained that the roots of trees, which require moisture, and can only find it at the surface, where it is seldom wanting. Though there were nothing but the dews (which are here very plentiful at all seasons) to supply it, should take a horizontal instead of a perpendicular direction. But deep soils, in general, as I have already observed, are not the best clothed with these useful and stately vegetables.

Balsam tree

In several of the islands, and more particularly at *St Domingo* and *Grenada*, there grows a species of balsam tree, the leaves of which resemble those of sage, but are rather thicker, more yellow, and mealy. One of these leaves being plucked off, there flows from the body of the tree certain drops of viscous, yellow, transparent liquor, of little or no smell, and a bitterish, astringent taste. It cures green wounds, provided they are not arrived at a state of suppuration, and cleanses, and in a short time cures old ulcers. Though our author gives the description without the particular denomination, we have room to suppose it to be what *Pomet* calls *new balsam*, *baume nouveau*.

Sandal-wood.

In the *Basse-Terre* of *Guadalupe*, where the soil is most dry and sandy, there is found plenty of the sandal, which grows to the height of a young apricot, in circumference as thick as one's thigh. Its branches are slender, full of small leaves, bearing a white flower, and succeeded by a black grain of the bigness of pepper. It makes a bright pleasant fire, sending forth a fragrant smell.

Guaicum.

Guaicum, or Pockwood, is a large tree, with a brown brittle bark, a ponderous, gummy, solid wood, of a very deep yellow, and having at the heart an aromatic smell. It bears a yellow flower, and a decoction of its wood was once reckoned a sovereign remedy in all venereal cases; but of late years it seems to have lost somewhat of its character in the medicinal world.

Holy wood.

There is a species of guaicum called *holy-wood*, rather whiter than the first, the gum of which is a specific in gonorrhœas; it is good in all kinds of ulceration, and gives ease in the gout; the two differ very little either in nature or effect.

Candle-wood

Candle-wood, so called from its being used as a flambeau, grows near the sea, not very tall, nor yet more than six inches in diameter. Its leaf resembles that of the laurel, but is rather thicker, and more oily; the bark is brown and brittle; it lasts, when lighted, longer than any other wood, the flame being strong and clear, and the smell very grateful.

Rocou, or
Achiot.

Rocou, or Achiot, according to the best accounts, is a tree that grows to the height of eight or nine feet; its leaf resembles the peach, and it bears a prickly husk as large as a chestnut, enclosing a red seed; and these husks, which grow in clusters, when ripe, begin to burst spontaneously. The *Indians* then gather them, pound the seed in a mortar, pass it through several waters to cleanse it, after which they lay it up to dry, and export it in cakes of a fine violet colour. Dyers make much use of it, and it is infused in the composition of chocolate. It is said to strengthen the stomach, help respiration, and stop a looseness. The *American* Savages cultivate it with great care, for it not only ornaments their gardens, but the branches serve for thatch to their houses; of the wood they make firing, from the bark they draw a cordage to make coarse linen, and the root and leaves infused in their fauces communicate a fine relish and colour. With the seeds, prepared as abovementioned, they paint their bodies, for that purpose intermixing with it some kind of oil; and thus they preserve their skin not only from the effects of weather, but render ineffectual the attacks of the musketoes, and other troublesome vermine, whose bite would otherwise be perpetually vexatious.

Cotton-tree.

The Cotton-tree, if permitted to aspire, would reach an height of fifteen feet; but this luxuriance is prevented, as it would lessen the number of pods. These, when ripe, open of themselves, and discover, in three or four partitions, the cotton, of well known

known use in various manufactures, rather more in the *East* than the *West Indies*, and appearing in white locks, among which are interperfed dark brown feed, used in medicine to cut phlegm, astiff expectoration, and cure forenefs of lungs. The leaves are scolloped, like the currant-tree, and the flower confifts of five yellow petals, ftained at bottom with purple. After very clofe fultry weather the crops of cotton are often totally destroyed in three or four days by a sort of worm of the caterpillar kind, which afterwards changes into a dark brown moth. Of this worm there are three species, called the black-back, the streaked-back, and the fire-worm; the last, which being the smallest, is of a ruflet colour, and by much the most destructive.

In this part of the world grows a tree indented and crooked, with a tough grey bark, a yellow hard wood, and a thick sea-green leaf, like the common pea, the root of which steeped in any stream, disturbs and intoxicates the fish that suck in the water impregnated with the poisonous bitter, in such a manner, that they pant for a while on the surface for air, and then hasten to the bank, where they expire; nor is it said that they are bad eating in consequence of this intoxication.

There is also a tree, with a flower fragrant as jessamin, and not unlike it either in smell or shape, only larger, which being cut pours out a stream of milk, of a dangerous nature from its caustic qualities.

Thorny-wood appears of four sorts, two black, and two yellow. The first grows up from the foot in three or four years to the height and bulk of a large oak; it is called *Dutch cheese*, from the brittleness of its bark, and is full of well covered branches that yield an extensive shade; its thorns are strong and thick, and it bears a pod of the bigness of an egg, filled with a sort of soft brown cotton of no use. The second is not so thorny as the first, but tall and strait; the wood, which is of the colour of common deal, serves for oars, but is not durable enough for building, soon breeding worms. Of the yellow sorts one grows much taller, and is less thorny than the other, with a tough strong grain, very fit for any kind of durable work. The last is of the dwarf kind, coloured like rhubarb, very bitter, and used by the Savages in the cure of ulcers.

Indian wood, or aromatic laurel, flourishes in moist places, and good soil; it grows very high; the bark is smooth and shining, the wood close grained, hard, and so heavy, that it sinks in the water like lead; it takes a beautiful polish, and resists the attacks of time. The leaf resembles the laurel, smells like a clove, and has a sharp astringent taste, leaving an agreeable bitterness in the mouth. It is given in decoctions with success in paralytic cases, and affords relief in dropfies.

The *acoma* is very heavy, durable, and fit for building. It is of a yellow colour, which whitens in time; the fruit is shaped like an olive, and of a bright gold colour. It yields a gum, which, when fresh, gives ease in the tooth-ach, by rubbing therewith the temples and hinder part of the ear. When dried it is exported, and has various uses in medicine.

In *St Domingo* and the neighbouring islands grows a tree, called by some *acajou*, and by others cedar; it neither resembles the cedar of *Mount Libanus* in fruit, branches, leaves, nor manner of growth; but it has its grain, colour, fine smell, and incorruptibility. The woods, which here are called oak and elm, are very unlike those of *Europe*, particularly the latter, the species of which our author has not been able to determine. They are used in many different kinds of work, and are scarce and dear, as well as the workmen, who soon make fortunes, get settlements, and forget their ancient occupation. The most remarkable *acajou* tree, and the most useful, (for there are two sorts,) grows to the height of an apricot tree, with a broad thick leaf, tapering at the stalk, and rounded at the end, of a bright green in the heart, but bordered with red or yellow, according as it has been more or less exposed to the sun. Its bark is thin and adhesive, of a dirty white, veined with brown; the flowers are purple, variegated with white, and when they fall their pistil is changed into a fruit, composed of two very different parts: The first is a nut, shaped like a kidney, which is followed by a green shining fruit, about four or five inches long, and two in diameter. At first the skin is green, but changes, as it ripens, to a deep brown. Within the nut-shell is a whitish fruit, covered with a brown skin, resembling an almond, but infinitely more agreeable, and full of oil. The fruit is sweet and juicy, and said to exhilarate and refresh. It is cut in slices, which are heated in boiling water, and then eaten with sugar. If you attempt to taste this fruit raw, it fetches the

the skin off the mouth, for which reason, before it is served up at table, it is macerated in wine, or its acrimony corrected with salt. The juice, duly fermented, inebriates like wine; and the nut-shells yield an oil that gives a lasting colour to painting in black, preserves wood from putrefaction, and kills tetter, &c. If the tree be pierced, it yields a gum like gum-arabic; and the wood is strong and fit for ship-building.

Rose-wood. Rose-wood, by some called Cyprus, by others Marble-wood, grows very high, with a long smooth leaf, and clusters of white flowers. The wood is fit for building, and when worked sends forth a most odoriferous smell, which is lost in time, but may be renewed by rubbing hard.

Green-wood. On *Guadalupe* there grows in great plenty, particularly in the most fertile spots, a tree called Green-wood, which takes a most excellent polish, and, after a while, assumes the colour of ebony. It is a good commodity, and particularly coveted by the *Dutch*.

Red-wood. Red woods are also here in great variety, fit for working either for use or ornament, and little inferior to Brazil.

Iron wood. Iron wood, so called from the hardness of its grain, grows about seven feet high, and half a foot in circumference. It is used in building, but is often destroyed by a worm that eats into its heart. The bark is black, the sap red, and the rest of a deep violet colour, approaching to a black.

Sope tree. The Sope-tree grows in dry sandy places, more especially near the sea, seldom higher than three feet, dividing into several branches, each as thick as ones thigh. Almost every leaf is supported by a crooked tendril, which catches hold of the next tree or shrub: if mashed in water it lathers like soap, but burns linnen if often used. It bears a bitter red berry, less than a gall, good to cure scalds.

Plantain-tree. The trunk of the Plantain-tree, which is very soft and spongy, near the ground, is about two feet and a half in circumference, tapering gradually upwards to the height of nine or ten feet, where it produces, from a long tapering stalk, leaves of a beautiful sea green colour, often five feet in length, and two and a half broad, of an oval shape, with the middle rib very prominent. The flowers spring among the upper leaves, and from them rises a palatable sweetish fruit, nine or ten inches long, and about one inch broad; and this fruit, baked or boiled, is often used as bread.

Banana. The Banana is a species of this tree, having smaller leaves and fruit, the latter being oftener served up raw at deserts: when ripe, it is of a beautiful yellow colour, sweet flavour, and fragrant smell.

A conjecture. The leaves of the plantain were probably those which our first parents used in *Paradise* to cover their nakedness; and this opinion is preferable to *Milton's*, who supposes them to be the fig leaf, which is scarcely more than five inches long, and three broad. The branches of the plantain, at a certain age, hang down to the ground, and there taking root, spring up again, forming an arch with its mother trunk, from which in time a grove may be propagated.

Mangrove. The Mangrove grows exactly in the same manner, but is fondest of water and marshy soil, though sometimes it thrives in the garden, and is a beautiful ever-green. It will sometimes run up, if permitted, to an height of forty feet, shooting out arches on every side, and furnishing most delicious shady bowers, provided it be pruned, otherwise it is entirely entangled.

Trees omitted. The Fig-tree that bears fruit, and the various kinds of palm-trees found in the *Antilles*, being common to other places, a description of them here will not be reasonably expected.

St Domingo apricot. The *St Domingo* Apricot is a handsome tall tree, with large regular branches, adorned with a very beautiful green leaf, six or seven inches long. The fruit is covered with a brownish shell, of the consistence of leather, and as thick as a crown piece, under which is a tough, thin, yellowish skin, adhering to the fruit, which is of a fine yellow, hard as a citron, leaving a pleasant, but gummy, bitterish flavour behind it in the mouth, and yielding a most fragrant smell. It contains a stone at the heart, enclosing a bitterish kind of almond. Steeped a while in sugar, the bitterness of this fruit goes off, and it is reckoned good in disorders of the lungs.

Manchineel. The Manchineel, or Mancenilla, is a native of the *West Indies*, and grows in marshy or low sandy grounds to the height of our common oak. The wood has a fine grain, and takes a beautiful polish; but care must be taken, before it is used, that it be

be thoroughly dried ; for the juice, which is of a milky colour, is a strong caustic. A drop of it falling on the skin raises an inflammatory blister ; it burns linnen, and if it touches the eye, it in a moment blinds. It bears a fruit resembling a golden pippin, by which many *Europeans* have lost their lives ; some, however, have been saved by oil and instant vomiting. The goats eat the fruit without sustaining any injury ; all other animals avoid even the shade of it, under which nothing thrives ; and even the rain that drips from it has a pestiferous quality. The soldier snail yields a clear wa- ter, and an oil may be extracted from it, both which are an excellent antedote against all ill effects of the Mancenilla. Its ill effects.
And antidote.

The Coco-tree is a species of palm ; it grows to a considerable height ; the timber is used for masts and planks of ships, as well as in house-building. Hats, sails, and thatch are made of the leaves : Ropes are spun of the outer bark, and better oakum than ours, as it swells more with the wet. The nut, which is as large as a young child's head, but rather spherical than round, contains a pleasant cooling liquor, that helps fevers, gonorrhœas, stoppage of urine, &c. but it soon dries into the kernel and inside of the shell. The pulp of the nut grated and mixed with water, yields a good milk, used in pastry instead of cow's milk, and often drank in the *East Indies* with rice. The shell of the nut is formed into drinking vessels, which are very common. From the kernel is extracted an oil, used in lamps, and at table, and prescribed by physicians to purge the stomach and kill worms, also in old aches, gout, and contraction of the nerves. The top of the tree cut is used as cabbage, and from the incision, as well as from an expression of the flowers, may be had a liquor called *sura*, which cools the liver, and cleanses the urethra and kidneys, thus entirely expelling the stone and gravel. It turns to vinegar by standing in the sun, but soon loses its sourness when cold. This liquor thrice distilled is called Arrack ; with raisins it makes a fine red wine, and yields, by evaporation, a wholesome black sugar. Birds make their hanging nests of the fibres of this tree, to protect themselves from serpents, which fly also from torches made of its boughs and leaves. The root is used in tempering iron. Umbrellas, and coverings for palanquins, or those sofas, in which the inhabitants of the hot countries are carried abroad, are made of the leaves of the coco, which also serve for paper, on which they write with a pencil of steel. The first letter the king of *Portugal* received from *Calcutta* was written upon this paper ; a suit of cloathes of the same texture was presented to him at the same time. This tree thrives best in moist places, and often grows twenty fathoms high. It is often found levelled on the desert islands, either from the rats having corroded and withered it, or from the ants carrying away the earth from the root. Baskets, brooms, and trunks are made of its leaves ; and javelins of the middle ribs, tied together and lackered. The kernel may be eaten as bread, and the shell, as well as the timber, used for fuel. Coco-tree.
Its manifold good qualities
Arrack, how made.
Various' uses of the coco-tree.

The Cabbage-tree is very tall, growing sometimes to the height of three hundred feet. The top of the trunk contains a white tender substance, which, eaten raw, tastes like a walnut, but is oftener served up to table, in all the islands, boiled, pickled, and variously dressed as cabbage, being called *chou de palmiste*, or palm of the cabbage-tree. The pith is very soft, and, when the tree is felled, soon consumed by worms ; but the pipe hardens, and in time takes the consistence of iron. The tree shoots up as strait as an arrow, and is universally admired ; for not a pillar of the nicest architecture can strike the eye with a more regular picture. The bark is of a clouded ash colour till within about twenty-five feet of the top, where it changes to a deep sea-green, which it carries to the top. Cabbage tree

The cacao-tree rises to about fifteen feet high, with a grey smoothish bark, as thick as ones thigh. It has several branches on every side, the ends of which running to a great length, are set with leaves, standing on an half-inch stalk. Every branch bears a small purple flower, after which follows the fruit, as big, when ripe, as ones fist, of a deep purple colour, and larger in the middle than at the extremities, which are pointed. The shell is no thicker than the edge of an half-crown, and, when opened, discovers many kernels of an oval shape, each lying in a thin membrane covered with a mucilaginous substance, and about as big as a pistachia nut ; they have an oily bitterish taste, and one ounce of them is said to contain more nourishment than a whole pound of beef. Of these nuts is made chocolate, on the good or bad qualities of which it is not now our province to descant. A juice may be expressed from the Cacao-tree.

mucilaginous substance contained in the husk of the cacao nut, resembling cream, of a grateful taste, and cordial quality.

Juniper-tree. The Juniper-tree, which takes its name from bearing a berry that resembles our juniper, is one of the largest and highest trees in this part of the world. It may be cut into large shining reddish-brown boards, not unlike the *Bermudas* cedar, being very firm, close-grained, and odoriferous, and highly valued for making escuttores and cabinets, and for wainscoting rooms, it being avoided, as much as cedar, by the cock-roches, and all other mischievous vermin, on account of its strong scent. Sir *Hans Slane* says, however, that he has seen keels of ships made of this wood eaten thro' by sea-worms.

Fustick wood The Fustick-wood seldom exceeds fifty feet in height, being large and streight, with a leaf like that of an elm, and a fruit about the size of a nutmeg, of a greenish colour both within and without : when ripe it is very luscious and pleasant, and may be eaten with wine and sugar. The Negroes are very fond of it, and a poultice of it fresh is said to be good for a sore throat. The bark is brown, tinged with yellow ; and the wood, which is firm and solid, and of a beautiful yellow, is cut into logs, and exported to *Europe*, where it is used in dying yellow.

Button-tree. The Button-tree has a trunk as thick as ones thigh, which grows up to thirty feet in height ; the bark is greenish and smooth ; the flowers are yellowish and pointed, producing round red balls, like buttons, whence it takes its name.

Bastard cedar. The Bastard Cedar is thicker than the last, and grows to the height of forty feet. The wood is white and ductile, fit to make staves for casks ; it bears a dark-brown rough cone, divided into various cells, filled with brown roundish seed ; of these cattle are very fond, on which account, in time of scarcity, this seed is very valuable.

Lageto. The Lageto is not a very large tree ; the wood of it is white, covered with a grey smooth outer bark, the inner being solid and white, and made up of twelve layers or coats, which cut off at some length, opened, and cleaned, presents you with a web, resembling gauze, lace, or thin muslin ; and it has served so well the purpose, instead of mourning linnen, that the difference has been scarcely perceptible. Sir *Thomas Lynch*, when governor of *Jamaica*, is said to have presented a fine cravat of the lageto to King *Charles II.* It will also bear washing.

Lignum Rhodum. The trunk of the *Lignum Rhodium* is as big as ones leg ; it is very hard, and generally twenty feet high ; its bark is sometimes grey, sometimes dark brown, beset with many short prickles, and its branches inflected to the ground. The wood is white, solid, and of a very pleasant smell, having a pretty large pith ; it bears a small white flower, to which succeeds a round fruit, of the size of black pepper, having within a dry brown skin, which opens in two a round black seed that smells like bay. If this wood be set on fire, the smoke perfumes the air for a vast way along the plains or savannas, with a most fragrant smell. It is not impossible but that the delightful odour perceived by *Columbus* near the Southern shore of *Cuba*, when he first discovered that island, mention of which is made by many historians, arose from the burning of this aromatic somewhere on the coast.

C H A P. IV. *Quadrupeds, Serpents, Insects, &c.*

Four-footed beasts. Cows, horses, asses, goats, sheep, and swine, are numerous on all the islands, and each reckoned good in its kind. In many places they are found wild in the woods, and the chase of them yields profit and pleasure. Here are also cats, dogs, apes, rabbits, and musk and other rats.

Acouti. The Acouti is a small animal, participating of the nature of the hare and of the pig. It has the swiftness, shape, and teeth of the hare, a skin lik a young pig, the head of a rat, and short round ears, with six nails on the toes of its hinder legs, on which it has no hair, and but little on its fore legs, which are the longest. It feeds on young shoots, is seldom fat, and hides for the most part in hollow or old trees, from whence it may be smoaked out and killed ; but it is oftener run down by dogs bred to the sport. *Labat* says the flesh is white, delicate, and excellent eating. The female brings forth two or three times a year, but never more than two at a time.

Tatou, or Armadillo. The Tatou, or Armadillo, according to *Tertre*, can survive nowhere but on *Grenada* : *Labat* contradicts this assertion, and is supported by every body acquainted with the natural history of the islands, It is no larger than a pig of thirty days old, with a small

a small narrow head, strongly armed with teeth; the tail is long, without hair, and divided by circular scales; the legs are small and thick, with strong claws on each foot. The body, from shoulder to rump, is covered with substantial scales, of a dirty-grey colour, with some white specks, and no thicker than a sixpenny piece. It rolls itself up like a hedgehog on being touched. This animal can neither run fast nor climb trees, and feeds on leaves, fruit, &c. so that it may be well supposed to be tender, fat, relishing meat, served up with spice. Tatou is the savage name for it, and Armadilla that bestowed by the *Spaniards*, on account of its scales, which are exactly like plates of armour.

The Manitou of *Grenada* is found also in others of the *Antilles*; it is something like a cat in size, has a fox's head, with the teeth and mustachios of a cat. The tail is half naked, and thrice the length of its body; by this it suspends itself to the branch of a tree, whence it swings over to the next. At the bottom of the belly of the male, as well as the female, there is a large, natural bag, into which the young retreat for shelter, and they carry them alternately. They sink so horribly that the dogs will scarcely approach them; they are very mischievous and almost as daring as a wolf. They prey upon poultry, and where that is wanting feed on fruit, sugar-canes, and manioc.

Here is an amphibious animal called a galliwasp, about twelve inches long, and six in the largest circumference. The bite of it is reckoned poisonous, however it flies the approach of a man, but seems fond of eating the victuals which he has handled. Its common food is the smallest land-crab. The back and belly of the galliwasp are hard and compressed; the feet are not above an inch and half long with five toes on each foot; like the lizard, it inhabits the marshes.

There is a variety of serpents in all these islands, the bite of some of which is venomous; but they generally avoid a man, and are very harmless unless provoked; some have been found fifteen feet long. The inhabitants are careful in preserving from injury a large, brown spider, common in every house, because it hunts down, and feeds on the cock-roach, or large bug, which is very troublesome. This spider is very innocent, more than an inch and half in diameter, and of a brown colour; it will swallow an insect, according to *Sloane*, above an inch long. There is a small black spider, whose bite is venomous.

Of all the animals in nature those that emit light are perhaps the most surprizing, whether we consider the heat with which all luminous emissions are generally attended, or the singularity of construction requisite in animal organs to yield these emissions in such a deliberate manner; if we may be allowed the expression, as not to prove detrimental to themselves. With this treasure of nature the island of *St Domingo* is plentifully supplied, by means of a beetle half as big as a sparrow. This insect, besides two eyes in its head, has one under each wing, by the light of which one may travel, and even read. The *Indians* used to hunt and fish in the darkest nights by tying them to their arms and legs; but they give this light only during the great heats. It is also affirmed, that they are an excellent preservative against musketoes, and other troublesome flies, which it is impossible to avoid in the day time without exposing oneself to the sun. The way to catch them is by whirling a firebrand about in the air; for they immediately fly to it, and when once knocked down, never attempt to rise again; but it is very difficult to keep them alive above eight days. The substance yielding this light is a humour, which has the same effect when rubbed on the face or hands.

There is another kind of beetle here, called the Rhinoceros beetle on account of its having a very long snout. As soon as a palm-tree is cut, these insects resort to it, and deposit a great quantity of eggs, which soon turn to horned maggots, that are looked upon as delicious eating by most people, but some can never be brought to touch them.

The island has likewise such insects and reptiles as are poisonous in other countries, but are here quite harmless in that respect, except wasps, millipedes, a black pismire, a kind of spider, the largest and most monstrous upon earth; and a scorpion, reported to be found in the peninsula of *Samana*. But, after all, their stings are neither dangerous nor very troublesome, that of the scorpion excepted, the reports concerning which are however not to be entirely credited. There are snakes here large enough to swallow a whole hen.

Pismires pernicious. Besides the Pismire already mentioned, there are two other species, one of which, called by the *Indians Nigua*, burrows in the flesh, especially the legs, where it occasions a great heat, and, unless speedily extracted, multiplies to such a degree, that the adjacent parts rot away and fall off with most violent pains. The other species of pismire is still more pernicious; for their foam, or spittle, is so strong a dissolvent, that it makes an impression even upon iron. They are called Wood-lice, because they feed upon soft wood; and as soon as they have gained the top of a house, the owner must think of providing himself with another roof. They also make great havock among linnen and books, and there is no chest close enough to keep them out. It has been discovered that arsenic infallibly destroys them; so that immediately to get rid of them, nothing more is requisite than to sprinkle a little of it in the roads which this insect makes for itself, being a pipe of earth, or hollow way.

Cock-roch. The Cock-roch is much more mischievous and intolerable; it makes its progress in the night, and besmears every thing over which it passes, leaving behind it a very nauseous smell. These insects spoil meat, linnen and books, and will get into beds, and bite there; nothing escapes them. They are called *Ravenet* by most *French* authors.

Rats and mice Rats and mice, with the common *Europea* fly, swarm now over all the islands, tho' they were unknown here before the *Spaniards* arrived.

Cotton tree Worms Old cotton and bully trees breed the Cotton-tree Worm, which is round, white, and smooth, consisting of several sections, about two inches and a half long, and as thick as ones thumb. It is extremely fat, and much coveted by the Negroes and *Indians*, who esteem it a fine flavoured bit, preferring it to marrow, and boiling it in their soups, pottages, and oleos; they also eat them toasted on bread, without any other cookery.

Great yellow Wood spider. The great yellow Wood Spider is clothed in various colours, among which yellow is the most predominant. It is common in the woods, and spins large spiral webs of yellowish silk, of a glutinous quality, and strong enough to entangle wild pigeons; nay, it gives a man some trouble to break thro' them.

Tortoise-fly. The Tortoise-fly, so called from its being shaped in the body like a tortoise, is little more than one third of an inch long; it has six legs, is of a shining yellow colour, with a green eye, and some red rusty specks here and there. It is common among the trees by the sides of rivers, and as it plays about its colours vary, which make it pleasant to behold.

Musk fly. The Musk-fly is an inch and a half long; it has six legs, with a sort of snout, and prickles in the middle of the thorax; it is of a bright green colour, and sends forth a smell not unpleasing.

Golden Saw-horn. The large Golden Saw-horn is about two inches long, and an inch broad, with reddish hemispherical eyes; the thorax is green, smooth, and polished with two large copper-coloured spots. The natives of *Guinea* make ear-rings of the sheaths of the wings, which are furrowed lengthwise with little cavities between, and are of a fine changeable green.

Winged ants. Here are large black-winged ants, which build their nests in trees, up the sides of which they form for themselves a covered way. These nests are as large as a bushel, and divided into different apartments: They make a nice skeleton of an human body, and when they have finished the flesh, eat into the bones for the marrow, destroying all other insects in their way. The Negroes are before hand with them, for they eat them fricaseed.

Green Humble-bee. The large green Humble-bee has no sting; it sucks from flowers, makes a louder noise than the common honey-bee of *Europe*, builds its nest in hollows of trees, or crannies of rocks, and produces black wax.

CHAP. V. Birds.

General remarks. Sir *Hans Sleane* remarks that it is a false notion, that the hot climates produce birds more beautifully plumed, but less melodious, than ours; and says there are many sorts of birds in this quarter of the world, whose notes are extremely musical.

Maccaw. Among them may be reckoned two or three different sorts of nightingales, thrushes, and black-birds, with variety of parrots, and the maccaw, so much esteemed for docility and power of mimicry. This bird is generally about three feet long, with a strong,

strong, black curved bill ; the top of the head is green, the under part of the chaps black, and near the eyes on each side appears a reddish lump of flesh, decorated with a few black feathers. The upper part of the neck, back, wings, and tail, is blue ; the under part commonly orange ; the legs are short, covered with black spots, and armed with crooked talons. It imitates an human voice to admiration, and feeds on raw flesh chiefly, but would digest other food.

Sloane represents the Yellow Woodpecker as a great curiosity. From the end of the ^{Yellow} tail to that of the bill the distance is nine or ten inches, and its height is much the ^{Woodpecker.} same ; the bill is about an inch long, and black, together with the head, throat, part of the back and tail, and the legs and claws, of which latter it has three standing forward, and one backward ; the wings are black and white, and all the rest of the bird of a bright orange-colour. It feeds on insects, and hops about like a magpye.

The Curaffo, which is found in all the *Antilles*, was first brought from the ^{Curaffo.} *Dutch* island of that name. It resembles very much a turkey ; the feathers are as black as jet, but on the thighs very few ; it has a crooked bill, an inch and a half long, yellow towards the base ; the head and part of the neck are crowned with a spiral tuft of black feathers, which have a pretty effect.

The Mock-bird is a sort of nightingale, which cannot be reared in a cage. Its ^{Mock-bird.} most common notes resemble those of a thrush ; but it mimics not badly the melody of many other birds. It is about seven inches long, and eleven from wing to wing when extended. The head, neck, and back are grey ; the tail and wings of a dark brown, spotted with white ; the breast, belly, and under part of the chaps are white ; the legs and feet black, and armed with long crooked claws. It builds in ebonies, feeds on berries and seed, is good eating, and perches on the highest branches of trees

The Savanna bird is small, runs in the grass like a sky-lark, and soon alights again ^{Savanna-bird} when sprung, never flying either far or high. The top of the head, and upper part of the neck and back are a mixture of brown, white, and dirty yellow ; the wings and tail are brown, the neck and breast yellowish, and belly white ; the legs are about an inch long, covered with white scales, and armed with long crooked claws ; the tips of the wings, and circles round the eyes, are yellow.

The Green Humming-bird is very beautiful, frequents solitary places, and is so indolent that it is easily taken, scarcely any thing provoking it to move. It seldom ^{Green Hum-} exceeds in bigness four inches ; its bill is broad, flat, and not near an inch long ; the ^{ming-bird.} chaps are of two different red colours ; the head, back, and part of the wing of a fine green, and under the chaps is a beautiful scarlet spot ; the belly straw-coloured, and the breast of a bright green ; the tail is variegated with green tipped with white, and an inch and a quarter long, and the feathers are all downy ; it feeds on small vermin.

There are three or four other species of the Humming-bird, one of which, called ^{Least Hum-} *Melivora avis minima*, or ^{ming-bird.} *least Humming-bird*, we shall describe, as being the most remarkable. This bird measured any way is scarcely more than an inch long ; the bill is in length not quite three quarters of an inch ; the tail is very short, the tongue white, and proportionable to the bill ; the head, back, and neck are of a changeable brown ; the belly, bottom of the neck, and the breast are of a silver grey, spotted in some places with brown ; the legs are small and black, with three toes before, and one behind, armed with sharp talons. They are found in greater numbers and variety after rains, and hover over the sweetest flowers, on the farina and stamina of which they feed, resting on expanded wings while they extract their food with their long bills. They have no pleasant note, but chirp like a sparrow, and make a noise with their wings, when flying, like the turning of a wheel. Their eggs are white, and no bigger than a common pea. As this bird is most elegantly coloured, and transparent no fight can be more beautiful than to see it in sun-shine on the wing.

The Black and White Bird is not more than four inches long. There are two o- ^{Black and} penings for nostrils in the bill, which is half an inch long, black above, and white below. ^{white bird.} The head, back, tail, and wings, are either of a dark brown or black, streaked with white. The neck, breast, and belly, are white, spotted with black ; the legs are covered with dark green scales, which are about an inch and half long.

The Worm-Eater is something larger measuring from tip to tip, when its wings ^{Worm-eater.} are extended, near ten inches ; the upper part is of a light brown colour, the under is snuff-coloured, not unlike the breast of the *European* sky-lark.

Bonano bird. The Bonano Bird, so called from its being commonly found on that tree, is a sort of sparrow. It is all over blue, in some places inclining to a green, and the ends of the feathers yellow. The breast and belly are of a much more lively blue than the top of the head, back, and tail.

Rain-bird. The Rain Bird, so called from its chattering in the hedges, being always a fore-runner of rain, is also called the *Old Man*, from the grey colour of its downy feathers. From the end of its bill, to the tip of its tail, it is about a foot and half long; of which space a roundish, crooked, pointed bill, black above, and white beneath, takes up one inch, and the tail, which is black, fringed with white, about nine inches. The belly and bottom of the tail are of a sorrel colour, and the legs, about two inches long, are fenced with dark blue scales, it feeds on worms.

Crab-catcher. The Crab-catcher, so called from his favourite food, which, its horny bill, armed with a triangular tongue, seems especially adapted to bruise, is about a foot long. Its head is crowned with a tuft of dark blue feathers, and there is a white ring round its neck, the under part of which, as well as of the wings, and the belly, are white; the breast is bluish, and the tail and wings, are feathered with black and white. It perches among the trees in the marshes, chatters loud, and is seldom or never eaten.

Coot. The Coot feeds on small fish and beetles, and is very frequent about all the rivers, being properly a water fowl. It exceeds a foot in length, and from the upper part of the head, there hangs down a fleshy membrane of a bright scarlet colour, which covers the bill. The body of the bird is for the most part brown, with here and there some streaks of white. The thighs, legs, and feet, are six inches long; the thighs are scarlet, the legs covered with yellowish scales, and it is web-footed.

American scarlet-Pelican. The *American* scarlet Pelican, or Spoon-bill, is in length about two feet and half, and from tip to tip of his expanded wings, it measures four feet; the bill is eight inches long, shaped at the end like a round spoon. This bird frequents the salt ponds, is good food, and very beautiful to behold, being covered with a mixture of scarlet and white feathers, the two first feathers in the wings excepted, which are of a dark brown colour; it is web-footed.

White Gualding. The largest white Gualding, from bill to tail, all inclusive, is three feet and a half long; it is covered with beautiful white feathers, feeds on fish and small fry, and frequents the marshes.

The Pelican is common in all *West India* seas about the islands; in stormy weather it takes refuge in the bays, and shelters upon a tree. It is a pretty large bird that flies over the surface, fousing down when it perceives its prey under it, and it is reckoned bad food. The sight of a pelican at sea is a sure sign of land being near.

Parrots. The parrots of these islands soon learn to speak very distinctly. They differ in their plumage, the head, neck, and belly, of such as are natives of *Guadaloupe* are of a slate colour, with some green and black feathers; the back and wings are green, intermixed with yellow and red. Those of *St Domingo* are all green, but the tail and throat, which are red. Those of *Martinico* have less red, and more slate colour about them than the rest, they are less than the natives of *Guadaloupe*. The wings and tail of the *Guinea* parrot are for the most part red, and the rest of the body of an ash-colour. The parrots which are brought from the *Rivers Amazons*, are quite green, except the top of the head, which is yellow. This bird is long lived, though subject to an epilepsy. Its food is ripe fruit, and grain, the scent and tincture of which are contracted by the flesh, so that they are often a most palatable food, being pretty fat, especially when the guaves are ripe. They lay two eggs at a time, in the hollow of a tree, upon two or three of their own feathers, and the male and female sit by turns.

Parroquet. The Parroquet, which partakes mostly of the parrot kind, is seldom so large as a thrush, they are all green, with a tuft of red feathers on the head, a white bill; they are easily taught to speak, and to run tame about a house, knowing and caressing their benefactor as well as the parrot. They are very small and well tasted.

American Ortolan. The *American* Ortolan is a sort of Nightingale, extremely fat, and well tasted, not quite so large as a quail, having ash-coloured plumage. They fly in couples, abound in the woods, and are not easily frightened.

Tropic bird. The Tropic bird, so called from his being seen only between the tropics, is not quite so large as a pidgeon, it has a small handsome head, with a large red bill, strong and pointed, about three inches long. They are web-footed, and seem supplied with wings much larger and stronger than they have occasion for. They are all white, their

their tail is about six inches long, consisting of about fifteen feathers, from among which proceed a couple to the length of seventeen or eighteen inches. On which account the *French* sailors call them *Pailles-en-Cul*. This bird flies well and high, feeds upon fish, and rears its young in desert places, near the water, on the surface of which it is often seen to rest as if asleep.

If *Labat* may be credited, the Frigate or *Man of war* bird flies so high, and so swiftly, that the eagle is but a tortoise compared with it, and on this account it is called the Frigate. This bird is seldom larger than a pullet; its eyes are large, black, bold, and penetrating; the upper part of its bill is crooked and pointed, the under part straight; the legs are short and thick, and the feet armed with strong talons, with which it seizes the flying fish, as they spring up to escape the dolphin. The wings of this bird, when extended, measure from tip to tip eight or nine feet; and it rests on them in the air, being often met three or four hundred leagues from land, which is the more astonishing, as they have no property of a water bird, and would be undoubtedly lost if they touched the surface. They are covered with a strong black feather, and are not bad eating, but taste a little fishy. The fat of the Frigate, mixed with spirits, gives ease in a sciatica and numbness, by rubbing with it the part affected before the fire.

The Frigate,
or man of
war bird.

The Flamingo is a very beautiful bird, with long legs, that make him appear very tall, though his body is no longer than that of a common turkey; his plumage is of the finest red; the neck is slender, long, and arched, and the head small; but it has an arched bill, long, thick, and sufficiently hard to turn up the sand and stones in search of the insects, crabs, small fish, and worms, on which it feeds. It drinks plentifully of salt water, seldom flies alone, but in company with several others, one serving as a scout, who gives the signal in case of the approach of any molestation, and then all take flight. The islanders find it very hard to tame these birds, and though they train them very young, they find it scarcely possible to make them quite familiar.

Flamingo.

The Booby, or Loggerhead, is smaller than a crow; it has much the same shape, and flies in the same manner, sustaining itself well in the air, and sousing down upon such fish as is proper for its food, as soon as it perceives it swimming near the surface. The back and wings of this bird are covered with grey feathers, and the belly is white.

Booby, or
logger-head.

The Great Blackbird, from the bill to the tail, measures fourteen inches, being all over black. They are common in the woods, and on the borders of the savannas, and spoil the fowler's sport, for, on the appearance of a man, they alarm all the birds in the neighbourhood. They are useful however, as by this noise they direct the planters in the track of the runaway Negroes, who are thus discovered.

Great black-
bird.

The Carrion Crow of the islands differs in almost all respects from that of *England*, the feathers being brown, and part of the wings and tail grey. The head and an inch of the neck are without plumage; the skin being flesh-coloured, covered with a thin membrane, that gives it, to strangers, the appearance of a turkey cock; but the leanness, and ill smell of the body soon correct the mistake. It feeds on dead carcases, snakes, and lizards, and flies against the wind, admirably resisting its force. The flesh is said to be good in high stages of the venereal disorder; the skin, half burned, heals wounds; and the feathers, burned to ashes, fret away hair, and prevent its future growth.

Carrion Crow

The Devil-bird is about the size of a young pullet, its feathers are black, its wings wide and strong, its legs short, and feet resembling those of a duck, but armed with strong talons, its bill hooked, about an inch and half long, in which there is great strength. Its eyes are large and brisk, doing it special service in the night, but of little or no use in the day, the brightness of which it cannot sustain, whence it flies against any thing in its way, and falls to the ground. It lives upon fish, which it takes after nightfall, and then returns to its burrough. We have made some mention of this bird and the manner of catching it, in our account of *Guadaloupe*.

Devil-bird.

The Pheasant of the *Antilles* is as large as a capon, but much longer legged; his neck, resembling that of a cock, is very long; he has a head and bill like a crow; his neck and breast are of a fine shining blue; his back is greyish, and his tail short and black. This bird, when tamed, reigns the tyrant of the farmer's yard, beating all the other poultry, and sometimes killing them with his bill. He also bites the dogs till he makes them howl, and is particularly spiteful against the Negroes, whom he will nip till he draws blood from their legs and feet.

Pheasant.

Magpye.

The Magpye of this climate is a much prettier bird than any thing we have of that species in *Europe*. The bill and legs are red, and the neck blue, collared with white; it has a white tuft on its head, streaked with black; its back is of a dun colour to the rump, which is yellow; its tail consists of eight or nine blue and white feathers, and two of which are six or seven inches longer than the rest; the wings are composed of brown feathers, varied with black lines; but green and blue are the predominant colours, and the belly is white. This bird is very shy; it frequents the banks of rivers, is but poor eating, and chatters like the *European* pye; but we are not told whether or no any attempts have been made at teaching them to speak.

Tobacco-button.

There are swarms of a little bird in *Guadaloupe*, called the Tobacco-button (*Bouton de Petun*) which are never seen in *Martinico*. They are something like a blackbird; have a loud, pleasing note, extend their wings and wag their tails as they sing, seeming, as it were, to dance to the melody of their own music. They are very fond of cassado, in search of which they fly about the farm houses, and feed besides on young lizards, which it is pleasant to see them chase.

Black Gualding.

The Black Gualding is found near ponds and watery places; it is about a foot and a half long from the bill to the tail, and not less than three feet from tip to tip of its expanded wings. The bill is blueish, changing to black near the end, where it is sharp, and near two inches and a half long. Round the eye appears a greenish skin, and a tuft of long, thin feathers on the head. The neck is six inches long, covered with a few feathers of a dark-blue, which is mostly the colour of its whole body; the feet are seven inches long, with green scales. Both the Gualdings are very tall birds.

Long-legs.

The long-legs is also a large, high bird, the back of it for the most part brown, and the under part white. It feeds on grass, and is reckoned good food. There are besides many sorts of common *European* birds, such as swallows, doves, pigeons, wild geese, and wild and tame ducks; some of the latter have white bodies, and beautiful red necks. There is also kept in the poultry yards a sort of *Muscovy* Duck, which is not a native of the island, but large and handsomely plumed; they breed and hatch several times in a year; the Geese hatch but once annually. The reader would find room for censure should we enter into a minute description of all these animals; and we fancy he will be better pleased when we assure him that we have not omitted any whose beauty or rarity might be thought to deserve it.

CHAP. VI. Of Fishes.

Introductory remark.

Tertre tells us that no seas whatever abound more with fish than those of *America*; in them, he says, are found most of the sorts known in *Europe*, and other parts of the world; besides an innumerable variety, natives of these climates, and known no where else. And though perhaps they swarm not close upon the coast, you need not go out of sight of land to meet with plenty.

Various kinds of fish.

The most common are the May, Mullet, John-Dory, Maccarel, Thornback, Old Wife, Gurnet, Conger, Pilot, Dolphin, Manatee, Swordfish, Whale, Crocodile, Bonito, &c. with Tortoises, Lobsters, Muscles, Crabs, and many other different kinds of Shell-fish.

Whales.

The Whales of these seas are pigmies compared to those of the North, though here have been some seen upwards of fifty feet long. Their most common time of appearing is from the middle of *March* to the end of *May*, when they may be seen three or four together in a morning forming fine *jets d'eau*, [spouts], by throwing up water from their nostrils to a considerable height, with a noise that may be heard at a mile's distance. If two males meet about a female, a combat generally ensues, in which the strokes of their tails and fins upon the water sound like the firing of a cannon.

An adventure

La Bat tells us he saw several while he was in this part of the world, but none of them were large. He relates, that being in a small bark off *Dominica*, they came up with a young one that gave them great uneasiness; for he seemed to eye the people with a famished aspect, regulating his march by their course, remaining motionless when they civilly backed their sails and lay by to give him way, and proceeding in the same course when they went forward. When he had thus politely escorted them for four hours, he at length abruptly sunk to the bottom, and removed their distracting fears.

The Sword-fish, or Saw-fish, is the sworn enemy of the whale; he follows him every where to attack him, which he does by endeavouring to strike him with his beek, which is a large, strong, flat spear, issuing from his nostrils, to the length of eight or nine feet, and flanked with sharp teeth. The whale has no defence but his tail, one blow of which, were it to take place, would crush his enemy to pieces; but the Saw-fish being more nimble, he easily avoids the stroke, and bounding upwards falls upon the Whale, seldom without a certainty of giving him a deep wound, so that the monarch of the ocean has but little chance to escape, if closely engaged with this little adversary. Sword, or Saw-fish.

The Shark, which is a large fish of prey, being sometimes forty feet long, bites off large pieces from the Whale, and is fond of its fat. This is perhaps the most voracious fish that swims; and as it goes at a vast rate, nothing could escape it, were it not under a necessity of turning on its back to feed, which requires some time; for the opening of its mouth is a good way under its throat. Shark.

Dolphins, and Bonitoes, or Giltheads, abound in all the seas between the tropics, constantly pursuing the flying fish. The Dolphin is a large fish, fond of following a ship's courie, and exhibiting a variety of beautiful colours, like the Chameleon, all which it loses when dead, retaining only a light bluish hue: The Bonita is something like a Maccarel, often measures a foot and half in length, and is very good eating. Either of these fish may be struck with phisgigs, a sort of strong iron harpoon, flung from the yard arm; or by hooks and lines baited with flying fish, or something resembling it. Dolphins and Bonitoes.

The Paricotas, called by *Tertre* and *Labat*, *Becune*, and by *Shane*, the Barracuda, is a sort of sea-pike. It is a nimble, carnivorous animal, bold beyond imagination, not to be driven away by any noise. It prefers horses, dogs, and Negroes, to white men, but devours the last greedily if there be no alternative. It has the lower jaw longer than the upper, each furnished with two rows of teeth; the tongue is oblong and cartilaginous; from the tip of the upper jaw to the gills, which are red, it widens by degrees, then continues of the same breadth and bigness to the anus, whence it decreases to the tail, which is large and forked; and from it to the head there passes a single line through the middle. The belly is white, the back of a dark-brown, with a few black spots, and small thin scales. It has seven soft fins, two on the back, and five on the different parts of the breast and belly. If the teeth be white and clear, it may be eaten; but if they appear foul, and the liver prove bitter, it is poisonous, either from being out of season, or having swallowed the machineel apple, which may chance to drop into the sea, and communicates its pestiferous qualities to whatever fish feed upon it. The fish of this kind which *Sir Hans Shane* describes was but fifteen inches long, and three across in the broadest part. *Tertre* says, they are sometimes eight feet long, and *Labat* goes farther, and assures us, that at *Guadaleupe*, in the river *Gallions*, they have been seen of eighteen or twenty feet long, and as thick as a horse. Paricotas.

The Zigene, or Pantoulier, is a most dangerous voracious monster, ten or twelve feet long, and thick in proportion. Its head is like a hammer, at the extremities of which are large round eyes, in which there is something very frightful. He has a wide mouth, well armed with teeth, and much more conveniently disposed for biting than the Shark, which the body mostly resembles. *Labat* tells a story of a Savage, who ventured into the water to attack one of these animals, which had a little before bit off a child's thigh, as he was bathing in the road of *Basse-Terre*. He carried a bayonet in each hand, which he managed so well, that in a little time his enemy expired, weltering in its blood, and when brought ashore measured upwards of twelve feet. Zigene.

The Crocodile seldom attacks a man, but he will be daring enough to seize on any animal that may be with him, or even upon the meat he may chance to bear. They are not to be feared in deep water, having no power unless they touch ground with their feet; for which reason they commonly take post near a river side, or in shallow water. If they are very hungry they will venture to make at a man, who may easily escape, and tire them by winding about, for having no joint in the back, they are as long in turning, as a ship in tacking. You may discover them to the windward by a strong musk, which perfumes the air, and penetrates both their flesh, which is very bad eating, and their eggs, of which some folks, the *Spaniards* particularly, make amulets. They are rarely found in places much frequented, and infest only marshes, and sides of rivers. They are commonly twelve or fourteen feet long, Crocodile.

long, with a stiff body, brown skin, armed with scales, and a long head, not unlike a lizard. They watch for their prey by a river side, lying stretched under a tree, or some other way shaded; and when a fair opportunity presents, they rush upon the victim, and being amphibious, force it with them under water, where they devour it when a little corrupted.

Manatee.]

The Sea-Cow, Manatee, or Camentin, has a head very like a bullock, is provided with two fins under its shoulders, with which it either holds its young, which it brings into the world, and suckles like other oviparous animals, and is said to shed tears when dragged ashore. These circumstances, or qualities, have occasioned these three different names to be given it by the *English*, *Spaniards* and *French*. Some have been caught which measured twenty feet in length, and ten in breadth at the shoulders, from whence they are taper to the tail. The flesh of this animal, when salted, eats like veal, but is rather more delicate, and keeps better. Its fat is also very good, and not apt to taint. The skin makes very good leather for shoes and other purposes, and the head contains stones of sovereign virtue against the stone and colic. The old Manatees are seldom caught but ashore, when they come to feed by the banks of the sea and rivers; but the young are taken in nets. These animals are said to be very easy to tame; and they tell a story of a manatee, who, at the time the *Spaniards* arrived here, was fed in a lake by one of the *Indian* lords, and used at a call to come ashore, enter their houses, play with the children, and carry on its back whatever they placed, even sometimes ten men at a time, to the other side of the lake. They add, that having been wounded with a musket shot by a *Spaniard*, who one day treacherously called him, he took care for the future to have a thorough view of his man, before he ventured near enough to receive any mischief, having the sagacity to distinguish the *Indians* from the *Spaniards* by means of the beard peculiar to the latter.

Instances of
its sagacity.

Galley.

The Galley is another very curious fish, or rather marine insect, which expands its skin in form of a sail, and is thus wafted from place to place by the wind. But though nothing can be more agreeable to the eye than this pellicle, being adorned with all the most beautiful colours, woe to the hand that attempts to touch it; for it is covered with, or perhaps consists of a kind of poisonous slime, which causes the most violent pains.

Ivane.

Here is an amphibious animal, which seems to deserve a particular description. It is named the Ivane, or Iguana, as the ancient inhabitants called it. This animal seems to be of an intermediate species between the Crocodile and the Lizard; for it is as often to be seen in the water, as on the tops of trees; but it has one advantage over both these animals, namely, that its flesh is very delicious food, though very bad, it is said, for persons infected with the venereal disease. The skin of this creature resembles that of a serpent; its figure the most horrible that can well be imagined; but nothing can be more deceitful than its aspect, for it is the mildest and most harmless animal in the world, and so wonderfully patient, that it may be kept tied to a string three weeks together, and without any thing to eat and drink, or making the least effort to regain its liberty. The largest of them are about two palms and a half long, and somewhat more than a palm in breadth. It has the paws of a Lizard, a larger head, a tail twice as long as its body, very sharp teeth, and a long and capacious pouch, which hangs down upon its breast. The fore paws are longer than the hinder, and terminate in fingers armed with claws resembling the talons of birds of prey; but these claws are incapable of taking a strong hold. And to conclude, there runs from one end of its back to the other an upright indented fin like a saw. These animals have been sometimes found very small, which denotes them probably of a particular species. The Ivane is absolutely dumb; it commonly feeds upon cassava, grass, and things of that nature. Those that are full grown cannot swim, their paws losing the agility requisite for that purpose. It lays its eggs in the sand, by the sides of rivers or small streams, and some pretend that it lays from forty to fifty at a time. These eggs are said not to harden when boiled in butter or oil, but only in water. They are about the bigness of a walnut, and are covered with nothing but a very fine pellicle. As it is easy to get near this animal, it is not difficult to take him. The way is to tickle him on the back with a running knot, for he takes this for the motion of some insect, and remains some time quite motionless to make sure of his prey, instead of which he gives the person who thus deceives him an opportunity of seizing him. Most sorts of Lizards are taken in this manner.

The

The Captain takes its name from five rows of gilt scales running round its neck, something like a gorget, and is not unlike the Carp. The flesh is firm, fat, and white, as is that of the great scale-fish, the back of which is round, and the belly large. It is covered with large scales of the bigness of an half crown, which diminish in proportion as they approach the belly and tail. Captain.
Great scale-fish.

The Surgeon-fish is about a foot and half long, in form, scales, and colour of the flesh, resembling a Tench, and perhaps it takes its name from two fins near the ears, resembling lancets. Surgeon.

The Orphy, or Sea-Needle, which is sometimes, I think, named the horn-back, is very long, and scarcely thicker than an Eel; the colour of the skin is blue, and the flesh is white and good, but rather of the dryest; from its nose projects a sharp bill, at least one fifth of its length. Orphy, or
Sea-Needle.

The Moon and Plate-fish are nearly alike, being quite round, except at the head and tail, which are but small projections. Their skin is of the colour of silver, and their flesh fat and firm, but they are seldom more than eight inches diameter, and one thick. Moon and
Plate-fish.

The Macouba, or Bull-head, is reckoned a great delicacy, its flesh being rich, fat, and white. The skin is of a fine black; the body mostly round, and the head large and fleshy. Macouba, or
Bull-head.

The common Red-fish weighs about eight pound; it is delicate food, the flesh being very firm and white; nor are the eggs less esteemed, whether in sauce or otherwise. Their skin and scales are of a fine fire colour, and thence they take their name. Red-fish.

The Old Wife, in taste and form, resembles a Cod; its belly is very large, and therefore it is called the Old Wife; they sometimes weigh two hundred pounds and upwards, and are excellent food, properly dressed; but care must be taken to see that they have not swallowed any manchinel apples, which they often do. Old-Wife.

The Parrot-fish, so called from the shape of its mouth, and the beauty of its colours in the water, is broad just at the head, and decreases gradually to the tail. It is covered with large round scales of a red circumference, feeds on sub-marine plants, and has a very small tongue. Parrot fish.

The Pampus is a small fish, covered with white scales, and tapering from the head to the tail. The tongue is fleshy, round, and speckled, and the eggs large and black, with a white circle round them; two long fins behind, and two before; another fin running from the middle of the back to the tail, and a fourth of the same fort and dimensions under its belly. The tail is forked, and more than one third of its length. Pampus.

The Toad-fish is roundish, with blue eyes striking out of its head, and an iris of scarlet and white. The back is speckled with brown and white, and the belly, which is void of scales, smooth, and white, is capable of great expansion. By means of two wind-bladders in the stomach it puffs itself up like a toad. Sir *Hans Sloane* mentions another toad fish, called by the natives of *Brazil, Itaoca*, the skin, liver, and bones of which are poison; but it may be eaten dead. The slime of it cures such as are hurt by the prickles of the *Porcus Marinus*. This seems to be the same with the Trunk-fish, or Coffer. Toad-fish.

The Gar-fish is an enemy to the Herring. It is about two feet long, and round like an Eel; its head is flat, its eyes large and spherical, and its jaws furnished with small teeth; the tongue is little, hard, and cartilaginous; the tail is forked. It has two fins in the middle of the belly, one under the anus, and another broad one, running from the back to the tail; the back is green, and the belly white. This fish often leaps out of the water a foot or two above it, and strikes against any thing it meets with in its way. Sir *Hans* mentions one that bounded against a waterman rowing in his boat, with such force, as to stick his snout into the waterman's side, whose life was thereby much endangered. It is well tasted when fried with butter, and has no bones. Gar-fish.

The Pilot-fish is almost square with its fins. The mouth is little, armed with small sharp teeth, the tongue round, and full of small bones. It takes its name from its keeping a-head of a ship for four or five hundred leagues at sea, till it brings it safe into port. It is pleasant to see it mock the shark, which never can seize it; for it plays round it with great unconcern. The eye is black, in a white circle; the tail almost square, and from Pilot-fish.

it to the head runs a very crooked line. The body is covered with ash-coloured scales, crossed by a few black lines. It is of the size of a Maccarel, and sold at market.

Drummer. The Drummer is something larger than the former; it is thickest just at the shoulders, the back arching, and tapers to the tail. Under the head is a triangular, prickly fin, and another along the back, which is covered with light brown scales; the belly is silver-coloured, the tongue large and white, and the eyes are round; it has two small holes for nostrils, the gills are very red, and it may be eaten.

Carangue. The fish called, by *Labat*, Carangue, is from three to four feet long, of the flat kind, with a wide throat well armed with teeth, and large red eyes. Just under his throat he has two strong fins, and his tail is broad and forked; he is an excellent swimmer, leaps very high, and often makes his escape from the fishermen when they open their nets. It is of such astonishing force, that it often breaks the strongest lines, and two or three fishermen are scarcely able to drag it ashore, when secured.

Whip ray. The Whip-ray takes its name from the slender tail, which is black, smooth, and thrice the length of the body; this serves it as an offensive and defensive weapon, and the Creoles use it for a whip. It is armed on each side with sharp teeth like a saw, which easily enter the flesh, but tear it in extraction. These lie in a hollow, or cavity, made to receive them, that the fish may swim with less impediment, and are only exerted occasionally. The skin of this fish is of a blue colour, with white spots, and so is the flesh, which however is eatable.

Sting-ray. The Sting-ray, described to us, was but four inches in diameter where broadest. Its eyes were grey and prominent about half an inch from the fore-part. The tail was three inches long, with a poisonous sting at the end of it, about half an inch in length, with which the Savages often head their arrows. The back is high, the skin brown, spotted with yellow, and the belly white.

Pargie. The Pargie is about seven inches long; four in its broadest diameter. A little below the head rises a fin, with prickly bones in it, which runs down the back; it has two long fins by the gills, two by the belly, and one beyond the anus, defended with a prickly bone. It has round eyes; its jaws are set with sharp bones; the tongue is white and triangular; the skin is scaly, of a light-brown towards the back, and the belly white, crossed from head to tail with yellow lines. It is eaten by the Creoles, after cutting off its long forked tail.

Rock-fish. The Rock-fish is a little larger than the last, with two holes under the eyes like nostrils. The eyes are large and black, with a white circle round them, environed with another of yellow. The mouth is prominent, the under jaw longer than the upper, and both armed with rows of small sharp teeth. The tongue and palate are soft, of an orange-colour, and the tongue triangular. A large fin, an inch broad, runs from the head down the back, the first half of which has prominent prickly bones. This fish has also a tail, lives upon sea-crabs, and is counted good food.

Orbis, or Armed-fish. The Armed-fish, called *Orbis*, is round as a football, stuck full of prickles like an hedge-hog. It has no head, but eyes in its belly, and a small tail. Instead of teeth its mouth is furnished with two hard white stones, with which it breaks the shells of crabs and other fish on which it feeds. It is taken with hook and line, and plays a long time about before it swallows the bait. When drawn up there is no touching it, so very strong and sharp are its prickles, but it soon expires; a very small part of it is eatable.

Remora, or Sucking-fish. The Remora, or Sucking-fish, is found from a foot to a foot and a half long in all the *Indian* seas; it attaches itself to the Shark, and other large fishes, from which it sucks nutriment. They follow the course of a ship a great way, being fond of keeping it company, perhaps on account of the offals that are flung overboard. The story of its being able to stop a ship under sail has long since lost its credit. The back is of a dirty-violet colour; the sides are green, fading gradually to the belly, which is whitish; it is so clammy that it slips through the fingers like an Eel; the head nearly resembles that of a sea-dog; it has round yellow eyes; medicinally considered it prevents abortion.

Tortoise, or Turtle. The Tortoise, or Turtle, takes its former name from the *Latin* word *terta*, a shell, this animal being covered with an hollow shell of a peculiar kind, shaped like a shield, diversified with various colours, and remarkable for size and solidity. It is a sluggish, deaf creature, without any brains except a small lump resembling a bean. Its head and tail resemble those of a serpent, and it has the feet of a lizard. We have four
forts;

forts; the sea, the fresh-water, the mud, and the land Tortoise; though most naturalists allow them to be amphibious.

The Sea Tortoise often falls asleep when ashore, and dies if he continues there too long. Sea Tortoise. His food in the water is small shell-fish; and herbs on land. They bite hard, and live some time after their heads are off. *Pliny* mentions a Tortoise so large in the *Indies*, as to cover a small house with its shell, and the inhabitants of the *Red Sea* use them as barks to sail in. There is but little difference in the make and form of the several kinds of Tortoise. The flesh of the Sea Tortoise is like veal, and is much the most delicate and nourishing food. Its juice is reckoned a restorative and good for phtisical people; but, being hard of digestion, it must be corrected in the cooking. The blood dried has been administered with success in the falling sickness; and *Cardan* says, that the flesh, constantly eaten with bread, relieves in the leprosy.

The Land Tortoise is found on the mountains, in forests, woods, fields, and gar- Land Tor- dens, confining itself to no particular food. It may be kept alive, about a house, up- toise. on bran and flour. In winter it hides in holes like serpents and lizards, and survives without any food. They are long lived, and often snatched up, by the Eagle, to a great height, thence dropp'd upon a rock, where the shell is broken, and the bird descends to prey upon the contents. By an accident of this kind *Æschylus*, the *Greek* tragedian, was killed, in very advanced years, an Eagle mistaking his round bald head for a stone, as he sat studying in the fields.

Here are many sorts of Lobsters, which differ from those of *Europe* in their want Lobsters. of claws; they are however protected by prickles. Among these the largest, though not the most delicious, is the red Lobster, which sometimes weighs nineteen or twenty pound. The green Lobster weighs not above two or three pound; its largest horns are at least eighteen inches long, and between them spring up two lesser, divided near the extremities. The eyes are guarded by sharp-pointed crooked horns; the ends of the feet hairy, and the shell upon the back thickly studded with large prickles.

Among the various species of Crabs in this part of the world, the Lazy Crab is the Different kinds of crabs largest, and most beautiful. The back is of a fine scarlet, full of knobs, and guarded with sharp prickles. It has eight strong legs, four on a side, covered with short brown hair. The two greatest claws are often ten inches long, and differ from those of other crabs in being so properly indented at the extremities, where they hold their prey, that they fall into each other like a pair of nippers.

The Horseman-Crab is small and white; it takes its name from its being quick in Horseman- retreating from danger; it is found upon the shore when the tide is going out, with crab. which perhaps it has been wafted from the sea.

The Club-men, and Sheep-biters, are much alike; I know not whence they take Club men. their names. They are not larger in the body than an *English* shilling, and their Sheep-biters. claws are long beyond proportion. They frequent the edges of salt marshes, and burrow in clay and deep sand.

The long-legged, small white Crab has not so large a body as a sixpence; its legs Long-legged are long, at least half a foot, and very slender, resembling knotted thread. white crab.

The Scuttle-Crab is small, and its back marbled with dark lines. It casts its shell, Scuttle crab. which is very handsome, once a year. Its food is the moss growing on the rocks between high and low water marks.

In the salt ponds, near the sea, is caught the Sir Eager Crab, which is an oblong, Sir Eager- whereas the others are roundish. The upper shell is blackish, spotted with pale crab. white; the two claws are long and slender, entirely guarded with sharp teeth, or prickles. Crabs are good eating, and often prescribed in medicine.

In all these islands there are also found various sorts of Land-Crabs, the meat of Land-crabs. which is good to eat, and they scarcely differ from those of the sea in any thing but their inhabiting the hills and inlands, so that to describe them would be needless.

The Soldier-Crab however deserves to be mentioned, as he possesses no shell of his Soldier-crab. own, but is an usurper from his youth, and changes his tenement as he increases in bulk and age. His first appearance is commonly in a perriwinckle; when he out-grows this, he takes up with a wilk; and his last stage is the top-shell, which is finely spotted with red and white, or blue and white; and when his first coat is cast, shews a fine mother of pearl, so that his last stage is a most magnificent habitation. This Crab is found often sticking to the rocks, but oftener in graneries, for it is very fond of corn. It is

armed with two claws like other crabs, and from its tail, which is covered with a thin skin, may be extracted an oil, good to rub into stiff or swollen joints.

Lambis.

The shell of the Sea-Snail, called the *Lambis*, is very heavy, weighing often five or six pound. The outside is rough and uneven, but the inside of a fine-polished red colour. The Savages break this shell into splinters, which they hang by way of ornament round their necks. The snail is finely variegated, and may be forced from his cavern, by such as would chuse to see all his beauty, with an hot iron pin, though he does not long survive; the flesh is very hard, and but indifferent eating.

Casket, or
Helmet snail.

The Casket, or Helmet snail, is much smaller, and more oval than the *Lambis*. There cannot be in nature a more beautiful shell, it being spotted, or rather clouded, with variety of colours. One side of it, which may be reckoned the back, has two blunt little openings, like a canal. There is an indented aperture, running the whole length of the other side, by which the creature draws in its nourishment.

Trumpet-
shell.

The Trumpet Shell is eight or ten inches long, convolved, and tapering like a horn. A hole being made at bottom, it is used as a speaking trumpet, though yielding a sound of no great strength. The outside, when polished, is shaded with various sorts of brown; the inside is like mother of pearl, and the food it affords exceeds that either of the *Lambis* or *Helmet*.

Burgan, or
Murex of the
antients.

The Burgan of *Tertre* and *Labat* is much like the *Murex* of the antients, which yielded the famous *Tyrian* dye, and is known to be the excrement of a shell fish. This *Murex*, for so we shall take the liberty to call it, seldom measures more than three inches and a half over the flat side, which may be called its mouth, and in the narrowest place about two inches. It has three circumvolutions, and is about four inches high. The colour of the outward shell is dark-grey, tinged with yellow; the shell is very thin, and yet tough. The flesh of the animalcule it contains is white, but a bright red may be seen dispersed through all its intestines, and this yields a most beautiful purple dye to either linen, woollen, or cambric, which is the less valuable, as washing discharges it. The secret for preserving it would be a treasure to any one that could find it, for the colour is extremely delicate and strong, while it lasts. In order to obtain a larger quantity of this liquor, a parcel of the shells should be put into a bason, and beaten one against another with a rod, or the naked hand, to irritate and make the animal spend himself, which he never fails to do at the expence of this rich liquor. *Hughes*, in his *History of Barbadoes*, tells us that, as he walked one day on the North side of that island, he saw a shell fish sticking to a rock, and sent a slave to bring it to him, whose hand he perceived on his return to be stained with a beautiful crimson, from having plucked it with too much haste, and there arose from it an offensive smell, it proved to be this *Murex*. He observes, that when the animal is dead, the juice has not that quick penetration, it being some time before it communicates its colour. Upon the whole, this dye can be of little use in manufacture, since we have no method of preserving its lustre. Such of the inhabitants as happen to fall short of victuals, and cannot easily supply themselves, often eat the contents of the Burgan, which easily drops out of the shell when boiled. It is but poor nourishment, and should be first divided from a bitter bag sticking to it.

Concha Ve-
neris.

There are many different kinds of the *Concha Veneris* found also among the *Antilles*, one of the most remarkable of which is round, thin, and white, beautifully fretted with redish spots, wide towards the mouth, and without teeth, but finews. It is an inch and a half long, and about half as broad.

Yellow-speck-
led gowry,
&c.

Of this species is the yellow-speckled *Barbadoes* Gowry, which is not quite an inch long, and about half as broad. It is deep for the bigness, speckled with round yellow spots, and having white teeth: Also the *Jamaica* Buff-gowry, which is a little larger and deeper, of a reddish brown colour, with teeth on each side the belly, or mouth, which is sometimes purple. They are common in all the *Antilles*.

Curl girded
Needles.

To see a parcel of the Curl-girded-Needles moving together is a very pretty sight, for they resemble a grove of moving spears; the fish carrying the shell bolt-upright. It is sharp-pointed, two inches long, and wreathed.

Panches.

Between the high and low water marks are found clusters of wreathed vermicular tubes, some black, some white, some of amber, and other various colours. Their hollow is as large as that of a crow-quill, and their tubes are so sharp that, if trod upon by the naked foot, they leave a circular incision, resembling the impression made upon leather with

with what shoe makers call a punch ; for which reason these clusters are called Punches. They are the recesses of certain slender worms, which are seldom seen.

The Beef-shell is from one to two inches long ; the shell, which is of a blackish grey, is divided into eight joints, laid one over another, by the help of which the fish can expand or contract its habitation at pleasure. The edges of this shell are covered with a strong greenish bearded substance ; the fish, which is of a reddish colour, is firm eating, short, and well tasted.

The Music-shell is about two inches long, and near an inch broad towards the clavicle ; its mouth is large ; the circumvolutions are scarcely visible ; the shell is thick and ponderous, the ground of a flesh-colour, intersected by black lines, which are crossed by other lesser ones, as if intended for notes of music : hence it derives its name.

As the large conch is a very curious shell fish, not to speak of it were an unpardonable omission. There are male and female ; the male is thinner and larger, distinguished also by a Penis two inches in length ; the shell of the female is the thicker and more ponderous. The outside of the conch is of a brownish white, studded at uncertain distances with blunt knobbed protuberances. The inside is well polished, exhibiting a pale red near the extremity, which deepens farther inwards. The head of the fish is guarded by a long horned beak, or tongue, sharp-pointed, and crooked, three quarters of an inch broad, and two inches long. This beak is fortified with a strong middle rib, fastened to a tough cartilaginous neck, as thick as one's thumb ; the upper part of it is protected by several indentings, being as rough as a rasp. This tongue being extended and fixed in the sand, by a strong muscular motion, draws after it the heavy weight of the whole shell.

Aristotle and *Pliny* imagined that with this tongue it pierced the lesser shell-fish for prey ; for the Conch was not unknown to the ancients. Fish may perhaps be partly its food ; but it finds other sustenance with less trouble, for there grows a white moss upon the outside of the shell, which it scrapes off with its tongue ; and it may be met with at sea, after great floods, near deep gullies or rivers, feeding on the fruits, leaves, &c. brought down by the torrents. The whole fish is seen often to come out and feed, particularly when it is licking its own moss. Two inches below the tongue are three blunt protuberances, of a cartilaginous substance and conic form, on whose extremities appear the eyes, surrounded with blueish circles. Between them stands the third, nearly as thick as a swan's quill, and two inches long, the extremity of which ends in a mouth, and this is strongly contracted when the fish is in a state of rest.

The empty shell, more especially the thinner, is used instead of a horn to summon the slaves to work, and the sound may be heard a mile off in a calm morning. This fish is found in the summer months in all the bays of the *Antilles*, in five or six fathoms, and brought up by the divers in calm weather. They are very commonly eaten, and accounted good.

Here are also Pearl and other Oysters, with cockles, and much greater variety of shell-fish than we can possibly describe in our present limits, and many kinds of black coral, in grain, weight, and polish, equal to the red.

C H A P. VII. Of the Original Inhabitants of the ANTILLES.

The *Caribbeans*, or natural inhabitants of the *Antilles*, whom we oftener call Savages, are in their real disposition, grave, mild, and affable ; far from that inhumanity and wildness which the word *Savage* implies ; and, though extremely simple, they have a moderate share of reason ; and are not insensible of the force of a subordination between a son and a father, but they had no notion of other superiority, or of any servitude, till corrupted by *European* example. They were all equal, no man being poorer, richer, or more elevated than his neighbour : their desires aimed only at satisfying their wants ; and superfluity they despised.

If you except the flattening of their heads, which gives an air of wildness to the face, their features are good, their eyes small but black ; their teeth are, for the most part, white and even ; their hair is black, long, and shining, from the oil with which they daily anoint it. They are strong, well made, and so healthy and robust, that men more than an hundred years old are found among them, walking firm and upright,

Painting and
cloathing.

right, and scarcely any wrinkles, some of them, indeed, are lame or crooked, and a few bald-pated, or blear-eyed. Their skin is naturally of a deep swarthy, or rather copper coloured hue, and necessity seems to have taught them to paint their bodies with rocou, tempered with oil, which, in some measure, defends them from the penetrating heat of the sun, and effectually secures them from being infested with gnats and musketoes, which cannot abide the smell. When they are going to a feast or to battle, the females form their mustachoes for them, and mark their faces and bodies with several black strokes; for which purpose they use the juice of the genipa apple, they wear a cord round their middle, to which hangs a piece of cloth five or six inches broad, and that serves to cover part of their nudities, and drops carelessly almost to the ground. By their thigh they stick a knife, but carry it more commonly in their hands, and can use it to avenge an affront, for they are extremely vindictive; and moreover excessive drinkers.

Women de-
scribed.

The women are round-faced, with small black eyes, and long black hair; they are well proportioned, comely, and of a more lively, smiling, aspect than the men, yet sufficiently reserved. A cotton veil, of different colours, conceals the distinction of sexes, and they bind up their hair behind, with a string of the same manufacture. They adorn their hands, arms, legs, and necks, with bracelets and strings of coloured stones, of which they are very fond.

Ornaments.

Girls before
marriage.

When the girls are about twelve years old, a buskin of beads is fastened round the leg, a little above the ankle, so artfully, that, unless it breaks by accident, it is impossible to get it off; and it often becomes extremely troublesome, particularly if it grows into the flesh, but it must by no means be unloosed. About this age the girls are separated from the boys, and admitted among the women; but before these years they have generally chosen a husband, who waits till his girl is of a proper age for consummation; and as their liking is generally mutual, their parents are seldom averse to the connexion.

Polygamy &
incest allowed

In their marriages they have no other regard to consanguinity, than that a mother will not unite with a son, nor a brother with his natural sister. The men are allowed plurality of wives, and it often happens that one man lives with, and has children by three or four sisters, and perhaps his nieces or cousins-germain. They pretend that the nearness of kindred makes them more agreeable to each other, and that they are thence induced to labour more heartily in their mutual interest. They look upon their wives as no better than servants, and no tenderness they may possibly have for them, will induce them to excuse the least omission of duty or respect, which they think their right. Nay it was never known that a wife was permitted to eat with a husband, or even in his presence. They carry this authority very high, and on the least room given for jealousy, or even on a slighter provocation, the man often strikes off the wife's head, and thinks no more of her. The women are sensible of their state, and behave in the most obedient, mild, silent, and respectful manner.

Husbands de-
scribed.

Languages.

The *Caribbeans* have among them three sorts of languages; one common to them all, a second peculiar to the women in which they converse among one another, and this the men hold in utter contempt, nay, though they understand, disdain to speak it. A third language used only in their assemblies, is not understood by the women or children, and seems to be a jargon, introduced to give more solemnity to their debates and decisions.

Remark.

From considering their two different tongues, it is not unreasonable to infer that the Savages found upon the *Antilles* or windward islands, by *Columbus*, were not the natural inhabitants of the places. For there is an infinite difference between them and the natives of the nearest continent, whether we consider them as to speech, customs, or manners, and they were moreover generally at war with those whom the *Spaniards* found in the larger islands.

Conjecture
concerning
the original
inhabitants.

There is some room to imagine these the real and old inhabitants of the *Antilles*, because on many of the larger or Leeward islands, they speak a language nearly resembling that used by the women of the *Antilles*. The *Caribbeans* being driven perhaps from their own territories by hostile force, fortune conducted them hither, where, meeting with a race of people less warlike than themselves, they conquered them, destroyed the males, and preserved the females for servitude and breed, who still retain the tongue of their fore-fathers. This conjecture receives some support from their still preserving all the women they take from their enemies, bringing home, naturalising, and educating

poufing them. And as certain *Indians* of *Florida* have nearly the fame manners and tongue with the *Caribbeans*, it may be reafonably inferred that from hence thefe latter drew their origin. Derived from *Florida*.

Columbus represents them as furnifhed with canoes fufficiently ftrong for a pretty long courfe. Hence we may fuppofe they failed, with the land always in fight, from the bottom of the gulph of *Mexico* to the point of *Florida*; then paffing the ftreights of *Babama*, and coafting along the large iflands of *Cuba*, *St Domingo*, and *Porto Rico*, they at length reached the *Antilles*, where the people being lefs numerous than on the Leeward iflands, they found it eafier to cut them off, and ufurp their habitations. This argument receives ftrength from the difpofition of the women, who are poffeffed with a foftnefs and fimplicity, which forms the peculiar character of the *Indians* between the tropics. The language of thefe people is barren, but eafily learned, it abounds with fignificative adverbs, and is not charged with conjugations or declenfions: It was fufficiently expreffive for a people who had neither commerce to purfue, nor fcience to improve. The language of the women, which has fuch ftrong appearances of being the older, is more foft, more eafily acquired, and the pronunciation not fo difficult. Argument from the women.
Language of tropical *Indians*.

Thefe people rife before the fun, and bath in the next river, or the fea, but prefer the former. Then returning to their hut, they fit down expofed to the wind, fo that they may befoon dried. One of their wivesfoon after brings rocou and oil to paint them, and adjusts their hair, in which, if they find any lice, they crack them between their teeth, and revenge the bites they have had from them by eating them. It is remarkable that lice will not live upon any one after they pafs the tropics, but except *Carribbeans* and *Negroes*. Their way of living.
Ridiculous revenge.

Caffado, or the fifh of the preceeding day, is then brought for breakfast, and they eat it hot, without any fort of grace, or ceremonious introduction, and the young and old fit round the mefs, without diftinction of place. When this is over, drink is brought, and fome retire to their hammocks, fome entertain themfelves with forcing a moft disagreeable monotony from a fort of hollow tube; part betake themfelves to making bows, arrows, baskets, or other things of which they have an idea, each according to his genius, and others fquat like monkeys upon their hams round the fire place, and continue in that fituation for hours together, as it were in deep meditation. No man enjoins another his bufinefs. Their occupations are fpontaneous, and they quit them juft as they think proper. If one man fpeaks, it is in a modeft eafy tone, none contradict or interrupt him, but all attend with filent refpect. They have neither difpute nor quarrel. When one of the company has finifhed his harangue, another begins, perhaps, on fomething very different, and is permitted to proceed with equal deference. Yet it often happens, that without provocation either by words or blows, they mafacre one another at their feasts. For thefe afsemblies there are no fixed times, they meet at his option who chufes to be at the expence. They are made for debating on bufinefs, war, or pleafure; and no man, though invited, is under a neceffity to attend; but all comers, whether of that number or not, are made welcome, and every man departs when he pleafes. Eating & recreations.
Conversation
On different occasions.

After a plentiful repaft, before the company begins to diminifh, the mafter of the entertainment propofes the occafion of the meeting. If it be warlike, a proper time is taken to introduce an old woman who enumerates the affronts and injuries they have fuffained from their enemies, and names fuch of their relations and friends as they have brought to deftruction. When fhe finds that the heat of the liquor, and enthufiafm of her harangue has raifed them to a proper pitch, fhe throws among them a broiled limb of fome one of their foes who had perifhed in the war; on this they fall like mad men, and with an infatiate thirft of revenge, rend and chew it with their teeth. After this with loud fhouts they refolve on the expedition, and a day is named for them to join in the extermination of their enemies. But in all this parade, every man acts of his own head, and no perfon is fubfervient to authority; for their delicacy in this refpect is inconceivable. Thefe people are not cannibals nor do they feed on human flefh, for though they bake the limbs of their enemies, and fave calabaffes filled with their fat, thefe are only kept as trophies of their glory, and not to fupply the place of food. Warlike.
Ceremonious prelude to war.

They kill, without diftinction, all fuch of their foes as they find in arms, feldom troubling themfelves with making prifoners. The women and children they treat with fufficient tendernes, incorporating them among themfelves, and the worft fate they allot them to is to be fold to the *Europeans* as flaves.

Feasts stained
with blood.

Few of their feasts end without murder; and it is perpetrated with little or no ceremony. If any one among them in the warmth of his liquor takes it into his head, that his opposite neighbour has killed any of his friends, or otherwise aggrieved him; he comes behind, and either stabs or cuts him down without any ceremony. No one present endeavours to prevent him, or to avenge the death of the victim. Indeed, generally the assassin takes care that none of the brethren or children of him, against whom he lifts his weapon, be present. One or other of them, however, seldom fails of getting intelligence of the murder, and watches to retaliate it upon the murderer or his next relation. Hence it is that their divisions are eternal; that their territories are so thinly peopled; their women so numerous; and that they claim some sort of a right to a multiplicity of wives.

Banarée, an
honourable
name.

When we were speaking of the origin of these people, we should have remarked, that they call each other, and such *Europeans* as they chuse to distinguish with honour, *Banarée*, which signifies a man come from beyond sea. With this and the name of *Caribbean*, they are well pleased; but to call them *Savage* provokes their anger. It is hard to say who gave them a right idea of the word; but it is certain they detest it; and he who would keep well with them must call them cousin or comrade. They affect to assume the names of powerful personages, as governors, or captains of men of war, whom they have seen exercise authority; but merchants, tho' never so rich, they despise, looking upon them in a subordinate light.

Savages de-
tected.

Affected
names.

Manner of
making war.

Their way of making war is much to be dreaded, because it is never declared, open, and foreseen; they chuse the darkest nights and worst weather to commence hostilities, ravaging the lands, breaking into houses, and slaughtering the unsuspecting inhabitants in the hour of silence, and under covert of profound darkness. All their stratagems consist in surprize and ambuscade; they are ignorant of regular marching, battle array, conducting a siege, and of every sort of military operation but bloodshed and dissembling their motions. When they are discovered they retreat, unless they find their opponents too weak to resist. They hide themselves, covered all over with branches and green leaves, upon the skirts of the woods, in the way by which they expect their enemies, who find themselves transfixed with arrows, and gasping in the pangs of death, without perceiving the hand that directed the fatal weapon. In the mean time the assailant squats among the bushes, or lies close to the ground as an hare, for fear of being discovered, till he sees the effect of his aim.

Ambuscade
and surprize.

Method of
firing houses.

Their way of burning an house covered with canes or palmetto-leaves, is to discharge at the thatch an arrow, to which they have fastened some cotton just set on fire. They then lurk among the trees till the fire forces out the people, who by the light are conducted to their massacre, and fall without hope of revenge. They are excellent marksmen, and will shoot off nine or ten arrows, all which shall take place, during the charging of a musket. If you have the good fortune to drive them, you must carefully pick up and break their arrows, which they would otherwise gather and use to fresh purposes; but by so doing you destroy their chief magazine, which is seldom well stored.

Excellent
marksmen.

Method of
procuring fire

When they are in want of fire they take two pieces of stick, one harder than the other; the latter they hollow, and clap into it the former pared and pointed, which they keep twirling about like chocolate, till heat is generated by the action, which must not be discontinued, and fire soon ensues.

Expert
swimmers.

They are such excellent swimmers, that one would be almost induced to imagine them amphibious. In this exercise the women are as expert as the men. It often happens, that by crowding too much sail in returning from the *French* settlements, when they are for the most part drunk, they overturn their canoes; yet by such an accident they seldom or never are drowned; nor do they lose the least part of their baggage, which is the most part well secured. While the men apply themselves to setting the boat again on her bottom, and laving out the water, the women float about with great ease, only troubling themselves to give breath to the infants at breast, while the more full grown children swim round with as much unconcern as if water was their proper element. In the year 1669 came on shore in the island of *Dominica* a *Caribbean*, who had belonged to a boat which was lost with some ecclesiasticks in it between *Santa Lucia* and *Martinico*. He had been sixty hours on the surface, without plank or board to sustain him, and scuffled with the violence of the storm and all the stimulations of thirst and hunger during that time without relief.

Swimming
prodigious.

The

The Venereal disorder, which is undoubtedly a disease of *American* growth, often appears upon infants whose nurses are in a good state of health. They cure it with making the sick drink plentifully of a decoction of the woods, among which Guyacum is a principal ingredient, and they sweat the patient violently either by forced exercise or otherwise. They also use unctions, according to *Labat*, with an ointment more mild, but not less efficacious than mercury; but he declares himself ignorant of its composition.

Venereal disease.

The small pox was brought to this part of the world from *Europe*, and makes considerable ravage. Many of these unhappy people were destroyed on the first appearances of this cruel disorder, by the villainous counsel of a christian surgeon, who advised them to bathe in a cold river in the very crisis; had they discovered his inhumanity, the effects might have been dismally prejudicial to the colony of which he was a member.

Small pox fatal.

At *Dominica*, when the master of an hut dies, he is buried in the midst of it; the other Savages forsaking it forever, and settling somewhere else in the neighbourhood. Nothing can please them more than to present them with a gun, which they soon spoil, let it be never so good; for they either lose the flint, knock off the lock, injure it by throwing it roughly on the ground, through indolence, for they are the most sluggish people upon earth, or perhaps they burst it by overcharging.

Burial.

Pondiness for fire arms.

The diameter of their bows is generally about six feet; they make them mostly of green wood, which is strong, close-grained, and heavy; and they shape them handsomely enough since the *Europeans* have taught them how to handle iron tools; for before this they only used sharp-pointed stones, and rough sharp flints. Their arrows are made of the tops of reeds, when about to blossom, being three foot and a half long, headed with a piece of green wood, in length eight inches, tapering from its base to the point, which is very sharp, and firmly bound with cotton thread. Their head is very neatly notched, and so contrived that it easily enters where it strikes, but in drawing out gives vast pain, and enlarges the wound considerably. Their arrows are sometimes steeped in the juice of the machineel apple, to imbibe poison, and in this case their hurt is mortal. Here we mean only the arrows they use in war; they have others something different, to wound birds, bring down beasts, or strike fishes.

Their bows.

Arrows.

The Savages also use with great dexterity a flat bludgeon, about three foot and a half long, of thick heavy wood, about two inches broad at one end and four at the other. On the broadest side are engraven some odd hieroglyphics, variously coloured. On whatever part of the body this falls it is sure to penetrate or bruise, and never fails to break the head when it hits it.

When they are much enraged just before shooting their arrows, they loosen the heads, so that these only enter the body, whence it is scarcely possible to extract them, being as it were buried in the flesh, while the reed, or stalk of the arrow falls off to the ground. Though they never go without a knife, and that carried for the most part in the hand, yet they seldom use it unless they are in liquor, as we have before observed.

Knife.

They often learn the *European* languages of such people as they trade with, and sometimes profess themselves profelytes to christianity from conviction; but they relapse into their idolatry, if not closely watched, and are seldom sincere in their profession.

Prone to relapse into idolatry.

When they embark by sea on any warlike expedition, they take with them in each canoe two women, one to prepare cassado, and the other to paint them; but when they go upon voyages of pleasure or trade, all their women and children are of the train, and they carry with them their beds, arms, calabasses, and every thing proper to dress their cassado. Their beds are large cotton hammocks, all of one piece, painted with rocou, and variegated with regular lines of black. The making and painting of these is one part of the womens employment, for a man would think himself debased by condescending to such work.

Equipment on voyages.

Women's employment.

When they dispose of any goods, the buyer must be careful to put them out of sight directly, otherwise they may take it in their heads to seize them without any ceremony, and refuse to restore them, or the price at which they were bought. In this case all expostulation is to no purpose, and endeavouring to persuade them to reason only breeds a quarrel, in which they all take part. If they be paid in money, the pieces

Unfair traders.

pieces must be all ranged in one line, without covering or doubling the ranks, so that it may be all full in their view. And this pleases them so well, that they will rub their hands, and express their satisfaction by shrugging, smirking, and the most childish behaviour.

Bad servants. Being naturally sluggish and perverse, they make the worst servants in the world. They have the strongest aversion to do any thing they are desired; so that when you want them to go upon the chase, it is ten to one, but they will take to fishing. Repetition of orders is ineffectual, and beating dangerous, for they are sure to watch an opportunity of revenging the blows by murder.

At enmity with the Negroes. The *Caribbeans* and the Negroes hold each other in such mutual contempt, that it is impolitic to attempt intermixing them. It is remarked besides, that reason never seems to be fully ripe in these people; like children, they love to meddle with every thing, are very mischievous, sulky, and ill natured, nor do they ever know when they have eat or drank enough.

Women easily delivered. The women scarce know the pains of child-birth, they bring their infants into the world very easily, and after washing and laying them on a cotton bed, return to their household business as if nothing had happened: While the husband complains of illness, takes to his bed, is visited as a sick person, and dieted in the most sparing manner. This farce lasts forty days, at the end of which time, all his friends and relations repair to his hut, where they are feasted. But before this, they perform the ceremony of drawing blood from several parts of his body with the tooth of an acouti, and then bath the punctures with a strong pickle of *Indian* pepper, or pimento water; so that he becomes sick in earnest, and though the pain of this ceremony must be very severe, yet, if he utters the least syllable of complaint, he is ever after despised.

Husbands lies in for the wife. After this he is again remitted for a few days longer to his bed, and his friends make merry in his cottage at his expence. Nor is this all, for during six whole months he abstains from fish or flesh, his eating of which he imagines would give the child the belly-ach; and besides communicate to it the prevailing defect of the animal. As for example, from his eating turtle, the child, say they, would contract deafness; and his feeding on the manatee, would give it round little eyes. He also avoids any carnal knowledge of the mother, who is also for her part, very sparing of her diet.

How treated. After six months and a week, the friends and relations are summoned to another entertainment, at which the child is named, and the father and mother anoint the head and neck of the gossips with palm-oil. They also cut a lock of hair from the infant's forehead; and if they find it strong enough, bore its ears, nostrils, and under lip, passing two or three cotton threads through the aperture; if it be weak, they defer the latter operations to the end of the year.

Superstitious conceits. When they are four or five months old they are left to run upon all fours, and roll in the dust, so that in more adult years they use the gait of man or beast with equal facility. They all eat earth with the same apparent relish as if it was something very palatable. The mothers are very tender of their young, and breed them up with equal care, though the father be dead or absent. And yet this breeding differs in nothing from the brute; they only teach them to fish and shoot for their subsistence; to swim, and to make little baskets, and cotton beds. The birds of the air cherish their young, till they are strong enough to take wing; encourage them by their example to transport themselves from place to place; instruct them on what to subsist, and how to construct their nests.

Child named with much ceremony. If the son is intended for war, when he has attained a proper age, the father summons together the oldest and most reputable of his friends, before whom having feasted the young man on a stool, he exhorts him to be gallant in fight, and to revenge himself fully on his enemies, then taking by the legs a large bird of prey, (by *Tertre* called *Mancefenil*) which had, for some time past, been cooped and fattened for that purpose, he kills it by beating it about the youth's head, who, if he wince but ever so little, loses all claim to military reputation, although the strokes are sufficiently stunning. Then the father raising his skin in several parts of his body, till the blood comes, bathes him with a pickle of pimento, in which he had first washed the body of the *Mancefenil*, after which he makes him eat the heart of that ravenous fowl, as an incentive to courage. This ceremony being over, he is put into a hammock hung from the top of the house, where he is to remain stretched at full length, without meat, drink, or complaint, as long as he can suffer it, and they firmly believe that if

Education. he

Ceremony of making a warrior. he

he offers to move or bend himself, he shall all his life remain crooked. But the longer he endures this constriction, the greater opinion they conceive of his valour; though it has happened that some have died under the trial, and cowards, by long perseverance, have gained reputation.

Perhaps no part of the world affords women so prolific. There are instances of some bearing children at eighty years of age, particularly at *Guadaloupe*. Women fruitful.

The commodities which the Savages have to dispose of in trade, are tortoise, swine, lizards, poultry, birds of all kinds, bows, arrows, baskets, twine, and cotton beds. These they exchange for hatchets, bill-hooks, knives, pins, needles, sails for their boats, little shining toys, small looking glasses, and glass beads. The best time to bargain with them for their beds, which have in them something curious, is in the morning, when they will dispose of them at a very cheap rate. But it is common for them to return and beg to be off the bargain, when the approach of night reminds them of the use of a bed, which, in the morning, had slipped out of their thoughts. If they find their request refused, as they scorn to ask for any thing a second time, they go away crying. Traffic.

They make feasts on many different occasions, and call them *Ouycou*, from a liquor of that name of which the men drink plentifully, while the master of the entertainment keeps guard at the door with his bludgeon on his shoulder, to prevent any disorder. At these times some of them play on a kind of discordant flute, the young girls rattle stones in a calabash to some certain time; others sing in a strange uncouth strain, the old men filling up the chorus with a bass, and thus forming a kind of concert, with which they are well pleased. In the mean time some of the young men, having their bodies rubbed over with gum, or some viscous matter, and stuck with various feathers, dance about the floor for the entertainment of the graver sort, playing numberless antic tricks. The women drink as hard as any at these assemblies, and foot it, but to a rather more modest measure than the men. To abuse a woman among them when in liquor is a capital crime, nor can drunkenness excuse it, though now admitted to plead for many other excesses. At these times every comer is invited and welcome to partake of their good cheer, as far as it will go. Feasts.

Perhaps the universe cannot produce more unclean animals than these wretches, they draw water with one hand, while with the other they are cramming their mouths, nor have the slightest notion of decency, for they often do worse. They never mind leaves, straw, or nastiness that may lie in their dish, but greedily swallow all without distinction. Their food is for the most part also so peppered, that, were it clean and savoury, nobody besides themselves could taste it. Slovenliness.

Their common food is fish and birds; the birds they singe and half roast upon the fire, then devour them entrails and all, with the remainder of their feathers. They neither eat pottage, milk, cheese, nor butter, and hold oil and eggs in detestation, though among the *French* they learn sometimes to eat them; they throw away all fat and never use salt. Their dish is a calabash, round which men, women, children, cats, and dogs, sit all in common, though the two last gentry sometimes receive a knock from their next neighbours, if they happen to be too quick in clearing the dish. Food.

In visits the guest is served with bread, fish, drink, and whatever the family has at hand; a bed is put up for him to rest upon, and every body bids him welcome. If he be a person of any consequence, the women paint him, and anoint his head with palm-oil. Visits.

When a Savage is taken ill, all his friends and relations avoid him, pretending that the smell of the sick body is very nauseous and intolerable. Sickness.

If he dies, the women wash and paint the body, as if for a solemn meeting, then wrapping it in a cotton bed which has never been used, it is interred in the same hut in which the good man died. If the father of a family gives up the ghost, the women and children cut their hair short, and wear it in that fashion for a whole year. They also fast for a lunar month upon bread and water; not that they think the soul of the deceased is thereby profited, but lest the sight of his ghost should affrighten or intimidate them, and so cause them to be delivered into the hands of their enemies. If he was possessed of slaves, they are killed to attend him in the next world, by his nearest relation, unless they secure their lives by flight, in which they are never pursued. Death.

It is customary for them to lament heavily over their dead, and to shed plenty of tears at the grave. If any one of the relations has been absent at the time of interment, Mourning.

ment, he repairs as soon as possible to the tomb, and there cries as heartily as the others had done before him, and perhaps without the least feeling. They are sometimes a quarter of an hour yelling and playing of tricks, before they can squeeze out a tear; but when once the rain begins to drop, it pours like a torrent.

CHAP. VIII. *Of the Negroes Slaves of the Antilles.*

- Introduction.** It is not our intention, in this place, to consider whether one species of mankind has a right to enslave another; all that we propose is to give a short account of the Negroes, who are the principal riches of the planters of these islands, in which we shall briefly view their origin, classes, and manners. It is impossible for a humane heart to reflect upon the servitude of these dregs of mankind, without in some measure feeling for their miseries, which end but with their lives, as if their sable complexion were the black characteristic of their misfortunes.
- Their misery.** Nothing can be more wretched than the condition of this people; one would imagine they were formed to be the disgrace of the human species. Banished from their country, and deprived of that blessing, liberty, on which all other nations set the greatest value, they are, in a manner, reduced to the condition of beasts of burthen. In general, a few roots, potatoes especially, are all their food; and two rags, which neither screen them from the heat of the day, nor the extraordinary coolness of the night, all their covering. They are indeed permitted to bring up pigs, which is easily done, as they feed on potatoe-skins, tops of sugar-canes, the scrapings of the kitchen, and almost any thing. And, besides, calves and cows are so cheap here, that some rich planters, who have 120 or 130 slaves, allow them two carcasses a week, which is no great expence, considering they buy them from the *Spaniards* for four or five crowns apiece, and afterwards can sell the calveskins for a crown the couple, and the skin of a cow for a crown. This is an advantage which *St Domingo* has beyond any of the windward islands, where they chiefly feed on salt meat brought from *Europe*, which is very dear, and often scarce. The huts of the Negroes are like kennels made for bears; their beds and hurdles, fitter one would imagine to bruise their bodies than procure them rest; their furniture a few calabashes, and some little wooden or earthen platters. Their labours are almost continual, their sleep very short; they receive no wages, but have twenty lashes for the smallest fault. Such is the condition to which one part of mankind has found the means of reducing another; but their services are absolutely necessary to those who treat them in that manner.
- Their sufferings compensated by the greatest of blessings, health.** In the midst of all these hardships they enjoy an almost uninterrupted state of good health, while their masters, glutted with the conveniences and pleasures of life, are subject to an infinite number of disorders. Though every day exposed bareheaded to the sun, which, one would imagine, must make their brains boil in their skulls, they never complain of any thing but cold. Thus they enjoy the greatest of all blessings, that of health, at the same time that they seem insensible to the loss of all the rest. Some therefore pretend that there can be no charity in drawing them from so painful and abject a condition. They would, say these humane gentlemen, but make an ill use of that blessing. But it must be considered, that those who use this language find it their interest that things should be as they represent them, and are at the same time both parties and judges.
- Unhappy condition of their masters.** After all, it must be owned, that if there be no service so flattering to human pride as that of these slaves, neither is there any liable to be attended with such disagreeable consequences. Hence, there is not in all our colonies a single person, who does not think it a great misfortune not to have any other servants. And this is no way surprising, were there nothing to make them think so, but that sentiment, so natural to man, and in which we partake of the nature of God himself, which makes us consider as nothing any thing that others do for us only out of fear, without any mixture of love. But this is a necessary evil, at least no adequate remedy for it has been as yet invented. Unhappy are those in the colonies who have a great number of slaves; this great number is to them a perpetual source of uneasiness, and a constant occasion to exercise their patience. Unhappy those who have no slaves at all, they can do nothing without them. Unhappy, lastly, are those who have but a few; they

they must put up with any thing for fear of losing them, and with them all they are worth.

Negroes are marked above and below the stomach, on the right and left sides, and on each arm, with a cypher, by means of a silver instrument heated; and this operation being repeated as often as a slave changes his master, some of them are as much marked as an *Egyptian* obelisk; by such means however the property of them is absolutely fixed. There are in *St Domingo* always six or seven hundred *French* fugitive slaves in the fastnesses of the mountains, who despise all power, and, being assisted with arms, &c. by the *Spaniards*, grow every day more and more bold; nor can any volunteers be induced to march against them. Negroes how marked. Fugitive Negroes.

The Negroes are brought from *Africa*, particularly from different parts of the coasts of *Guinea*, *Angola*, *Senegal*, and *Cape Verd*, where they are sold by the king, or chief ruler of the provinces, for bars of iron, grinding-stones, small pieces of silver, glass beads, various sorts of trifling toys, linnen, woollen, and brandy. Whence brought.

We may divide them into three classes, 1st, prisoners of war; 2^d, criminals, whom the magistrates rather chuse to make money of, than to execute; and 3^d, such as having cheated their neighbours, or been guilty of theft, are disposed of, and the money arising from the sale applied to indemnify those whom they have wronged. Their classes.

These unhappy creatures own, without ceremony, that an interior sentiment tells them they are an accursed generation. The most sensible among them, for example, have learned by a tradition, perpetuated in their country, that this misfortune is the consequence of the sin of their *Papa Tam*, who mocked his father; and may it not be reconciled to *Noah*? The *Senegalese* are better made than the other Negroes, more easy to discipline, and fitter for domestic services. The *Bambaras* are the largest bodied, but addicted to theft; the *Aradas* those who best understand husbandry, but the most high-spirited. The *Congos* the smallest bodied, and the most expert fishermen, but prone to desert. The *Nages*, the most humane; the *Mondongos*, the most cruel; the *Mines*, the most resolute, the most whimsical, and the most liable to despair. And, lastly, the *Creslian* Negroes, to whatever stock they belong, inherit nothing from their parents, but their spirit of slavery, and their colour. They have more sense, penetration, and dexterity, but are, on the other hand, greater boasters and bullies, and more dissolute than the *Dandas*, which is the common name of all those that come from the coast of *Africa*.

There have been brought to these islands Negroes carried off from *Monomotapa*, and to the *Antilles*, some that came from the island of *Madagascar*; but neither have been of any service to their masters. The latter are almost ungovernable, and the former immediately perish different ways. As to understanding, all the Negroes of *Guinea* enjoy it but in a very limited degree; some of them even appear quite stupid. There are those among them who have not memory enough to learn the Lord's Prayer, or reckon beyond three. Of themselves they have no thought, and know as little of what is past, as of what is to come. They are mere machines, that require to be wound up as often as they are to be set on going. Some people have imagined that their apparent dulness proceeded rather from cunning than want of memory; but in this they were certainly mistaken. To be convinced of it, we need only reflect a moment on their little foresight in cases that personally concern them. Characters of different nations of Negroes.

It is however very difficult to reconcile this character with that which all in general give them, of being very sharp and dexterous in any business which they have very greatly at heart, and that to such a degree as often to make fools of their masters. It is added, that they season their raileries with some wit, and are wonderfully prompt and acute in marking any thing they see ridiculous in others; that they are well versed in the art of dissimulation, and that the most stupid Negro is to his master with the greatest facility. One thing is certain, and that is, they look upon their secret as their greatest treasure, and would die sooner than part with it. Nothing can be more diverting than the countenance of a Negro, when any one attempts to find out a thing he desires to conceal. He puts on so natural an air of surprise, that a man must have had a good deal of experience of them, not to believe him sincere. He breaks out into fits of laughter, sufficient to disconcert the most confident. They are never at a loss for evasions, and, when taken in the fact, cannot be brought, even by blows, Their virtues and vices.

blows, to own that which they have once denied. They are in general mild, humane, tractable, and simple, but credulous, and, above all, superstitious to excess. They are incapable of retaining sentiments of hatred or anger, strangers to envy, fraud, and calumny, and, when once they have been made acquainted with the true God, religion is the thing in the world they hold dearest. This sentiment is the fruit of reason, undisturbed by any violent passion. A few examples of the contrary are not sufficient to invalidate a remark founded upon general experience. Besides, what is generally alledged against them proceeds from want of religion in their masters, who by such accusations seek only to justify the little care they take to procure these poor creatures that instruction to which they have an undoubted right.

How they are
to be treated.

The whip, properly employed, is sufficient to correct most of their failings; but it is a remedy that must be often repeated. Though severity, therefore, or at least, a certain air of severity, should predominate in the conduct of those who govern them, yet mildness and good nature are not to be entirely neglected. The *English* find not their account in correcting them always in their cruel manner; and it is therefore probable that if the *French* had them for neighbours at *St Domingo* instead of the *Spaniards*, they might, easily seduce the greatest part of their slaves. They would make good soldiers, were they properly disciplined and conducted. They are brave, but it is often because they are ignorant of the danger, or because their vanity hinders them from seeing it. Were a Negroe to find himself in an engagement, in company with his master, he would undoubtedly stand by him; but then it must be a master that had never corrected him unjustly; he knows very well how to distinguish between just and unjust punishments, and will find out means of revenging the latter. A company of seditious Negroes is to be immediately dispersed with sticks and whips. If they are permitted to keep together for any time, they will defend themselves with obstinacy, for, as soon as they find that death is inevitable, they matter not much what kind of death they meet with, and the smallest success renders them almost invincible. The best way to make faithful servants of them, is, to endeavour to make them good Christians.

Other parti-
culars concern-
ing them.

Singing amongst them is a very ambiguous sign of joy or grief. They sing in afflictions to drive away sorrow, and sing when easy in their minds, to express their satisfaction. They have, it is true, merry and mournful airs, but one must have been a long time used to them to distinguish one from the other. They are very unmerciful to the beasts under their care; some have been seen to get into a slough, merely to have the pleasure of whipping their cattle to pieces. In this case they pretend to be in a great passion, they swear and storm, whereas, in reality, they do it to divert themselves. A great many masters feed not their slaves, but give them some relaxation to work for themselves or for others; but though great pains have been taken to find out on what they then subsist, it, as yet, remains a secret. Besides, every one knows that a Negroe will live three days upon what will scarce serve a white for a good meal. The Negroes, however, can eat very heartily, when they meet with an opportunity; but how little soever they eat or sleep, they are equally strong and fit for labour. It must be added, that they are very ready to share the little they have, with those they see in want, though utter strangers to them.

Religion of
the Negroes.

As to religion, it is proper to observe, that none of them have any of their own. The *Congos*, however, were converted to Christianity two hundred years ago by the *Portuguese*; their kings have ever since been Christians, and many of them have been baptised; but it is seldom that the least tincture of it is to be found in any of them. Some of the *Senegalese*, brought from the neighbourhood of *Morocco*, are *Mabometans*, and circumcised. The *Aradas* are idolaters, and pay divine honours to the snakes of their country. But all of them, as soon as they leave *Africa*, lose their attachment to their former religious belief and worship, or, if they retain any, are yet very easily brought over to Christianity; and the greatest trouble a missionary has with them is to defer their baptism till they are sufficiently instructed, without giving them offence. Few of them have been known to renounce the faith. It is hardly possible to know what idea most of them entertain of God before they receive the light of the gospel; but it is an easy matter to make them believe that there is one; and it has even appeared, on questioning the children, that they had some confused idea of a sovereign being that governed the universe, and of a wicked spirit solely bent on doing mischief. It is added, that the devil torments them cruelly till they are baptised; and that

that this is the reason why they are so earnest to receive that sacrament. As to the law of nature, they have some very imperfect notions of it; nothing, according to them, is a crime, but theft, murder, and adultery. In fine, they are very little capable of comprehending the truth of the Christian religion, and the highest pitch of knowledge to which any of them ever arrive, is to be persuaded that there is a God, a heaven, and a hell.

In an extract of a letter from Father *le Pers*, the reader will find some particulars in regard to the *French* slaves, which, in our opinion, very well deserve a place in this history.

“ It is an easier matter to impress them with a sense of moral obligations, and some of them often make apt reflexions on their salvation, and appear to be fully convinced of the truths of the Christian religion. In this respect, baptism produces in them alterations that are altogether surprising. As some of them, however, make profession of witchcraft, before they receive this sacrament, it is sometimes a hard matter to induce them to renounce the practice of it. Those who have more carefully observed them, are persuaded that there is something preternatural in some disorders they are liable to before baptism, and in the remedies they employ to cure them. But sometimes the Negroes think themselves bewitched, when they are only poisoned; for there are among them, as amongst other people, mountebanks, whose art consists entirely of imposture; and it is certain, that their pretended charms, when directed against the *Europeans*, never take effect. Negroes do-
cile with re-
spect to reli-
gious obli-
gations.

It must be owned, that their marriages are attended with great inconveniencies, against which it seems absolutely necessary that some remedy should be found. The laws of the state forbid a slave to marry without his master's consent; and it is but just that he should obey. Besides, clandestine marriages are forbid, and null when celebrated, But if a master will not permit his slaves to marry but among themselves, what will a young slave do, who cannot find among his fellow slaves a girl to his liking? And what must a clergyman do, if a Negro and a Negress, belonging to different persons, should, after a long criminal correspondence, for want of being able to obtain the consent of their masters, come at last to church together, and declare themselves man and wife in his presence? Many other similar cases, and those too not very speculative, might be proposed, which often perplex a divine, and against which the secular authority has provided but very weak remedies. Of their mar-
riages.

The *Dandas* are the lowest and most numerous class of the inhabitants of *St Domingo*, and it may be said, that it is chiefly on their account that we come hither, since without them we would not pretend to call ourselves missionaries. There are generally two or three thousand of them brought to *Cape François* only every year. As soon as I hear that any are arrived in my district, I go to see them, and I begin by guiding their hands so as to cause them to make the sign of the cross, after which I make it myself upon their foreheads, in token of taking possession of them in the name of *Jesus Christ* and his church. After the ordinary words, I add, *And thou accursed Spirit, I forbid thee, in the name of Jesus Christ, to offer ever to violate this sacred sign, which I have imprinted on the forehead of this creature, whom he has redeemed with his blood.* The Negro, who understands nothing of what I say or do, opens a pair of large eyes, and appears quite thunderstruck; but, to quiet him, I address him by an interpreter with these words of our Saviour to *St Peter*, *Thou knowest not at present the meaning of what I do, but thou shalt know it hereafter.* I then exhort their master, in the strongest terms I can think of, not only to accustom these new comers to say every day their prayers in common with the rest of the Negroes, a practice observed in every well regulated plantation, but also to instruct them every day by themselves, and never fail sending them on *Sundays* and holidays to church, where care is taken to instruct them in a manner suited to their capacity. It must be owned, that there is some zeal to be found among our planters for the discharge of these duties, in which they differ widely from the *English*, who very often neglect to procure the blessing of baptism to those who are born among themselves, and still oftener to those who are brought to them from *Africa*. The slaves, on their part, express a real earnestness to receive that sacrament; but even adults, both men and women, among them, are seldom fit for it in less than two years; and to admit them to it, even then, the missionary must often be of the same opinion with those who hold, that the knowledge of the mystery of the Trinity is not essentially necessary to salvation. I am convinced, that let a

Negro answer never so pertinently to the questions propounded to him in relation to this mystery, which, after all, they seldom do, he knows no more of what he says than a parrot, who could repeat the same words. And, in this respect, the knowledge and penetration of the ablest divine will carry him but a little way. However, a missionary ought to consider more than once with himself, and weigh the case, rather than suffer any man or woman whomsoever to die without baptism. And if any scruple arises in his breast, these words of the prophet, *Homines et jumenta salvabis Domine*, "Thou wilt save, O Lord, both man and beast," *Pf.* xxxvii. 6. immediately occur to quiet his conscience.

As soon as a slave is baptized, we do all that lies in our power to make him preserve his newly acquired innocence; and the surest way is to provide him with a wife. But, on this occasion, both their own zeal and that of their masters often fail them, since the inhabitants generally think it against their interest to permit their slaves to marry, because the laws of the church, as well as those of the state, forbid them to sell the husband without the wife, and the children under a certain age. The Negroes, on their part, are never in any great haste to marry, because they look upon this second engagement as a kind of slavery still worse than that in which they were born. This aversion, which all our arguments find very difficult to overcome, proceeds from that natural right which these *Africans* imagine they have, to keep as many wives as they please, and to repudiate them whenever they think fit. And it is seldom we can bring them to reason, but through the hopes of heaven and the fear of hell, which it is requisite to be constantly inculcating into their minds; and, after all, not a little management is often required on the occasion. This management consists in not baptizing them, till they are willing to marry at the same time. The longing desire they have to be baptized gets the better of all their aversion to marriage. But it is expedient to be constantly preaching up to them the obligations they have contracted in receiving those two sacraments; and we generally have the pleasure to see them comply with these obligations in a manner that ought to make Christians blush.

We assemble them commonly on *Sundays* and holydays, as they come from mass, and after the exhortation we first make to them, and in which we insist most upon such points as influence their practice, we baptize the infants, and decide such little differences as arise among the adults. This is soon done, as they are generally very ready to abide by our directions. We likewise visit them sometimes in their huts, and oblige their masters to send them to us to confession at *Easter*. But the hearing their confessions is no easy task, as there are at least two thousand adult Negroes in every parish. As to the baptizing of the adults, every missionary takes his own time for it. For my part, I have always set aside the four principal festivals in the year for that purpose."

The merchants and ship-masters who use this trade, have been often wicked enough to carry off persons whom they have invited on board to recreate themselves, and who, in the midst of their innocent carousal, have found themselves loaded with chains, and devoted to slavery; nay, it has been often known, that this atrocious injustice has been extended to the persons even of kings.

Tertre tells us of a slave attending him in *Guadeloupe*, whom he supposes to have been a queen in her own country: there was something extremely majestic in her deportment; she had a soul infinitely superior to her fate; and she lost nothing of her dignity in disgrace. The rest of the Negroes, both men and women, wherever they met her, treated her with the highest marks of respect and veneration. However, in this place it should be observed, that when the king, or ruler, of one district upon the coast of *Guinea* conquers the people of another, he drives them all to market, and sells promiscuously the royal family of the vanquished, without distinguishing them from the meanest of their subjects, vending whole families of men, women, and children together.

According to the general laws, or rather customs, for they do not deserve the name of laws, established amongst these people, this proceeding is not unjust; for the next day may perhaps reduce the conqueror to the same abject state.

The Negroes of *Angola* are preferable to those of *Cape Verd*, being rather stronger, and more intelligent; but they have this disadvantage attending them, that when heated with working, they stink like he goats,* and even leave the infection behind them

Villainy of the people who use this trade.

Story from *Tertre*.

Enslaving customary among the *Africans*.

Difference of *Angola* and *Cape Verd* Negroes.

them

them in the air. The natives of *Cape Verd* are not so disagreeable, with less strength, they are better made; the turn of their features is more delicate, and their skin blacker; they are besides more tractable and less vigorous.

As the camelion catches its tints from that colour which prevails most within its view, so does the Negroe slave form his disposition upon that of his master; when he is treated with mildness, and well fed, he esteems himself the happiest fellow in the world; is ready to do every thing, and the satisfaction of his heart enlightens in his countenance. On the one hand, if he is used with severity, which is too often the case, he shews his feelings in a sluggish pace, and a lowering melancholy aspect. On the other hand, if his transgressions were overlooked, he would imagine it owing to his own importance; and becoming more insolent, would form dangerous schemes for setting himself at liberty.

Negroe behaves according to his treatment.

Negroes have a natural disposition to satire, and the slightest mistakes of their master, affords them matter enough for ridicule and diversion among themselves. They are great thieves, and must be closely watched, for even trifles will make them dishonest, nor does this disposition solely arise from the freights, and inconveniencies to which they are reduced by slavery, for by all accounts they indulge it profusely in their own country. They are sober only when they cannot help themselves, and if wine or brandy fall in their way, they drink of it to excess. We have many instances of their being the most faithful creatures in the world to the masters who use them well; on the contrary, they never forget ill usage, but revenge it, if any occasion offers for them to do it in safety. They shew strong affection to each other, their ties of friendship are strict and exemplary; in sickness each is ready to assist the other, and sympathizes in his ill treatment. The chastisement of a child, one would imagine, inflicted upon the parent, who often begs to suffer in his stead. Many of them have a genius for trade, and most of the plantations can now boast of numbers of good Negroe mechanics. But, as we before observed, the majority of them being dull and stupid, it sometimes happens that at the end of three or four years apprenticeship, they are little wiser than at the first day.

Negroes prone to satire.

Thieves.

Drunkards.

Grateful and revengeful.

Loving and sympathize in sufferings.

Tender parents. Their genius for trade and mechanics.

The female Negroes are naturally prolific; they are brought to bed with so little inconvenience, that three or four hours afterwards they shall be found at their usual labour. Their children are either white, or vermillion coloured at their birth; in three or four days they become yellow; then deepen to copper, and grow at length quite black. For six months the children are fed with breast milk then weaned, and nourished with potatoes or yams boiled. The mothers never put their children out of their sight, but carry them upon their backs though going about the hardest work. When eight or nine months old, and grown too heavy to be lugged about, they will sleep very quietly if laid on the bare ground, without feeling any inconvenience from the heat of the sun. At three or four years old they are left at home under the care of a young female; and when the parents return they decline eating, until they have gathered all their young ones about them; for they would give to them the bread out of their own mouths; and you cannot secure more strongly the affection of a female slave, than by being tender of her infant. The children born upon the islands know nothing of the language of their forefathers, they naturally talk *French*, and a certain jargon, spoken only among the slaves. Of the wretchedness of their cloathing, food, and lodging, with their hard and toilsome labour, we have already spoken.

Women fruitful.

Children bred

Ignorant of their mother tongue.

They are fond of eating dirt, which gives them dropsies, and a heavy melancholy cast of mind. Those who work in the mines have more of this disposition than any others; to which the gloominess of their condition, the stagnation of air, and other causes contribute. Growing desperate, they hang themselves and cut their throats on the most trifling disappointments; nay they often do it purely to give pain to their masters, being persuaded that by dying they are only put in a way of going again to their own country; and it is impossible to beat them out of this ridiculous imagination.

Melancholy & prone to suicide.

Labat tells us that, though he had instructed one of his slaves in the Christian religion, he could not convince him of the falshood of this notion; and that when he expostulated with him upon it, the young man cried, and said, *Master I love you very well, but I must return to my father*. He continued to feed upon dirt in spite of all remonstrance, and at length dyed of a dropy.

Sad effects of a strange notion,

The same author has a comical story of one Major *Crisp*, an *English* gentleman at *St Christopher's*, who daily lost his slaves by suicide, and at length hit upon the following

Singular expedient for stopping the course of suicide among slaves.

lowing expedient to prevent it. He had received private intimation, that all the slaves upon his plantations, being weary of servitude, had determined to set out for home, by hanging themselves, and that on such a day they were to put this fine project in execution, in the bosom of a neighbouring wood. On this he assembled all his white servants, whom he let into the secret of his intention, and loading them with all the materials necessary for carrying on sugar works, set out for the wood. When he arrived here, he found his slaves met together with cords in their hands. He immediately went to them with a noose in his right hand, and a resolute countenance, and told them that he knew they were about to set out for home, and he was resolved to go along with them. "I have, says he, for that purpose, bought a sugar work in your country, where I shall find you employment enough, and as there can be no fear of your running away, you may depend upon it that I will make you work day and night, *Sunday* and holiday without ceasing. And my steward, (continued he) sends me word that he has retaken all your fugitive brethren, who had hanged themselves heretofore, and he makes them work with fetters upon their legs, which they are to continue to do, untill he receives my farther orders." As he ended his speech, his white servants appeared in sight with the waggons loaded with every thing necessary for carrying on the making of sugar, and they were thereby confirmed in the truth of what they had heard their master declare. In the mean time he chose out his tree, fixed his knot, and pressed them to begin to hang themselves, that they might have the pleasure of travelling together. This resolution, which they supposed him bent upon, joined to the miseries which they imagined, from his account, that their departed brethren underwent, intimidated them in such a manner, that they threw themselves at his feet, craving forgiveness, and promising never more to think of their own country. He was at first deaf to all intreaties, but his white servants joining with bended knees in the petition, he acquiesced, protesting that the first time any of them hanged himself, the rest should, to a man, be tucked up, and sent to labour in the new sugar-work carried on in *Guinea*, where they should drudge without ease or redemption. They then swore to continue true to their word, by putting some earth upon their tongues, raising their eyes and hands to heaven, and then striking their breasts. They would have you to understand by this ceremony, that they implore God to reduce them to dust as fine as that upon their tongues, should they fail in their promises, or be found in a lye. Major *Crisp* returned home well satisfied with his stratagem, by which he had saved his Negroes, who kept their word, for we find not that he ever after lost one of them by suicide.

Oath of Negroes.

Another expedient for the same purpose.

A *Frenchman* found another way of curing them of this trick, with equal success, when any of his people had hanged or otherwise made away with themselves, he lopped off the head and hands, which he hung up in an iron cage in his court yard. For it is the opinion of the Negroes, as soon as any of their brethren is buried, their spirit comes in the night, and carries away the body to their own country. "Let them hang themselves (said the *Frenchman*) as fast as they will. Since they are determined to go to their own country, I will take care they shall be miserable there; for as they have neither heads nor hands, they must be unable to see, hear, eat, or speak. The Negroes at first made a joke of his declaration, imagining their spirit would be strong enough to take away his members in the night, but finding themselves deceived in their expectations, they were induced to believe their master the more powerful of the two; and no more of them were known to hang themselves for fear they should wander about in their own country without heads or hands.

Their disputes of Negroes.

These people when they have any disputes among one another, plead their respective causes with a vehemence, that some people would call eloquence, and no one presumes to answer or interrupt, till he who has spoken first has finished all he intended to say. Their disputes indeed are generally about trifles, and their foundation rather in malice than reality.

Passions and entertainments.

Love of women is their prevalent passion, and dancing their favourite diversion, particularly the *Calendæ*, a sport brought from the coast of *Guinea* and attended with gestures which are not entirely consistent with modesty; whence it is forbidden by the public laws of the islands. Their musical instruments are a sort of drum, being a piece of hollow wood covered with sheepskin, and a kind of guitar, made of a calabash.

Music.

Differ from Europeans in taste.

They are happy in esteeming many things to be dainties which the *Europeans* cannot abide. For example, they feed on different kind of serpents, which they have the



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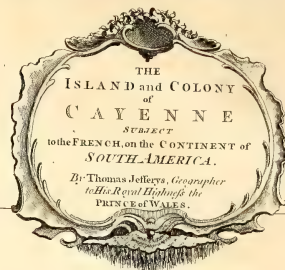
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EXPLANATION.

S. Sugar Works.
C. Coffee Plantation.
R. River.
Carbet Indian Nation.

British Miles on a Degree.

British & French Leagues on a Degree.



Europeans in
taille.

not abide. For example, they feed on different kind of serpents, which they

the

the faculty of smelling, as hounds have of game; and dog's flesh they prefer to all others. One would imagine that these sagacious brutes were sensible of this taste, for they bark at them furiously wherever they meet them.

Lobat tells us, that as he was one day about to chastise some black children for certain lascivious gestures, he was stopped by an old Negro, who represented to him, that it was unjust to chastise them for endeavouring to learn that which they must put in practice when grown up. "Is there any thing, said he, to be learned without application? and unless these children know something of the matter before-hand, how do you think they will be able to get young ones when they are married?" The priest endeavoured to no purpose to foil the poor Negro in his argument; but he was not to be convinced.

The generality of these poor people are strongly addicted to magic, in which their superstition leads them greatly to confide; and they have a faith in these sort of practices, which it is hardly possible to remove. Negroes inclined to magic.

To conclude the character of these people, we should observe, that they at first despise their masters, until they find them in every thing their superiors; then, against their will, they acknowledge their excellence, and are tractable, because they see it is to no purpose to be otherwise. Though to us their condition may appear miserable, it is not so in reality, since all happiness subsists only by comparison. Their food, their cloathing, and their cottages, are little better in their native land, than what they find upon the islands. Fated as they are, perhaps, at home, by fortune of war, or the tyranny of their rulers, to continued slavery, in changing climates they only change their masters. And is it not then reasonable to suppose, that those who are enlightened by the sacred text must be better masters, as being endowed with more humanity and benevolence than the unlettered Savage, who bears despotic sway over a herd of rough brutes, that have scarcely any thing but their walking upon two legs, to give them a title to the name of man, and in whom, if reason shines at all, it is with a faint and glimmering ray. Comparison of their present and past condition.

Description of the Island of CAYENNE.

C H A P. I. *Of the Isle of Cayenne in general.*

THIS Colony is situated on the Eastern coast of *America*, in the province of *Guiana*, between $3^{\circ} 30'$ and $5^{\circ} 50'$ North Latitude, and between 34° and $36^{\circ} 30'$ West Longitude from the island of *Ferro*. The river *Cayenne*, which separates the *Caribee* savages from the *Galibis*, gives its name to the island, which stands at its mouth, and has the sea on the North, the main land of *America* on the South, the said river *Cayenne* on the East, and the rivers *Oyac* and *Maburi* on the South West. The channel, formed by the rivers just mentioned, and the sea which separates the isle from the main land, is not above a good quarter of a league in breadth, with some small islets. The most noted points, or capes, are *Remire* and *Maburi* to the East, and *Ceperou* to the West. The key for vessels, which is honoured with the name of port, lies between Cape *Ceperou* on the island, and Cape *Corbino* on the continent, where the *Cayenne* and some other rivers and brooks fall into the sea, and afford a safe harbour for ships, which ride there in above four fathom depth, with good anchorage, defended from the East, South, and West winds by the lands which surround the bay, and only open to the North winds, which are not very violent on that quarter, nor the sea itself, even when agitated, because its billows are broken by a number of islets and great rocks, that lie before the mouth of the rivers, but leave a passage between them wide and deep enough for vessels of three or four hundred tons. Situation of Cayenne.

Whether this spot of land were first discovered by the *Portuguese* together with *Brazil*, or by the *French*, whose natural levity and restless temper did not permit them to establish colonies, as was designed, is not certain, nor very material. However, what is of more concern, if the whole island were good there would be ground enough to employ the whole colony, which indeed is not considerable. But a great part of it is low and under water, the earth shallow, and necessary to be renewed e-

very five or six years, more woods must be felled, new spots of ground cleared, and, as the soil is not every where proper to produce what is wanted, the inhabitants have been obliged to occupy some lands on the continent, where, as we are told, they are better, and where at least they may carve for themselves, and take as much ground to the East, West, and South, as they please.

Ancient
bounds of the
colony.

The bounds of the colony's lands on the continent were formerly much more distant from the isle of *Cayenne*, which may be regarded as the center, than they are at present; for on the East they reached to Cape *Nord*, or rather to the river of *Amazon*, which separates *Brasil* from *Guiana*, the sovereignty of which belongs to the king; on the West they had the river of *Paria*, making with the other an extent of almost 400 leagues of coast. But the *Portuguese* on the East, and the *Dutch* on the West, have greatly reduced these limits.

By what
means redu-
ced.

In the year 1635, when the *French* first took possession of the island of *Cayenne*, they had no competitors. But the *Portuguese* having extended their colonies from *Brasil* to the river of the *Amazon*, and finding the islands at the mouth of the great river very good, and convenient for their purpose, made settlements on them. After this they passed the river, and having found its bank on the side of *Guiana* over-run with large forests of wild coco-trees, they seized on the lands, and built forts to secure their possession. It is said they found mines of gold and silver, another and even more pressing motive to persuade themselves that this country was dependent on *Brasil*, which they possessed entire as far as the river *Plata*, since the impatience and instability of the *French* had driven them from *Rio Janeiro*, where they had made a settlement under the command of M. de *Villegaignon*, and from other plantations on that coast.

Encroach-
ments of the
Portuguese.

The disorders which happened in this colony from 1635, to 1664, when it was retaken by Mess. de *Traci* and de la *Barre*, having given the *Portuguese* all the time necessary for establishing themselves in the lands which they had occupied to the North of the river of *Amazon*, it was not in the power of the governors of *Cayenne* to make them repass that river. They always gained ground, and at last pushed the *French* so far as Cape *Orange*, in four degrees of North latitude, which cuts them short in territory on that side above 150 leagues of coast, without reckoning damages.

Eastern bound-
ary of the
colony at
present.

The boundary then at the East is at present Cape *Orange*, a country for the greatest part under water, unhealthy, and of little value as far as the river *Oyapok*; besides this, the property of it is contested for want of rightly marking the name of this river in the last treaty of peace. These pretensions might indeed have been settled by a post erected at the place where the bounds of the two colonies were supposed to meet; but this was now too late, and the governor of *Cayenne* was content to rebuild the old fort that was at the mouth of that river, where he keeps a small garrison, both to preserve the *French* rights, and prevent any adventurers from seizing on the mouth of this river, and there settling and fortifying themselves so as not easily to be dispossessed.

River *Oyapok*
described.

The entrance of the river *Oyapok* is above a league in breadth, and more than four fathom deep at all times. The Savages who live on its banks, and consist of several nations, tell wonders of it. It is no less than four fathoms deep above fifty leagues from the sea, and receives several considerable rivers; its banks are covered with great trees, very thick and strait; a sure mark of the goodness and depth of the soil. Though this country be not much elevated, it is however dry, and has wherewith to accommodate many thousands of inhabitants.

A fertile
country.

They reckon between twenty-five and thirty leagues from the mouth of the river *Oyapok* to the isle of *Cayenne*, including in that space several rivers. The country is infinitely finer and better than that to the north of the isle, producing every thing in perfection. The *Indian* nations there settled live very comfortably, and, if they were more laborious, might make an advantageous commerce of the fruits of the earth. Cotton, roucou, and indigo, grow there naturally, and without culture.

Western
boundary of
the *French*.

The boundary of the *French* territories on the West is at present the river *Maroni*, which separates them from the country possessed by the *Dutch*, and dependent on their colonies of *Berbiche* and *Surinam*.

Industry of
the *Dutch*.

Every one knows that these countries from the river *Paria* were drowned lands, and impracticable marshes, and so unhealthy as to cause dangerous distempers almost as soon as entered. But the *Dutch*, by unwearied patience and labour, have made of them a fine territory, and, by means of canals and jetties, have drained those marshes,

marshes, opened commodious communications, recovered immense tracts of rich land from the sea, and established on them manufactures of sugar, cultivated with success cotton, tobacco, roucou, indigo, coco, and coffee; have built very neat towns, and erected good fortresses. What would they not have done, had they remained masters of *Cayenne*, and the fertile land of the *Guyanna*, which have turned to so little profit in the hands of the *French*.

The river *Maroni* discharges itself into the sea by an opening three leagues in breadth, deep enough for large vessels, but so full of islets, banks, and rocks above and under water, as to be navigable only for moderate barks and canoes. The *Indians* who have rowed up this river by favour of the tide, which runs up near one hundred and eighty leagues, report, that they have spent between thirty-five and forty days in falling down the stream, and that they never were at its source. Its mouth is in 5° 50' North latitude, and 36° 30' longitude.

River *Maroni* described.

The *English*, who had a mind to keep possession of this river, some time after they had taken the isle of *Cayenne* from the *French*, on Sept. 22, 1664, and had also made themselves masters of *Surinam*, belonging to the *Dutch*, built a fort on a point almost surrounded by the river, about three leagues from its mouth. But having been obliged to abandon their conquests, the *French* took possession of the fort, which was seated on their side of the river, and put a small garrison in it, which remained there as long as the fort lasted. It was surrounded only with a palisade, was of short duration, and the *French*, instead of repairing and maintaining it, abandoned the place, and retired to *Cayenne*. The forts which they had erected at the mouths of the rivers *Conanamu*, or *Mananouri*, and *Corrou*, had the same fate; so that they maintain no more at present than Fort *St Louis* in *Cayenne*, and one of the two which were at the mouth of the river *Oyapok*.

Cayenne and *Surinam* taken by the *English*.

The island of *Cayenne* is well enough provided with shipping, the greater part of which have their station in the river *Maburi*, which separates the island from the continent on the East. The sea enters this river, and makes its water brackish. Another great stream has its source below the town *Aroua*, and falls into the said river to the South-east. The sea enters also this, and spoils its waters for some leagues. But to make amends for these inconveniences, there are several rivulets which fall from the hills of this island, and supply the inhabitants with very good water, besides enabling them to work sugar-mills, which turn to very good account.

Navigation and rivers of *Cayenne*.

CHAP. II. Of the Revolutions in the Colony of Cayenne.

The *French* had long since made several vain and ruinous attempts to exercise commerce, and make settlements in Southern *America*. In 1530 two small ships of theirs trading with the *Indians* at the *Rio de la Plata*, were taken, sunk, and the whole crews massacred without mercy by the *Portuguese*. In 1555, *M. de Coligni*, Admiral of *France*, a Calvinist, sent a considerable armament to *Brasil*, under the conduct of *Villegaignon*, of the same profession, who carried some ministers with him, designing to enjoy there the free exercise of their religion, which was intended to be abolished in *France*. He made a settlement on the river *Ganabara*, now *Rio Janeiro*, under the tropic of *Capricorn*, 23° 30' of Southern latitude. This colony was soon destroyed by the divisions among them, occasioned by the difference of religion; and at last their fort was surprised by the *Portuguese*, who put to death all they found there, as well as those Catholics who had gone over to them, hoping to find favour from the uniformity of religion. This ill success did not discourage the *French*, but put them upon new projects; they formed companies and armaments in 1594, 1604, and 1612; they went and settled themselves at *Maragnon*, and other places to the South and North of the river of *Amazons*, and had every where the same success; the *Portuguese* on one hand, and their own sickness and impatience on the other, defeated all their enterprises. Those who had contributed money lost it, and those who ventured their bodies left them on the spot; the treachery of the *Portuguese*, hunger, and miseries brought them all to their last end.

Ill fate of *French* colonies.

Ten years then passed without thinking on new establishments, when chance directed them to make a settlement on *St Christopher's*, in concert with the *English*; and this occasioned them to turn their thoughts once more upon *Brasil*. But since the *Portuguese* had settlements and fortifications along that coast, from the *Rio de la Plata* to that

French first
attempt to
settle on Cay-
enne miscar-
ries.

that of the *Amazons*, so as not to be dispossessed, the island of *Cayenne*, with the neighbouring country, were judged most proper for establishing a colony on them. Now here, instead of gaining the affection of the *Indians*, as had been hitherto practised, that they might have nothing to fear from that quarter, they were so imprudent as to take part in their quarrels. They joined the *Galibis* against the *Caribbees*, and these latter having obtained a considerable advantage over the others, the *French* found themselves involved in the disgrace of their friends. Many were taken, roasted and eaten; their new habitations destroyed, and those who escaped had the good luck to find faithful friendship with the *Galibis*, who received them with great civility, and regarded them as one people with themselves.

Cruelties of
the Sieur de
Bretigny.

The establishments of *St Christopher's*, *Martinico*, *Guadaloupe*, and other isles of the *Antilles*, had so engrossed the care of the *French*, as to banish all thoughts of their poor countrymen, whom they had left in the hands of the *Indians* of *Cayenne*. At length, some who had belonged to that unfortunate company of 1635 recalled them to mind, grew ashamed of their indolence, and could not see without envy the prosperity of the Leeward colonies. They obtained therefore a new confirmation of the privileges which had been granted them for establishing colonies in *Cayenne* and *Guiana*. A company was formed at *Rouen*, in 1645, who chose for their president the *Sieur Poncet de Bretigny*, an empty, passionate, and cruel man, fitter to be confined in a mad-house, than put at the head of a colony. This furious fool first declared war against the *Savages*, and not satisfied with the blood of those poor *Indians*, which he inhumanly spilled whenever any of them fell into his hands, he grew bitterly asperated against his own company, and there was no kind of cruelty which he did not exercise upon them. The wheel and gibbet were continually loaded with the bodies of those wretches. He inflicted tortures so uncommon, that he himself had no names for the instruments, but called one *purgatory*, and the other *bell*. Thirsting after the blood of those whom he had under his command, he seemed only employed in finding pretences for tormenting them. He had a mind to know their dreams: One of them told him he had dreamed that he saw him dead. He wanted no more to order the poor man to be broke alive and exposed upon the wheel, where he was left to expire, saying, he would not have had that dream, if he had not conceived a design to kill him. At last the *French* in despair resolved to abandon the island; some saved themselves on the continent, where, to preserve their lives, they went in search of the *Savages*, man-eaters as they were. The *Indians* had compassion on them, received them kindly, fed them, and did what they could to sweeten their hardships.

He is killed.

When the *Sieur de Bretigny* was informed of it, he sent to reclaim them; and the *Indians* being obstinate, and refusing to deliver them, he caused a shallop to be fitted out, and went in search of them himself. Here we have occasion to remark, that true bravery is never found in a cruel man. He had not made half a league in the river *Cayenne*, when he saw himself attacked by flights of arrows from the *Indians*. Instead of landing, he gave orders to fire upon them out of his shallop; but the death of some of them did not dishearten the rest, who seeing that he durst not come and attack them on land, plied him so warmly with showers of arrows and stones, that he unmoored in order to take his flight. But the *Indians* still pressing him more and more, he covered himself with a red cloak which he had brought with him, and in that condition was killed, with all his followers, who well deserved that fate, because they had been the ministers of his cruelties. The *Indians* took the shallop with all the dead bodies, and broiled and eat them. And tho' it was easy for them, after the death of the chief, to make a descent upon the island, and to massacre the rest of the inhabitants, they had the humanity not to confound the innocent with the guilty, but were satisfied with having exterminated that tyrant, and the assistants of his barbarities, and sent the *French* who were among them, to tell those who were in the island, that they would do them no harm, provided they lived in peace with them. The poor remainder of that colony accepted the proposal with joy. This peace saved the lives of those who were found there nine or or ten years after, when a new company was formed for settling in that country, which had no better fortune than that of the *Sieur de Bretigny*. The account in short is this.

A gentleman of *Normandy*, named the *Sieur de Royville*, having learned from some *Frenchmen* who had returned from *Cayenne*, after the death of the *Sieur de Bretigny*,
the

the considerable advantage that might be reaped from a settlement in that country, resolved to put himself at the head of the affair, and to form a new company, which might learn instruction from the faults of their predecessors, and from those who remained. He communicated his design to some friends, who entered into his views, and engaged to find others who would furnish the sums necessary for such an undertaking. Pursuant to this, five persons were induced to deposit eight thousand crowns, for the first advance. They were soon joined by others, who raised a considerable sum, and obtained of the king the letters patent necessary for the establishment, with a revocation, at the same time, of those that had been granted to the company of *Rouen* which had been headed by the *Sieur de Bretigny*, because it was supposed to have been deficient in several articles specified in the letters of its establishment.

A new company of planters formed.

The company of *Rouen*, notwithstanding its ill success, had not abandoned their project, and little colony, though they supported it but feebly. Since the death of *Bretigny* they had not ceased to send, from time to time, supplies of merchandise; and, tho' they received but little profit, had dispatched a reinforcement of sixty persons with provisions and merchandise, while the new company was making the necessary dispositions for a voyage and establishment. These succours had arrived three months before the ships of the new company set sail, and the directors of *Rouen* had assured those upon the island that they should soon receive so powerful an assistance as to have nothing to fear from the new company.

Weakly opposed by the old company.

Between seven and eight hundred persons of all ages, sexes, and conditions, were engaged in forming this colony. They were divided into companies, a great number of officers was appointed, and every thing was put in good order. Several associates were resolved to go and assist in person at the establishment. Never was a scheme better laid, or worse executed. Faults were committed without number: The most considerable, were the embarking so many people without taking care for their subsistence after their arrival in the country; and laying in so slender a stock of provisions, as to be forced to retrench the allowance before the end of the voyage.

Ill measures taken.

This great colony set out from *Paris*, May 18, 1652, in boats down the river *Seyne*, for *Rouen*, where they were to take small vessels to carry them to *Havre*, the place designed for their embarkation. The first misfortune that befel them, was the death of the *Abbe d'Isle Marivault*. He was in a manner the soul of the colony by his profound knowledge in theology and canonical matters, had been nominated chief director of the company of *Cayenne*, and every thing was expected from his zeal and capacity. He was drowned at the port of *Conference*. His death, however, did not retard the voyage, and the company safely arrived at *Havre*. Of the two vessels which the company had bought, one was unfit to put to sea, and more than three weeks were required to fit her out. At length the whole cargo set sail from *Havre*, July 2, 1652. The voyage was long and fatiguing; they had tedious calms, during which the spirits of the associates, who were called lords of the colony, were kindled into wrath and resentment, and highly exasperated against the *Sieur Royville*, who had been nominated general of the colony for three years. They pretended to have discovered a design formed by that general to cut all their throats, and to make himself master of the colony, and the ferment grew so high that they stabbed their general on September 18, and threw him into the sea.

General of the colony assassinated.

His death, however, did not cause any considerable disorder in measures, and the lords of the colony justified their action before their subjects as well as they could. Some new regulations were made, good and useful if they had been followed, and at last they arrived at *Cayenne*, September 29, after a passage of three months wanting two days.

Arrival at Cayenne.

The *French* belonging to the company of *Rouen*, seeing these two great ships with a white flag, took them for the succours which they had been promised. They hoisted the white flag in the fort, and as they saw that the pilots were not acquainted with the entry into the port, six of the principal men put themselves into a canoe, and came to direct them. This canoe meeting with a shallop belonging to the ships, which were searching the channel of the river by sounding, shewed it to them. Their chief, called *Vandangeur*, who was the first commissary of the fort, went aboard the shallop, where he was detained, and those who were in the canoe were obliged to come on board the admiral. The lords of the colony received them with wonderful civility, and promised them double the profits which they had enjoyed in their company. The commander of the fort was then summoned to come on board the admiral, and sur-

Fort surrendered.

render his fortresses into the hands of the lords of the company. He obeyed, and they took possession of it *September 30, 1652*.

Cabals, plot, and execution

Thus we see a new company established at *Cayenne*, with a dozen lords of the colony at its head; too many indeed to manage it as the business required. And therefore they began to cabal, form parties, and to project an assassination of some persons. The conspiracy was detected, and four of them arrested, one of whom had his head cut off the 21st of *December* following; the other three were deprived of the honours of their rank, and banished into a desert island till an opportunity offered for their passage to the *Antilles*.

Quarrels with the Indians.

This execution lessened the number of the lords of the company, besides which death had before carried off two more of them; but this did not restore peace among those who remained. Things were managed worse than ever; the government, contrary to all sense and reason, quarrelled with the *Indians*, plundered them, and took some of them captive. The *Indians* took up arms, plundered and burnt some quarters, and massacred some of these lords, and a number of inhabitants, and famine and diseases carried off many more. The rest were constrained to retire into the fort, which the governor had abandoned, after he had carried off a bark of the company, plundered his own soldiers, and retired for shelter to *Surinam* among the *English*, who were then masters of that place.

Colony abandons Cayenne.

The *Indians* pillaged the rest of the *French* quarters, and blocked up those in the fort so closely, as to oblige them at last to abandon the fort, cannon, arms, merchandise, and, in short, every thing that could not be embarked in a rotten bark which was left them, and in two or three canoes provided for them by the *Indians*, with a quantity of provisions, in order to retire among the *English*, and from thence to *Barbadoes*.

Dutch cause of its ruin.

Such was the dissipation of that colony, which had cost such sums, and had remained in the isle no longer than the end of *December, 1653*, and its downfall drew with it what was left of that of *Rouen*. It was always believed, and with good reason, that the *Dutch* settled at *Barbiche* had been the cause of the perpetual wars and treacheries of the *Indians* against that growing colony. Those republicans could not behold, but with extreme jealousy, that fine land in the hands of the *French*, while they themselves were obliged to toil and sweat in draining infectious marshes, which none but *Dutchmen* durst undertake to render of any value.

Dutch regain Surinam.

The *English* having driven the *Dutch* from the river *Surinam*, had there settled, and seized on the fort which the *French* had erected at the river's mouth during the tyrannic government of the *Sieur de Bretigny*. They had found it abandoned, and in no good condition, but had repaired and greatly enlarged it, and would have firmly established themselves in that post, and along that river, if the *Dutch* had not found means to regain them by a treaty, in which they gave up their plantations in the neighbourhood of *New England*. Thus did the *Dutch* repossess themselves of *Surinam* and the other places seized by the *English*, of which those by the river *Maroni* made a part, and the colony, thus established, is at present one of the most considerable in *America*.

Got possession of Cayenne.

It is not justly known when the *Dutch* became masters of *Cayenne*, nor whether they took it by force from the Savages, or by virtue of a treaty with those people. But by what means soever they got into possession, they demanded a commission from the states of *Holland*, who granted it to *Guerin Spranger* and his associates. He was a man of parts, and by his wisdom and great conduct soon put the isle in good condition. He got rid, either by force or accommodation, of the *Indians* who had habitations in *Cayenne*, and obliged them to retire to the continent; he augmented the fortifications, cleared large spots of ground, erected sugarworks, cultivated, with success, cotton, rocou, indigo, and other commodities, with which he drove an advantageous traffic with his countrymen, and others who came there to trade.

Scheme of a new French colony.

Spranger lived in peace on the island, when *M. de Fevre le la Barre*, master of requests, who had been intendant of the *Bourbonese*, took a resolution of forming a new company, and establishing a colony, which, he hoped, would be more prosperous than those of which we have given account. He was much prompted, among others who belonged to the preceding colonies, by the *Sieur Bouchardeau*, who from his voyage to the main land of *America*, the isle of *Cayenne*, and the *Antilles*, was regarded as a person best acquainted with the state and affairs of those vast regions. These two gentlemen

tlemen drew up a scheme of a colony, and presented it to M. Colbert, secretary and minister of state, admired by all the world for his vast genius, and continual application to the establishment of commerce, navigation, and colonies.

This minister was pleased with the project, and easily obtained the royal approbation. He told the gentlemen that they must form a company, and that his majesty would support it with his authority, protection, and assistance of men, money, and ships. Approved by the king.

M. de la Barre communicated his design to some friends, and in a short time got twenty, who agreed to deposit each 10,000 livres as a fund for a company, to which they gave the name of the *French Equinoctial* company, and so it is called in the letters patent of its establishment dated October 1663, in which the bounds of the grant are the river of *Amazons*, and the river of *Oronoque*. We omit the letters patent under the name of the *Equinoctial* company, because it kept that title no longer than July 1665, when the king, having broke the company of 1628, and others which had been formed for *New France*, or *Canada*, and obliged the particular lords or proprietors of the *Antilles* to report their contracts of acquisition, in order to be reimbursed, incorporated all preceding companies into one sole company, under the magnificent name of the *West India* company. French Equinoctial company formed.

The company presented to the king the *Sieur de la Barre* to be governor of the isle of *Cayenne*, and chief manager of affairs in that country. To this his majesty agreed, and honoured him with the commission of lieutenant general in the lands of *South America*, from the river of *Amazons* to that of *Oronoque*, with orders to M. de Tracy, privy councillor, and his lieutenant general by land as well as at sea, in *South* and *North America*, to put the new company in possession of the said countries, and to drive out by force of arms all those who might have established themselves in those quarters. Moreover, he gave orders for the equipment of two of his ships of war to escort those of the company. Their first armament.

The fleet, consisting of three large pinks, a fly-boat, and a frigate, belonging to the company, which had on board twelve hundred men, whom they had enlisted, and two men of war, with detachments from four regiments, and a number of officers and volunteers, set sail from *Rockelle*, Feb. 26, 1664, and after touching at *Madeira*, and *St Yago*, chief of the islands of *Cape Verd*, where they furnished themselves with several necessaries for the voyage, and the use of the colony, arrived in the road of *Cayenne*, May 11. Arrival at Cayenne.

M. de la Barre immediately sent an officer to the fort of *Ceperou*, to invite the governor on board the king's ship, where he would let him know his majesty's intentions. M. Spranger well knew that it was a summons to surrender; and as he was in no condition to defend himself against so powerful a fleet, which might take the place by storm, and deprive him of the advantages of an honourable capitulation, offered to capitulate, and the articles were signed May 15, 1664, and the fort and island put into the hands of M. de la Barre, who was appointed governor. Take possession of the island.

The *Indians* made no resistance, but retired from the sea coast as far as they could within land; and as those barbarians know not what it is to pardon injuries, they imagined that the *French* were returned in such numbers only to punish them for their treachery, and massacre of *Frenchmen*, and were come to extirpate them. A long time passed without seeing one *Indian*, till at last they drew nearer by degrees, and seeing that no harm was done to some of their people, whom chance had thrown into the hands of the *French*, but that, on the contrary, they were sent back well satisfied with their treatment, they deputed some of their chiefs to demand pardon for what was past, and to promise an inviolable alliance and fidelity. M. de la Barre gave them a favourable hearing, and made them buy pretty dear a peace which he wanted to give them. It was agreed, that they should have no more share in the isle; that the *French* should be free to settle on the continent wherever they pleased; that if the lands which the *Indians* occupied were convenient for the *French*, they should be obliged to give them up, after taking away what they had put in the ground; that they should make no alliance with the *English*, *Dutch*, or *Portuguese*; that they should assist and defend with all their force the *French* in their hunting, fishing, and discoveries of the country. They were also obliged to send back to the fort the slaves and others belonging to the company, who might run away, or have a mind to retire among them, or among strangers. In performance of this convention they were promised Treaty with the Indians.

an oblivion of all that had passed, and promised a free trade with the company and inhabitants. The *Indians* embraced these conditions with infinite joy, which they testified by songs and dances; and the colony, which now consisted of above a thousand persons, was expected to make a great progress.

The king was obliged to declare war against the *English*, in favour of the *Dutch*, Jan. 26, 1666, and hostilities began in the Leeward islands, to the disadvantage of the *English*, who resolved to revenge themselves on *Cayenne*, which had lately received a reinforcement of ammunition and provisions from a squadron of six or seven ships, which afterwards took their course to *Martinico*, where they arrived the beginning of *October*. The *English* squadron, consisting of one pretty large man of war, six frigates, and two transports, came in sight of *Cayenne*, *October* 22. The Chevalier de *Lezy*, whom the *Sieur de Barre*, having accepted the office of lieutenant general in the islands and countries granted to the *West India* company, had left governor, was then at *Maburi*. He immediately took post for *Remire* for better intelligence, and at all hazards gave an alarm for the inhabitants to take arms. He arrived at Fort *Ceperou*, where he found a brigantine laden with ammunition and provisions, sent by his brother, with advice that the *English* were coming to attack him. He no longer then doubted that the vessels he saw were enemies. He redoubled the alarm, and putting himself at the head of two hundred men, marched in all haste from *Remire* to join the *Sieur d'Estienne*, his major, who had one hundred men. He put his troops in order, and waited for daylight to see what the enemy would undertake, and to oppose them. Day came, when he plainly perceived that the *English* were making dispositions for a descent. Fifteen shallops full of men had cast anchor at the islet of *Cabrittes*, very near *Cayenne*. After they had made about a league, they returned all on a sudden to *Cayenne*, with no other design than by those different movements to fatigue our troops. The stratagem succeeded: The governor, who took the same rout, found himself followed by few of his people, who were obliged to fetch a large compass because of the trees, and a river difficult to pass; so that when the governor came to the place of descent, he found that the shallops had already landed fifty or sixty men, who had pitched their colours in the sand. The governor went up to them courageously, and fired his pistol within shot. Fifteen or twenty soldiers, who had followed him, also fired; but too far off, and without effect. The enemy fired but ill likewise; for none but the governor and the major were wounded, the first slightly in the shoulder, and the other worse in the thigh. They retreated upon a height, and perceiving that the other shallops were yet at a distance, they were in hopes to defeat the *English* who were landed, before they could be reinforced. The Chevalier cried out to his men to charge them sword in hand; but he perceived that most of them had no swords, and were only armed with fuses. He took therefore the resolution to retire to the fort, and commanded his men to follow him.

The ordinary rule of retreating is for the commander to march in the rear; but *Lezy* put himself at the head; a wise precaution; for he was apprehensive that his troops would disperse. But the *English*, content with his retreat, did not offer to pursue him, but gave him all the leisure he could wish to retire. He sent out to discover the enemy's motions, who reported that the *English* were content with their landing, and made no movement. There needed no more to put him and his colony and garrison in good heart, since it gave them opportunity to transport into the castle all that could be necessary for a long defence. But he took a resolution quite opposite, and gave orders to the inhabitants and soldiers to come and join him five leagues from the island, whither he pretended to retire, and save his retinue among the friendly *Indians*. And so, without any further ceremony, he embarked with his wounded major, and as many as the boat could contain, with a precipitation quite unworthy a man of war, telling those whom he abandoned, that he left them a bark and canoes, by which they might save themselves on the continent among the *Indians*.

This retreat, or rather cowardly flight of the governor, quite sunk the spirits of the inhabitants and soldiers that remained. A serjeant named *Ferant*, a *Swiss* by country, endeavoured to make them take a resolution worthy of their nation. He got together a hundred, and led them to the fort; these elected another serjeant, called *Buchoterie*; but his heart also failing him, he embarked at ten in the evening, with those who chose to follow, and saved himself. The *Swiss* serjeant, seeing himself still at the head

Cayenne attacked by the *English*.

Governor abandons the island.

head of fifty men, persuaded them to hold out the fort, representing that they were enough to defend it, or at least to obtain an honourable capitulation, since the fort was in a good condition, well provided with ammunition, and capable of making the enemy pay dear for it. But the flight of the governor and the rest had so intimidated them, as to oblige this brave man to send and demand to capitulate. The *English* consented, on condition that the garrison should be prisoners of war; and the next day at four in the afternoon took possession of the fortress with six or seven hundred men, from whom they made detachments which seized on the other ports of the island.

Fort surrendered.

The Chevalier *Armand*, who commanded the *English*, knowing that peace was negotiated in *Europe*, and that the treaty might be made, or at least far advanced, was well advised that it was not for the interest of his nation to keep that island, which he foresaw he must be obliged soon to restore. He distributed his troops therefore over the isle, where they found none but women and children, and the soldiers did nothing for fifteen days but plunder and put on board all that they found, loaded their vessels with all the cannon, arms, ammunition, and provisions; demolished the sugar-works, pulled up all the gardens, and, when they were ready to embark, set fire every where, not sparing the churches, which they had plundered of their ornaments, and even of the company's books, which they had not taken care to secure. Thus was this unhappy colony once more destroyed.

English quit the isle.

The *English*, after this expedition, made sail for *Surinam*, a settlement of the *Dutch*. The chevalier *de Lezy*, who was retired thither with about 200 men, had given notice to the *Dutch* governor that to all appearance he would be attacked, and offered to share the danger with him. The governor, who was a man of merit, and full of courage, regarded the assistance as if sent from heaven. Some time after this the *English* appeared; their descent was disputed, but their numbers prevailed after they had suffered considerably. They then attacked the fort, which made a vigorous defence. *Lezy* bestirred himself as he should have done at *Cayenne*; he and his men fought like heroes, and wonderfully seconded the bravery of the *Dutch* governor; and the *English* must have been obliged to draw off with shame, had it not been for the treachery of the major, who opened to them a gate of the fortress, by which they entered. The governor then, seeing the cowardice of some of his men, put himself at the head of the *French* and the rest of his faithful soldiers, in order to repulse the enemy. He was taken, and the Chevalier *Armand* praised his bravery, and that of the *French*, and told them that if they had defended *Cayenne* as well as they did, after their leaving it, *Surinam*, their island would not have changed its master.

Take *Surinam*.

Armand did not think it fit for his purpose to keep this new conquest, but contented himself with plundering and carrying off every thing that could be put aboard his fleet; after which he set sail and went in triumph to *Barbadoes*, where he landed his *French* and *Dutch* prisoners, whom my Lord *Willoughby*, governor of that island, sent to *Guadaloupe*, where *Lezy's* brother, the lieutenant-general, shocked at his cowardice, refused to see him. Friends interceded, and obtained leave for the Chevalier to justify himself. He presented for that purpose a petition to his brother, who referred it to the governor of *Guadaloupe*. That prudent officer, after hearing evidence, which depicted that the subalterns had basely abandoned their posts under the conduct of their governor, he was declared to have done his duty, since he had fought to the effusion of his own blood. *Lezy* was then acquitted, his brother saw him, and finding him in a resolution to go and repair his fault, restored him to his favour and friendship.

Governor of *Cayenne* acquitted.

Father *Meorelet*, a jesuit, who had done the duty of a parson at *Cayenne*, and was saved with a good number of inhabitants among the *Indians*, gave notice to *de la Barre* of their condition, which encouraged the lieutenant general to rally the remains of the colony, and re-establish it. For this purpose *Lezy* returned thither in *December* of the same year, with about 200 persons, and a good number of Negroes. The company furnished him with the artillery, arms, military stores, and provisions, necessary for re-establishing the fort and the colony. He took possession of the fort; the *French* who had taken refuge among the *Indians* joined him, and he found himself at the head of above 400 men. It was hoped that the peace at *Breda* would be lasting, which encouraged the inhabitants to re-establish their manufactures, and make their lands valuable; and indeed there was reason to hope that, after many misfortunes hap-

Island repossessed by the *French*.

pening one upon the neck of another to this colony, it would at last become as flourishing as those of the Leeward Islands.

But the king having been obliged to declare war against the *Dutch* in the beginning of 1672, these put to sea a considerable fleet, which surprised *Cayenne*, and once more dislodged *Lezy*. Most of the inhabitants, weary of being so often driven away, and spoiled of their goods, made an accommodation with the *Dutch*, by virtue of which they kept possession of their estates. *Lezy* passed into *France*, and justified his conduct as well as he could to the minister. For the king, seeing the disorder of the affairs of the company which he had established in 1664, united the islands to his own domain in 1674, and governed them by military officers and intendants, as he did the other provinces of his dominion. Hence the loss of *Cayenne* redounding wholly to the king, M. *Colbert*, who was charged with the department of the marine, no sooner knew that the island was surprised by the *Dutch* than he was solicitous to recover it.

For this end the Count *d'Etrees*, with a squadron of ten men of war, four frigates, and the necessary ships with stores and provisions, sailed from *Brest* in the beginning of *October* 1676, and arrived at *Cayenne* on *December* 17, and cast anchor at the cape of *Armire*, three leagues from the fort. It was known from a *Frenchman*, who had left the fort fifteen days before, that the garrison consisted of three hundred men, who had greatly augmented the fortifications, had palisaded them anew, and surrounded them with a wide and deep ditch; had raised cavaliers, and planted batteries, on which they had placed six and twenty cannon, to play in front and flank on the openings of the woods, by which approaches must be made; and in short they had omitted nothing necessary for a long and vigorous resistance.

The descent was made *Dec.* 18, by eight hundred men, who were afterwards divided into two bodies, each of four hundred. Though the greatest part of the soldiers were new levies, or seamen, they were led by such brave, prudent, and experienced officers, with the Count *d'Etrees* at their head, that they had all the success that could be expected from so bold and well concerted an enterprise. The 19th was spent in refreshing the troops after the fatigue of so long a voyage, and the pains they had taken in the descent and debarkation of the necessary tools and stores. The admiral prudently judged, that if he should make his attack in the day-time, his troops would be too much exposed to the fire of the cannon and musquetry; he resolved therefore to make it by night. He passed the woods and defiles from *Remire* to within two hundred paces of the enemy's intrenchment, with difficulty enough, under the guidance of some *French* inhabitants, whom the *Dutch* had left in their houses, after they had entirely disarmed them, and had taken the precaution to confine within the fortresses all of whom they had any suspicion.

As soon as the men came in sight of the intrenchments they formed, and the seven companies which were to act with their officers at their head, and a number of volunteers, among whom was *Lezy*, who was more interested than any other in the recovery of that place, marched at the signal with extraordinary bravery. The enemy, whom *Lezy* had summoned the day before, rather to reconnoitre their works, than hoping they would surrender without fighting, had answered, that they were in a condition to defend themselves, and that they deserved to be hanged if they did not; and accordingly made a stout defence, sustaining the efforts of the *French* with singular firmness and bravery. They came to handy strokes with spears and swords; but the palisade being pulled up in several places, and the first intrenchment, which was the greatest and best fortified, being carried, the *French* cut off their retreat to the fort, where they might yet have made a long defence. The Chevalier *de Lezy*, who would fain signalize himself to efface past imputations, and commanded the attack, with the *Sieur de Melinieres* and the Chevalier *d'Emaux*, had the good fortune to take the *Dutch* governor and some other officers. They obliged those in the fort to surrender at discretion; so that, after less than an hour's fighting, the Count *d'Etrees* saw himself master of the fortresses of *Cayenne* and all the intrenchments with which the *Dutch* had surrounded it.

This action, tho' short, was not unbloody; the *French* indeed had but two officers killed on the spot, but fifteen or sixteen wounded, thirty-eight marines killed, and ninety-five wounded. The *Dutch* lost some officers, and thirty-two soldiers, and thirty-five soldiers and seven or eight officers wounded. The governor with three captains and their lieutenants, two captains of ships, a minister, two commissioners of the

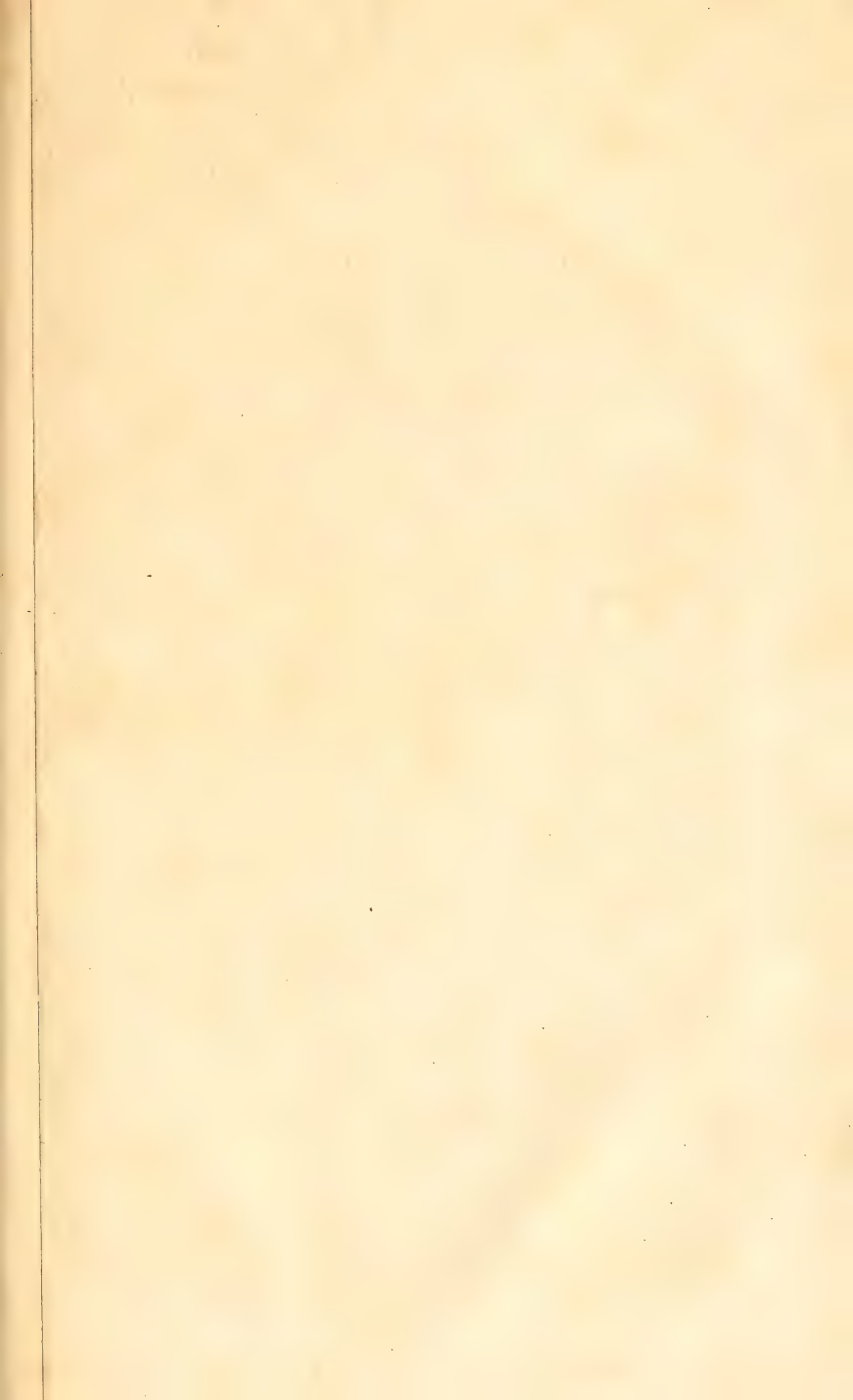
Surprised by
the *Dutch*.

French squad-
ron before it

Make a de-
scent.

Take the fort

Loss on both
sides.



PLAN
of the
TOWN OF CAYENNE
and
FORT ST MICHAEL.
Drawn by the
Chevalier de Marechais.

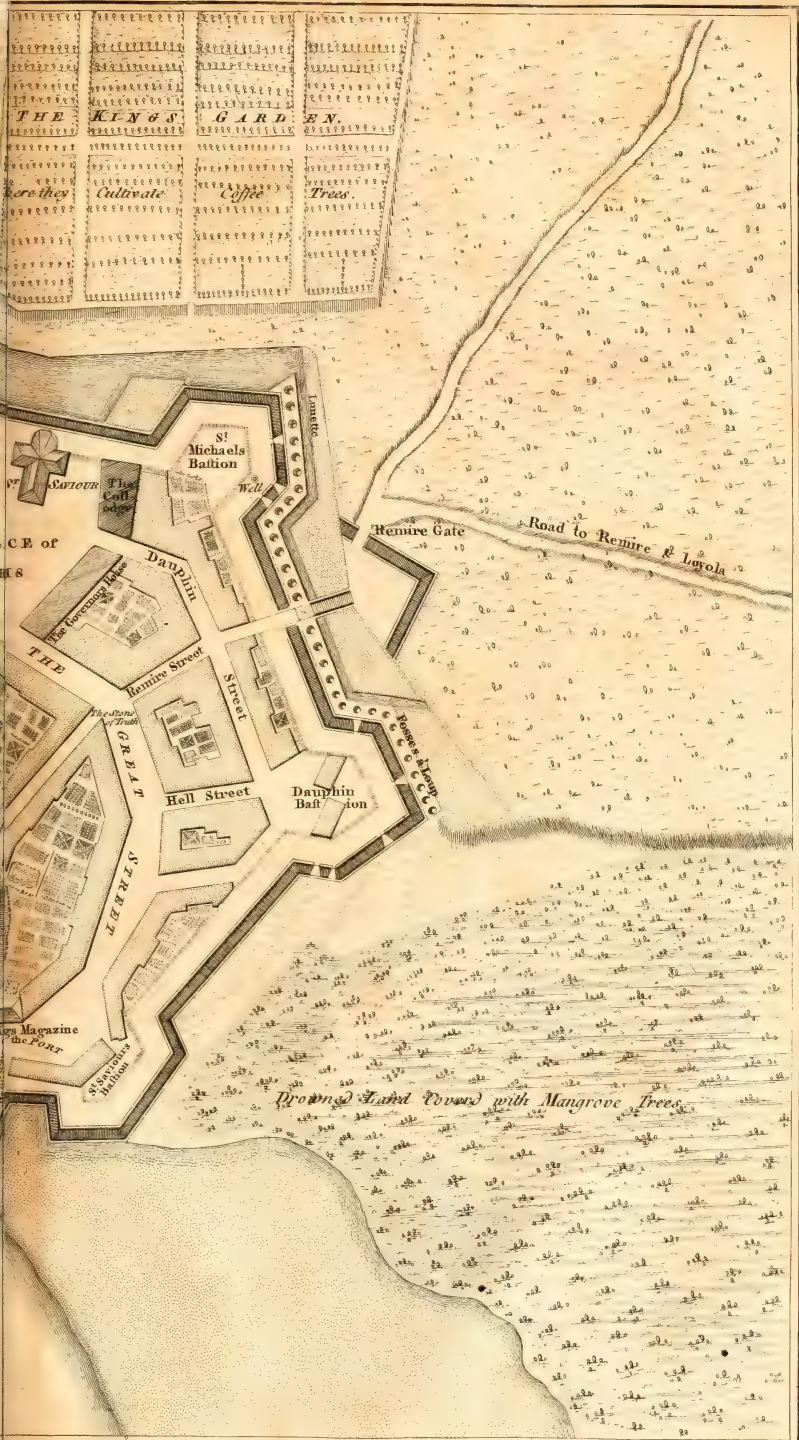
MOUTH
OF THE
RIVER CAYENNE



THE HARBOUR

British Fathoms.
5 10 15 20 25 30 40 50 100





the company, a secretary, a volunteer, and two hundred and sixty foldiers remained prisoners of war.

Thus did *Cayenne* return under the power of the king of *France*, Dec. 19, 1676, since which it has not been taken nor attacked by the enemies of *France*. The *Indians* have lived in peace with the colony, and they deserve praise for their good behaviour. The *French* traffic with them in safety, and employ them in different works for small wages; and they have had the discretion to retire farther within land, in proportion as the inhabitants advance their plantations and dwellings on the continent.

Colony enjoys peace.

CHAP. III. State of the Colony of Cayenne in 1726.

The port of *Cayenne* is formed by nature in a creek or small bay between the points or capes *Ceperou* and *Maburi*, on the Western side. It is deep enough for considerable vessels, which ride in perfect security, and may even be careened. This country is quite a stranger to those furious winds called Hurricanes, which make the tour of the compass with extreme violence, and cause such desolation in the Leeward islands. In the port you must observe to moor across North and South, so that the greatest anchor may be on the Southern side, because the ebb and the current of the rivers are so strong on that quarter, as to cause the vessels which they drive to make a league and a half in an hour; whereas a small anchor is sufficient on the North, as the great current of the rivers, which fall with violence into the sea, resist its waves, break their force, and prevent all violent motion in that part, where consequently ships are out of all danger. The river *Cayenne*, which forms this port, parts into two branches, of which the Westernmost preserves the name of *Cayenne*, and that on the East is called the river *Maluri*. The anchorage for ships is at the foot of the fort between the points *Ceperou* and *Maburi*.

Description of the port.

The fort, to which the company gave the name of *St Michael*, because they took possession of the island on *Sept. 29*, the day dedicated to *St Michael*, was before called *Ceperou*, and still passes under that name at present. I mention both these names, lest they should be thought to belong to two distinct places instead of one. It stands upon an eminence, which commands the town, port, and road, or rather mouth of the river. It is but small, and very irregular; but it would have been better, and as regular as the ground would permit, if the design and plan drawn by the Chevalier *Renau* in 1700, when he came to survey the island by the king's order, had been executed. The height on which it is situated is entirely inclosed within the compass of the fortifications which surround the city. This compass is irregular; on the side towards the isle it is formed of four bastions, and three curtains, regular enough. The rest of the compass, or enclosure, consists only of redoubts, with an irregular bastion, which commands the entrance of the port. They were obliged to conform to the ground, and the rocks that border on the coast. There is no ditch but from the King's bastion to the Dauphin's, and it is dry. It was not thought necessary to make a covert way; there would be time enough for that, it was hoped, when an attack should be threatened. Palisades are easily made in a country still almost covered with trees.

Fort St Michael and outworks.

The city has but two gates, one opening to the river, called the gate of the fort, and the other towards the land, called the gate of *Remire*. There is a bridge on the fosse, covered with a half-moon palisaded. The streets are broad, strait as a line, and neat enough when it does not rain. They are not paved, as the expence would be useless, because the ground being sandy requires no more than an hour of fair weather to dry it. The houses, commonly called *casas*, are mostly of wood; there are, however, some of stone in several quarters. The manner is to have many chambers on a floor, because they never want ground for building; and they find it the cheapest and most commodious way. They take care to have the rooms large, for the benefit of the cool air, and they make them higher at present than formerly, with windows from top to bottom. The furniture indeed is none of the most splendid, though the inhabitants are in a condition of having as rich moveables as any in *France*, but they chiefly regard conveniency. All the appendages of a house, as the kitchen, buttry, warehouse, and other necessary rooms, are separated from the lodging of the master, who is by that means remote from the noise and offensive smells usual to those places. The houses are covered with shingles, or small planks of hard wood, from seven

City of Cayenne.

to eight inches broad, and eighteen inches long, not sawed, but cloven, and well planed.

The road for shipping.

The road for shipping is very safe, having only two rocks to avoid, which are very noted, one called the *White Horse*, and the other the *Fountain Rock*. It is liable indeed to one inconvenience attending it from the worms, which eat holes in the vessels in those places which are not covered with pitch and tar. It is easy to prevent this mischief by only careening, or cleansing the ship from time to time by kindling fires; for these animals never come but where they find those void places, which are occasioned by the long stay of the ship in that road. The best anchorage is at the foot of the fort; it is an excellent road, where vessels ride in perfect security from the winds and all annoyance.

Principal edifices.

The arsenal, or place of arms, is at the bottom of the fort, behind the bastions of the king and *St Michael*. The parochial church makes one of the sides of the square; it is only of wood, but spacious, well enlightened, very neat, and ornamented; its wooden work passes for a master-piece in the country. The house of the Jesuits forms the left side: it is also of timber-work, large, beautiful, commodious, and well built. The governor's house makes the right side; this edifice is of stone, well built, well distributed, spacious, neat, and very pleasant. The college is by the side of the parish church; the Jesuits have the care of it. The hospital for sick is at the foot of the fort; it is the third building of stone in the city: the general magazine is also near this place. The barracks are behind the irregular bastion which makes the point of the isle. Besides the bastions before named, there are the bastions *Dauphin* and *Pontchartrain*, which last mounts most cannon.

Garden of coffee-trees.

The governors have made themselves a garden without the city, at the point of *St Michael's* bastion. That spot is excellent for gardenage; the earth, tho' sandy, is nevertheless good; the rains, the plentiful dews, with the continual heat, cause it to produce whatever one would desire; this place has the name of *the king's coffee-grove*.

C H A P. IV.

A more particular Description of the Island of Cayenne, and the Continent of Guiana, from M. Milbau's Memoirs.

River of *Amazon*.

This island is distant about one hundred leagues North from the river of *Amazons*. This famous stream, which few *Europeans* can boast of having surveyed in all its length, has its source in the mountains of *Quito* on the frontiers of *Peru*. It receives so great a number of considerable rivers in a course of above eight hundred leagues from West to East, which it is known to take, that it is no wonder if its mouth be near eighty leagues in breadth, and that the violence of its current is the cause that its waters mingle not with those of the sea, but preserve their sweetness for above thirty leagues in the ocean. It separates *Brazil* from *Guiana*, and its mouth would be like a sea, were it not charged with a multitude of islands, which form canals between themselves, to which it is not easy to assign names.

Forests of coco-trees.

Its Northern banks are covered with an infinity of fair trees, among which are entire forests of coco-trees, which produce the largest and finest fruit. The author of nature planted them, whence it is, that they are quite of another largeness and thickness than the finest and best cultivated trees of that sort in the islands. The reason is evident: the earth of the first is deep, rich, fresh, and, to all appearance, served only to nourish those trees, which are, as we may say, in their native country. They afford a considerable revenue to the occupiers of those lands, who are at no other labour and expence than to come twice every year, and make two harvests of those fruits, to cleanse and dry them upon the spot, and to find buyers to take them off their hands, or vessels to transport them to *Europe*, where their consumption is very advantageous to the proprietors of those trees, as well as to those who sell the fruit either whole or in pastry.

Reasons for their cultivation in *Cayenne*.

We are well assured, that in the government of *Cayenne*, or *Guiana*, there is an infinity of great plains of a close, low, rich, humid, and deep soil, in short, the same as on the banks of the river of *Amazons*, and therefore as good as those for the culture of coco-trees. The few trees that have been planted for a trial are a sufficient proof of what I say. Whence, is it that the *French* planters confine themselves to the cultivation

tivation of sugar-canes, coffee-trees, and roucou? Sugar is and always will be good merchandize; but then such a manufacture requires a great expence. A few inhabitants, in mean circumstances, at their first settlement, are incapable of it; it requires great settlements, vast clearings, mills, sugar-works, a multitude of pans, a number of beasts, and yet greater of slaves. An inhabitant who is just beginning to settle is in no condition to support such an expence; whereas, seven or eight labourers can in one year's space fell trees enough, and clear a spot of ground capable of bearing a number of coco-trees sufficient for their subsistence, and to render them capable of great enterprises, beneficial to themselves, and profitable to the state, the end which ought to be proposed by those who are at the head of colonies. It is owing to the small number of inhabitants of *Cayenne*, that *France* reaps so little advantage from that settlement.

But things will always remain in that state of mediocrity and meanness while the colony of *Cayenne* is on the present footing. For though the island be no more than seventeen leagues or thereabout in circumference, it would be sufficient to maintain the inhabitants, who are too few to people it, even tho' the greatest part of the country be drowned lands, and hitherto of no value. Hence at present there is no land cultivated, except from point *Maburi* to the city, making about five leagues, in which the colony has seven manufactories of sugar, and twenty of roucou. The rest of the inhabitants are on the main land, as the map shews. The colony is reckoned to consist of no more than between one hundred and twenty-five and one hundred and thirty families, much less numerous than those of *Martinico*, which swarm with children. They have taken infinite pains to rear children in *Cayenne*, ever since the profound peace which it has enjoyed since 1676. We are told, that at present they breed them with less difficulty, which is a sure sign that the plantation will increase.

Colony not considerable.

If the world were not convinced of the error, in which it had lain for many ages, that the torrid zone was uninhabitable, and especially those countries which were under the line, or very near it, which is the case of the island of which we are speaking, we should be apt to impute its thinness of inhabitants to its situation. But this prejudice has been long since removed. If the heat be extreme in some places situate within the Tropics near the Line, we must seek for other causes of it than their situation. We may say, with respect to *Cayenne*, that there is hardly a country in the world more temperate, for the following obvious reasons.

Cayenne. a temperate habitation.

The days there are equal to the nights, whence, if the presence of the sun above the horizon produces a violent heat, which parches the earth, his equal absence under the horizon gives the earth the necessary time to refresh itself by a cessation of the motion caused on it by the burning rays of the sun.

First reason:

Add to this, that the sun attracts a prodigious quantity of vapours from the rivers and marshes, which cover good part of the land; and that these vapours descend in rain or dew, which refresh the earth by moistening it, for neither dew nor rain ever excite any motion in nature to produce heat.

Second reason

To these two reasons we may further add, that there never fails to arise every day a very fresh Easterly wind, which lasts continually from eight in the morning till five in the afternoon.

Third reason:

The greatest heats commonly begin at the end of *June*, and last to the end of *November*, because this season is dry, during which it never rains, or very rarely. But from *December* to the end of *June*, showers being more frequent, the heat of the sun is more temperate. There is a cessation of those rains in *March*, about the Equinox, when the heat also is observed to increase, whence that season is called the little summer. But the equality of days and nights, and the easterly winds, which never fail to blow at stated hours, so temper the heat, that the air is perfectly good, and exempt this island from a multitude of distempers which reign in the Leeward isles, and make great ravages. It would be ridiculous to affirm that there are no diseases in this country, but we may safely say they are less frequent and dangerous than in an infinity of other places, especially among those who live soberly, who are no slaves to their appetites or other passions; who eat fruit with discretion, and not overwork themselves; for if diseases must happen, they will certainly fall to the share of the indolent rather than of others.

Free from distempers.

Some have made it their business to decry this island, by giving it the character of a most unhealthy region. It is true, that at first it was very difficult to breed up children in it; but the same thing was observed in *St Domingo*, *Martinico*, and others of the Leeward islands, without hindering multitudes of *French* from going thither, and fixing their abode in those places. This inconvenience proceeds not from the air, but from exhalations, which lands newly discovered never fail to produce. The heat corrupts those exhalations, and renders them putrid; the air we breathe is infected with them, and this is enough to cause distempers, especially in infants, whose tender frames render them more liable to disorders than grown people, whose constitution is already formed, stronger, and more capable of resisting infection. Hence we see that in process of time, since these lands have been cleared, the cause of maladies has ceased, and children are reared there with a facility hardly known in any other place of the world. This appears to be true from the prodigious number of children with which those countries are stocked; they multiply to a wonder; they walk alone before those in *Europe* are out of their swaddling clothes; they are large, well made, are never known to be lame, or crooked, are healthy, strong, robust, and vigorous.

Inconveniencies of breeding children removed.

True cause of distempers.

There are however distempers, and the *Europeans* who resort thither for the sake of commerce, are more subject to them than others; which proceeds from their intemperance. The captains of ships, and persons of distinction, are sure to be welcome to the inhabitants, who all keep rich and plentiful tables, and delight to regale those who come to see them with the best they have, even to profusion. Long dinners are succeeded by yet longer suppers; the diversity of dishes, and their novelty, excite an appetite; the guests drink freely of all sorts of wine and other liquors; they find themselves heated, and are willing to enjoy the coolness of the night; they betake themselves to rest without covering the stomach, which is overcharged with victuals and liquor, and unable to digest them, whence they must necessarily fall sick. But it is a crying piece of injustice to accuse the air and the country of a fault of which they themselves are only culpable.

Seamen why more subject to distempers.

Sailors are more subject than others to fall sick: they have less reason, and observe no measure in what flatters their senses. The crews are generally composed of sailors from the *French* ports on the ocean and those in the *Mediterranean*; the first are called *Ponentois*, [Westerlings], the other *Lecantins*, [Easterlings]. A very cunning and expert captain assured me, that, without knowing their country, it was easy to guess from whence they came, by only observing whither they went after they had landed. Those whom you see running to the tipping-houses are downright *Ponentois*; the *Lecantins*, on the contrary, have more sobriety; but they have a passion for women that is perhaps of a nature still worse. Were these two the only causes, they would be sufficient to make them fall dangerously ill; but these are not by themselves. Those people are obliged to go from house to house in search of sugars, and other merchandize, for loading their vessels. These searches are made in the day time, and during the greatest heats of the sun; they must always be ready with their oar, a violent exercise, which alone is sufficient to heat them beyond measure. As soon as they get on shore they drink greedily and without discretion of cold water, and afterwards of rum, then eat oranges, citrons, and acajou apples. These fruits are of a cold nature, and they most commonly eat them green, in which state they are most likely to injure their health. Hence they contract violent fevers, tormenting colics, and dysenteries, which are difficult to be cured. Then, instead of laying the fault on their own intemperance and indiscretion, they blame the country, which has no share in it, but is found to be very healthy for wise people, fine in itself, and abounding with all things that can please the senses, where nature seems to exhaust herself in producing every day something new; but then sobriety is required in the use of those delights, as well here as every where else.

Three inconveniencies objected and answered.

1. Heavy rains.

The inconveniencies of this country may be reduced to the great rains which fall during some months of the year, the violent heat which is felt for a good part of the day, and some insects which are found there.

As for the first, is not *Europe* subject to rains? They are sometimes so excessive as to ruin houses, and recourse must be had to heaven to make them cease. But besides rains, what disorders are caused by heavy snows, hail, and frost! Have these accidents, which are dreaded every year, and ruin vines, trees, and grain, made *Eu-*

rope

rope be called a bad country? No; people resort thither from all parts of the world, live in it, and are well satisfied with their abode.

The heat, they say, is excessive. All the regions between the Tropics are also hot, ^{2. Violent heats.} *Europe* itself, so temperate a country, has parts where the heat is more unsupportable, and has this inconvenience, that the nights are as hot as the days, whereas in *Cayenne*, and other countries under the same climate, the inhabitants enjoy an agreeable coolness during the night, and in the day itself are not incommoded with heat, while in the shade, or exposed to the wind, of which there is a constant and agreeable breeze from eight in the morning, till about five in the afternoon; a relief not known in *Europe*.

But there are gnats, macks, maringoins, muskettos, flies, and venomous serpents. ^{3. Insects and venomous serpents.} These first four kinds of insects are found in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, without ever exciting a thought in the inhabitants of abandoning the places infested by them. They drive them away, and get rid of them as well as they can, the evil is not without remedy, and they do the same in *Cayenne*.

The chics are troublesome, and sometimes dangerous; but they molest only slugs, ^{Chics.} slovens, and those who go bare-foot, like the Negroes and *Indians*; besides the remedy is easy.

There are venomous serpents I confess, and the rattle-snakes are very dangerous. ^{Rattle-snakes} The poison which they diffuse in the wound they make is active and causes immediate death without speedy relief. There are of this kind in many other parts of *America*. But the evil is not without a remedy; the *Indians* of the isthmus of *Darien* shewed it to a company of Buccaneers, who passed through their country in their way to the South sea. This remedy is nothing but the kernel of a nut called serpent nut, and very common in that country. The tree grows there naturally, and perhaps may be found in *Cayenne*, though at present unknown; there are some in *Martinico*. It has the same effects on vipers as on rattle-snakes; it is easy to procure the nuts, and to plant them. *Labat* has mentioned it in his voyage to the islands. But if this medicine should fail, *Father Lombard*, the famous apostle of *Guyana*, has given us in his letter an easy method of curing this evil, of which we shall give an account in the course of this relation.

Besides we are not to imagine that the country is so overstocked with these mischievous reptiles as has been imagined. Those who make the greatest noise about them have perhaps never seen them. Some who have lived several years in *Cayenne*, and have ranged the woods, never saw above one or two. This reptile has at the end of its tail certain dry pellicles, divided by joints, which make a noise when it moves itself, heard at a distance sufficient to provide against it, and it is easily killed. ^{Rarely seen, and easily avoided.}

Sailors are not the only persons who contract diseases in *Cayenne*, as must be acknowledged. Officers and merchants, who have no more discretion than the others, ^{Diseases how contracted.} are equally liable to disorders. After plentiful repasts, in which they have been much heated, they are so imprudent as to lie down on the grass in the open air, and to sleep sometimes whole nights. In that condition, where they are exposed to the cool air, and exhalations of the earth, what can they expect but colics, acute fevers, and dysenteries? Is it the country, or their own intemperance and imprudence that are in fault?

November is the most dangerous month of the year; it is the season for burning ^{Fevers.} the new clearings, when the heated earth produces gross exhalations, which corrupt the air, and by means of respiration excite acute fevers, though seldom of any bad consequence; once bleeding with a purge carry them off without a relapse. Continued and intermittent fevers are dangerous when neglected, and without a speedy remedy.

The quinquina, since it has been introduced into the country, is said to have had wonderful effects, and seldom to have failed of extirpating the cause of these fevers; which is all that can be required of this remedy. It had formerly the like operation in *Paris*, the faculty disliked it, and resolved to prepare it after their own manner; the remedy must be taken alone, or it will not succeed, and not to share its glory with other drugs; and this is the reason why at present it operates in a manner so subject to caution. ^{Cured by the bark.}

M. Milbau, so wise in other matters, bitterly complains that there is no physician in *Cayenne*, and that the surgeon major of the garrison is the only *Æsculapius*, to whom ^{Island destitute of a physician.} the

the sick can have recourse, who, after bleeding and administering a purge, is at the end of his lesson. But do they need do any more? Experience has taught that bleeding in the foot is generally a sovereign remedy.

The most considerable Rivers of the Government of Cayenne.

Rivers. Without prejudice to the rights the *French* have upon the river of *Amazons*, we shall here only speak of the rivers to the West of *Cape Nord*.

River *Maniacaré*. The first and nearest is called the river *Maniacaré*, or *du Cap*. Its mouth is sufficiently large, and has two fathoms of sea-water, and about three when the sea runs high.

Cachipour river. The second is the *Cachipour*, the banks of which are inhabited by the *Indians* called *Mayots*. This country is almost perpetually under water, more or less as the rains cause the rivers to overflow, or the tide is more or less violent; for when it is stronger than ordinary, it repels with more violence the course of the rivers, whence their waters swell and diffuse themselves in greater quantity over the lands on their banks, and form marshes, which appeared impracticable to those who have attempted to survey the country, but, being soon discouraged, never penetrated far enough to discover what lay ten or twelve leagues above the mouth, where probably they would have found habitable lands; since we are well assured that they are inhabited by several considerable nations of *Indians*, who find subsistence, and sometimes come to the river *Oyapok* to traffic. Now if this country were overflowed far within land, or ten or twelve leagues higher than the *French* rangers have penetrated, it would certainly be uninhabitable; whence the inhabitants who are known to be there must have lived on trees, as they have been found to do in several parts along the coasts of *America*. But if they lived on trees, we should have seen trees growing about the mouths of those rivers; but as none can be found, we must conclude that there are none, and, consequently, that the people, certainly known to be in the neighbourhood of those three rivers, live on dry ground, capable of producing the necessaries of life.

Oysters growing on trees. All this country, quite to the sea-coast, is covered with great and stout trees. It is true, the pastures and entrances of the rivers produce only mangles, or mangroves, which grow in fresh or salt water, and thrive equally in both. And the roots in arcades of those on the beach are loaded with oysters, which stick to them, and grow there to a considerable bigness, as our rangers have observed. They who gather these oysters must be cautious not to take them but when they are moistened with the tide, for then they have a proper degree of saltness. But when they are soaked in river water, which is only brackish, they have nothing but a sweetish water, which makes them unsavoury, and perhaps unwholesome.

Mark of a good soil. The trees above the mangles are of those different kinds which the climate produces in the driest lands; and this gives us another reason to believe that the soil above the inundations is good, free, deep, and capable of producing all that is necessary for those who live there, or shall have the courage to go and settle in those parts.

Couripy river. The river *Couripy* is the nearest to *Cap d'Orange*. It is considerable; its mouth is broad and deep, but barred by a bank of fixed sand, on which there are but two fathom water, though the bank, it is true, leaves a passage deep enough on its Eastern side. This river has high banks, and receives a multitude of others, by which it is greatly swelled. Barks have sailed up twenty leagues above its mouth, but as they stopped there, no more can be said. It is a fine high land; the hills are covered with large thick trees, which indicate the depth and goodness of the soil, on which excellent settlements might be made.

Names of streams. Besides these four principal rivers there are a number of others which are unknown, and consequently we cannot be certain whether they have particular sources, or are only branches of these four, by which their redundancies are discharged into the sea.

Oyapok river. Some leagues West of the *Couripy* is the great river *Oyapok*. It justly deserves that title; its mouth is broad, and four fathoms deep; below *Fort François*, which is advantageously situated on the Western side, is five fathom water, and above a league in breadth. The soil on both sides is admirable; it is rich, without being watery, deep, free, and unexhaustible. It is the right place for establishing a powerful colony,

lony, which would soon eclipse all the *French* settlements in *North* and *South America*. The ground once cleared continues so always; whereas in *Cayenne*, and its neighbourhood, the labour must be repeated at least every five years. Sugar-canes grow there naturally; coco-trees, of which there are vast numbers in an infinity of places, prove that those trees are of the growth of *America*, as oaks are in *France*.

The *Indians* who have sailed up this river assure us, that they have spent many days, and even two whole moons, or sixty days, in this navigation, without being able to approach its source. If we reckon their journals at five leagues, one day with another, they will make a course of three hundred leagues. They never observed any considerable fall during so long a navigation, and found at least two fathom water. This is more than enough for barks of fifty tons; for a depth of between six and seven foot of water is sufficient for such sort of craft. What settlements might they not make on the banks of this river! What convenience for unloading of merchandize, and loading with commodities of the growth of the country! What quantities of wood, what cargoes of sugar, coco, indigo, tobacco, roucou, marble-wood, ebony, precious roots and plants, and balms of different kinds, might they not export from thence! We might safely affirm, that whatever hopes they might entertain of those settlements, they would infinitely surpass what at present they are able to conceive.

An inviting situation for a settlement.

But whence shall they get people for such an establishment? The inhabitants of *Cayenne* are so few in number, as we observed above, that the transportation of some families would entirely destroy it. Shall they procure them from *France*? If they take them out of hospitals, which are overcharged with people, such kind of folk are not fit for labour; they are used to beg, and work would be insupportable to them; they are utter strangers to it. Besides, the change of air and diet would bring diseases, which would carry them off by hundreds. It would be still worse to take them from the galleys. The trial, which has more than once been made in the Leeward islands, has taught them what to expect from such people. They are good for nothing, when freed from the oar, but to go to the gallows, and not at all fit for work. They want such inhabitants as know how to work, and are accustomed to it. Can they find such then fit for their purpose in *Martinico*? That island is too full of people; they will, in a little time, be ready to eat one another. Land there is at an extravagant price, because there is not ground enough to employ and feed the inhabitants.

Martinico fit-ter to furnish a colony.

Besides, the poor people of *Martinico*, who had no other employment or dependence than the culture of coco-trees, are almost intirely ruined, since the destruction of those trees by the forerunners of the violent earthquake which shook that island some years ago. Those trees are extremely delicate; they must have quite virgin ground; earth that has produced any little thing is absolutely unfit to bear coco-trees. Their roots, and the moss that surrounds them, are so tender, that they recoil without farther piercing forwards, shrivel up and wither, and the tree dies.

Tenderness of coco-trees.

The inhabitants of *Martinico* understand this work to a miracle, and would gather within the jurisdiction of *Cayenne* as much coco, and even more, than all *Europe* could consume; and yet they need not fear. Whatever is consumed by the mouth always finds vent, and always yields profit. We may safely assure ourselves, that the inhabitants of this island would gladly embrace the offer of retiring to *Cayenne*, if means were found to facilitate the transportation of their effects and slaves, which would be of use to them in the beginning of their new settlement. They might take from *Martinico* above two hundred families, without making any shew. The price of their habitations, which they might sell at parting, would serve to buy slaves, whose labour, under the inspection of such able and experienced planters, would soon clear those lands, which want nothing but husbandmen to cultivate them, and to produce the treasures concealed within their bosom.

Profit of their culture,

Plan of a Settlement on the River Oyapok, in the Neighbourhood of Fort Louis, which was put in Execution in 1726.

Land cleared and planted. It is necessary, for laying this establishment upon a solid foundation, to begin with clearing a spot of a thousand square paces, or five hundred toises, each pace being three feet, along the river, for conveniency of watering the lands. It must be planted with vegetables for food, such as manioc, mahis, peas, potatoes, yams, bananas, and fig-trees. The ground must be cleared and planted before the inhabitants, of whom the new colony is to consist, are transported thither, and will help to subsist the garrison, which is to be maintained in the fort, and in part the new comers, who are to be supplied gratis with manioc, and other plants necessary to be put in the cleared grounds for beginning their habitations.

Indian labourers to be hired. As the few soldiers who will be in garrison would not be sufficient to make this first clearing, and to guard the fort, it would be proper to depute some able prudent *Frenchmen*, who are acquainted with the country, to the *Indians* in the neighbourhood, and also to those who live more remote, and engage them to undertake this work for hire; for they must not think to have their labour for nothing, much less to constrain them. The least violence, or threatening, would make them fly off, and estrange them, till they become as much their enemies as they are at present their friends. They should not be shocked at the word pay; a day's work of an *Indian* is worth a knife, a bundle of packthread, or some such trifle of small value.

Taken from all nations. It is expedient to procure some from all those nations to whom the *French* traders, or walking pedlars, have carried goods, in order to let them know that they esteem them equally, and must avoid giving them occasion for jealousy, to which they are too prone of themselves.

Their chiefs to be engaged. Moreover, for inducing those *Indians* to undertake this work, the chiefs of those nations must be engaged to come to the fort, in order to concert every thing with the governor. This officer is to receive them well, treat them, and make them small presents, let them know that the projected establishment will be highly for their advantage; that they will find there all the *European* commodities of which they can stand in need, and a vent always open for their own. He must agree with them for the number of men which each of them is to furnish, on their wages, and on the time when they are to be set at work, that the ground may be ready at the proper season for receiving what shall be thought fit to put in it.

Number required. It will suffice, as it is believed, to have twelve *Palicours*, as many *Maourious* and *Karanes*, eight *Marones*, and six *Tokianos*, with a competent number of *Indian* hunters and fishers for maintaining those fifty labourers, that they may not be diverted from their work. These sorts of people are wonderfully dexterous in clearing ground, but they must be left to themselves; they cannot endure to be contradicted; a rough and too absolute a command is not at all to their liking. Though this number may seem small, it is yet sufficient for the purpose; if there were more of them, they would incommode one another; the cost would be the greater, and the work proceed never the better.

Expert and diligent workmen. Care must be taken to erect large booths for lodging the new inhabitants as they arrive, observing that it be done on the spots that will be marked out for them. For this work you must employ none but the same *Indians*; they know the proper wood, and best how to fit it; they are at once architects, carpenters, and tilers, and above all most diligent workmen.

Measures for success. All things being prepared, and the fruits fit to be gathered, it will be time to introduce the new planters, and provide them with lodging and victuals necessary for them and their dependants, and then, without delay or expence, allot every man his share of the land round about him, put him in possession, and excite him to clear it. On this article there is no need of instructions; the old inhabitants are best qualified to teach others; and their own interest will spur them on to lend a helping hand to the undertaking, and forward the work with all possible diligence. And it is certain, that in less than eighteen months they will reap the fruits of the earth, and lay up stores for traffic in less than three years. Besides the slaves which they might bring with them, they might hire *Indians*, provided they treat them with gentleness, and pay them according to agreement. They will be gainers by them as much as they could

could wish, and in a little time will find themselves in a condition not to want their assistance. The clearing of a thousand paces may then be turned all or in part into a vast savannah, a piece of meadow for breeding domestic animals for the use of the garrison, and to exchange for other provisions with those who are in a condition for making such exchanges.

After some time as much of the ground may be taken as shall be judged necessary to enlarge the fortress, and to build a town, and perhaps a city, where merchants will settle, as in the centre of commerce of the new colony; a commerce the more easy and convenient, as ships may cast anchor before the town, load and unload, and send their barks and shallops up the great river, and those which discharge themselves into it. This will be the way to discover the nations that lie most remote from the sea, and to find the riches which have hitherto lain unknown and buried in the bowels of the earth. Important consequences.

But the choice of planters, and of a place of settlement in this new country, is not all that is required. The governor of this rising colony must be endued with many talents which are difficult enough to be found in the same person. He must be resolute without obstinacy, active and vigilant without rashness, affable without too much popularity, a lover of justice, peace, good order, disinterested, liberal, regard those planters as his children, support them, assist them in their affairs with promptness and expedition, and, in subordination to the interest of his king, see, hear, and work only for the service of his colony. Qualifications of a governor

Traders, or merchants, who carry goods to the *Indians*, are necessary for discovering the country, and procuring the advantage of the colony, and improving it before all things. But care must be taken, that a sole view to self-interest may not incline the inhabitants to cheat or misuse the *Indians*. Those people are for the most part of a sweet natural temper; but they love their liberty, and become quite other men when apprehensive of a design upon it. They know how to avenge themselves, and, when they have done it, as they despair of pardon, they keep at a distance, and will have no more correspondence. Such dealings would be of vast prejudice to the new colony, which in its early state must of necessity want *Indians* for commerce, labour, and an infinity of other things. But, above all, they must be gently treated, and paid exactly and without delay what they have been promised, which is generally little more than a trifle, tho' of great account to those people. Friendship to be cultivated with the *Indians*.

The *Indians* are excellent fishers and hunters; it requires much time and use, as they have, to endure and succeed in those exercises. Traders often hire them for great huntings, and send the salted flesh of the game to *Cayenne*, where it finds a profitable vent. This was well done; as soon, however, as a colony shall be established at *Oyapok*, a stop must be absolutely put to the destruction of wild beasts, for the sake of the rising colony, which will stand much more in want of such provision than *Cayenne*, an ancient settlement, and provided with places enough besides for hunting. Preservation of game advised.

Though the *Indians* are mild enough by nature, they will quarrel among themselves, especially when heated with some glasses of brandy, and sometimes beat one another outrageously. It is good to appease them, if possible, with words; but the overseers ought not to intermeddle for chastising them. They would regard such a step as a consequence of that dependance or slavery to which you had a mind to reduce them. The case is different, if they should give themselves the liberty to abuse a White, unless it be in self-defence, in which circumstance information is to be taken, and the aggressor punished; and in the former, the *Indian* is to be severely chastised, after conferring with the chiefs of the nation, in order to maintain the respect due to *Europeans*. The ordinary causes of these disorders arise from the *Europeans*, when they would force them to work, or refuse to pay them what they had promised, or constrain them to sell them what they are loth to part with, or, lastly, make too free with their women. The governor ought never to suffer these vexations; and as to the article of women, he ought to be inexorable, and punish convicts without remission. Justice and good order demand as much, and religion exacts it; for as the principal view of settlements in these countries was to make known the true God, and sow the seed of the gospel in them, nothing is more opposite, and more capable of creating an aversion in the *Indians* to the truth, than such kinds of violence. Management of the *Indians*

Governor advised on sundry heads.

It is necessary for the governor to lay a tax, not only on the commodities sold in the colony to *Europeans*, but especially to *Indians*; and also to settle the price of a day's work, and other labours, and never suffer the least injustice on that score. He must also enjoin the traders to engage, by all means, the chiefs of the most distant *Indian* nations to come to the *French* fort, where they must be well received. It is the surest way to make alliances with them, to discover that vast country, and the advantages that may be drawn from it, and to make establishments in those places which are not the less rich or considerable for their distance from the sea. By such management the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* are become masters of an infinity of places in *Africa* and *America*, where they have flourishing colonies, which drive a great trade. Moreover, the good of the colony requires a prohibition to traders from intermeddling in the wars of the *Indians* among themselves, and more from being accessory, unless the governor has urgent reasons for permitting it. For it is his interest as much as possible to stand neuter, and a friend of all the world, in order to gain over all those nations, for opening a trade with them, and making settlements among them; but this must be left to the prudence of the governor.

Other regulations.

There is no necessity of keeping a numerous garrison in the fort, especially in time of peace, when no more are required than just enough to mount the guard, which in time of war may be augmented for fear of a surprise; and, in case of an attack, the inhabitants will be ready with their assistance, because the preservation of their estates depends on that of the fortress. It is supposed, in consequence of good order, that vessels entering the river shall first cast anchor at the foot of the fort, shew their passports and bills of lading, and shall make no sale without the governor's permission, which shall be granted without delay or expence, since commerce demands expedition and liberty.

Traffic with foreigners for slaves to be prohibited.

Besides the favours and encouragements already demanded for the projected establishment, it might be wished, that some liberty were granted to traffic with foreigners for slaves. But it must be observed, that this favour, if granted, would turn to the disadvantage of the company, and consequently of the state interested in it, and even at last of the colony itself, as will easily appear on searching the matter to the bottom. Besides, such a step cannot fail of admitting strangers into the heart of the country, to observe its bigness, get acquainted with the passes, the depth of the river, with the bearings of the coasts of the sea and rivers, and thence take advantage, in time of war, to carry off or plunder the colony. It is much better therefore to dispense with that pretended help, which would draw after it too great a train of consequences. It is true, indeed, that if the favour was granted, it might be recalled whenever thought proper; but the mischief would be done, and it is better to prevent it, than seek out means to remedy it.

Silver Mountains.

To resume our subject, the *Indians* have settlements all along the sea coast between the rivers *Oyapok* and *Aproague*. It is no drowned country, but rises gently into hills, which are the beginning of those great mountains called the *Silver Mines*, either because they appear white at a distance, or because they contain mines of that metal, and even of the most precious of all metals; but that is as yet uncertain.

Fine country

They reckon twelve leagues, or thereabouts, from the *Oyapok* to the *Aproague*. This last river is very considerable; its mouth, though divided by an island in the middle, is wide, and four fathom deep. A fort might be erected on this island, which would entirely defend the entrance. The whole country on both sides of the river is admirable. The inhabitants of *Cayenne* confess that it is infinitely better than their own; but their indolence and small number have hitherto prevented their transportation thither. The most considerable river between the *Aproague* and the *Maburi*, or *Cayenne*, (for the *Maburi* is but a branch of the *Cayenne*) is called *Caux*.

Caux river.

Journal of two Jesuits.

The *French* had but an obscure knowledge of the river *Aproague* before the journey undertaken by the reverend fathers the Jesuits *Grillet* and *Bechamel*. These two missionaries set out from *Cayenne*, Jan. 25, 1674, in a canoe, with two *Galibis Indians*, two of their own servants, and a fisher, who belonged to them, and was their pilot to steer their canoe. They carried some wares for traffic, as hatchets, knives, hooks, and looking-glasses, to exchange for necessaries on their voyage, and for presents to procure them the friendship of the *Indians*, in whose country they intended to make observations. Their provisions consisted of cassava and whicow pye, with bananas baked in paste, which steeped in water make a refreshing and nourishing drink. It

was,

was, an apostolic way of travelling, for as to the rest they referred themselves to providence, on which they depended for fish, and perhaps for venison.

After twenty-four hours navigation on the river *Weia* they came to an habitation of the *Indians*, called *Maprouanes*. These *Indians* had retired from the river of *Ama-*^{Maprouanes Indians.} *rons*, where they had lived before, to avoid falling into the hands of the *Portuguese*, or of the *Arianes Indians* their enemies, who had almost destroyed their nation, there remaining no more than thirty persons. Twelve leagues from the mouth of the river they met with the habitation of a *Galibis Indian*, on a mountain. Thus far the banks of the river were drowned, but two leagues farther the land was high, and formed a very fine country. They lay two successive nights on the bank of the river, and arrived at a small habitation of a *Galibis Indian*, in which were only ten persons. At length, on the tenth day of their voyage, they arrived among the *Nouragues Indians*, having quitted the river *Weia*, and entered the river of the *Nouragues*, on which they^{Nouragues river.} sailed six days without seeing the least sign of a regular habitation, but only some cots of the *Galibis* and *Areacarets*. They had made a friend of the chief captain of the *Nouragues* by presenting him with a hatchet. Those people, like the rest of mankind, are easier to be gained by presents than words; otherwise they are the best folk in the world, gentle, and officious. At this place the *Galibis*, who had attended them from *Cayenne*, left them, and returned home.

The two missionaries engaged three *Nouragues* to accompany them both as guides and porters to carry their provision and baggage. They went four and twenty leagues by land among very rough mountains. In this journey they came to the *Aretay*, a fine river which falls into the *Aprouague*, and comes from the country between the source of the *Weia* and the territory of the *Mercieux*, which, according to the report of the *Nouragues*, is seven days journey in extent; and as these *Indians* march very fast, we may safely allow them ten leagues to a day, whence the country will have seventy leagues in extent. They passed the river *Aretay* in a small canoe with much danger, and for want of a house took up their lodging in the woods. The *Indians*, and others accustomed to travel in these countries, give themselves but little concern in such a case. They carry their hammocks with them, and tie them to trees, which is sufficient to make them sleep at their ease; or, when they have cause to be apprehensive of rain, they quickly erect a cabin. The necessary materials are found every^{Construction of an Indian cabin.} where; they cut a pole, and tie the two ends with lians, a kind of osier that grows publicly in the woods; then they cut three or four more poles, and fasten one end to the first, which serves for a ridge, and the other in the ground; these rafters from space to space are tied with twigs, which serve for lathes. While this piece of carpentry goes forward, others are employed in gathering great leaves, to which they leave tails of a proper length. In these tails they cut a notch, which serves to hitch them to the rafters one upon another, like tiles upon a house. While the more dextrous hands are employed in covering the cabin, others are busy in getting fern and leaves to strew on the ground, and make a thick sort of litter, on which they lie secure from wet, let it rain ever so hard or long, if the covering be well made. All the care requisite is to chuse a place with somewhat of a ridge, the better to throw off the water. In places where there are no trees with great leaves, they use those of reeds, which are found almost every where, especially about rivers. This covering is better, and lasts longer, and the reeds serve for lathes. In default of these two things they make a shift with the longest herbs. I myself, says our author, have been forced more than once to have recourse to these sorts of cabins.

The missionaries were conducted by their three *Nouragues* to a place called *Carao-ribo*, from the name of a small river passing by it, having made, according to their estimation, eighty leagues since their departure from *Cayenne*. Here their three guides left them, and returned home, after recommending them to the *Nourague* captain of that place, named *Camiat*. They purchased his friendship by the present of a hatchet. This captain received them very well, they understood that the place where he was at present was not his ordinary residence: his habitation was on the river *Aprouague*, and he was then at his son's house. This *Camiat* was a man of about sixty, strong and vigorous; his thin and sharp visage shewed him a warrior, and besides somewhat of a barbarian. He stood but very indifferently affected towards strangers, though the present that had been made him had rendered him more tractable than ordinary. But he treated his own people with great mildness and tenderness. He was observed to

Camiat, an Indian chief, characterized.

go every morning and evening to visit the whole hamlet, and to bid the good morrow and good night to every soul, from the oldest to the youngest. The hatchet procured the missionaries and their three servants a share in his compliments.

Missionaries
successful
with Indians.

As the missionaries had need of a canoe to continue their voyage, and could not procure it but by means of *Camati*, they sought to gain his good will and protection by presents, and mighty complaisance. They had pretty good success; he put them in hopes that he would lend them a canoe, which was on the stocks, and would be finished in ten days, that is, after their manner of speaking, in three months. They must then have waited there all that time, which would have been very tiresome. However they did not tarry there above eight and twenty hours, which they employed in acquiring to a greater perfection the language of the *Nouragues*, which is the same, with a few exceptions, as that of the *Acoques* and *Mercieux*. Father *Bechamel*, who perfectly knew the language of the *Galibis*, which most of that hamlet understood, had also some tincture of that of the *Nouragues*, which is much more difficult than the other. It has a number of words which must be pronounced with very rough aspirations, others which cannot be spoken but with the teeth closed, others again which must be sounded through the nose. These difficulties did not dismay the good father, he set about the work with so much assiduity and success, that he was able to compose in that tongue a short discourse on the creation of the world, and to recite it before those people, who had never heard speak of their creator. The *Indian Imamon*, chief of that cabin, took delight in it; *Camati* himself was afterwards brought to relish it; some others followed their example, and you might hear them singing at their work what they had learnt of the missionary. They took a pleasure in hearing sung the prayers of the church, and the litanies of the holy virgin, and when they had been taught their signification, made responses, and never failed to chaunt *ora pro nobis*. It would have been easy to improve these happy beginnings, could they have been foreseen, and had the fathers been provided with things necessary to fix their abode in that place.

Meet with
difficulties.

The fathers were convinced, at the end of the twelve days, that there was no dependence on the canoe which *Camati* had promised; but they knew that there was one five days journey distant, which would serve their turn, if they could get him to send and demand it. They knew so well how to turn him, that he gave his consent, and dispatched two of his people to the place. Another company of his people taking the same route the next day, the fathers missionaries laid hold of that opportunity to make them carry their baggage. Father *Bechamel* accompanied them with one of their servants, and father *Grillet* with the two others abode with *Camati*. He set out from thence fifteen days afterwards to go and join his companion at the place whither the borrowed or hired canoe was to be brought. The distance is reckoned fifteen leagues by the river, which winds so much that it is but three by land. Captain *Imanon* was willing to accompany them, but the fathers opposed his design, because the canoes were too small for the number of attendants he resolved to take with him. The matter was accommodated; they left in his custody the box, in which were their journals, and took nothing with them but what they judged might be necessary for paying their guides, making presents, and buying provisions.

A remarkable
cataract.

On the tenth of *March* then, 1674, they set out from *Imanon's* cabin, sixteen in number. The first night they lay in the woods, and the next day in the evening arrived at a cottage of the *Nouragues*, after travelling ten leagues, and a painful passage of several falls which they found in their two days journey on the river. They were well received, rested two days, and set out the third. They surmounted two falls that were very difficult, but found a third that the canoes could not pass. This difficulty obliged the *Nouragues* to make a way in the woods, through which they drew their canoes almost half a league. This fall is $2^{\circ} 46' N.$ latitude.

Tenaporibo
river.

They arrived at last above the fall, where they found the great canoe, which the men sent by *Camati* had borrowed, and placed themselves in it, fifteen in number. Four leagues higher they found the mouth of the river *Tenaporibo*, and went to lodge in a cottage of the *Nouragues*, which stands also on the *Aprouague*, where they found five travellers of the same nation, who were going to visit the *Mercieux*. *Imanon* was the chief of this company; he was counted the greatest physician of the country, or, to speak more properly, the greatest jongleur, or mountebank, and the most devoted

voted to the superstitious observances of those nations, and especially to the plurality of wives, an invincible obstacle to his conversion.

Departing from this cottage they entered the river *Tenaporibo*, which is very deep, and, tho' it winds much, extremely rapid. They were the first *Frenchmen* that had penetrated so far; they only knew that three *Englishmen*, who had a desire to know the country some years before, had been killed and eaten by those same *Nouragues*. But no disastrous accident happened to the fathers missionaries in this quarter, so fatal to the *English*, because they were under the protection of *Camiat* and *Imanon*, men respected by the whole nation of the *Nouragues*. The *Tenaporibo* is narrow, which is the true reason of the rapidity of its course. What, besides this, renders its navigation dangerous is, that the trees on its banks cross in such a manner, that their tops often touch the opposite bank, so that there is no passing under those arcades without much difficulty and peril.

Dangerous navigation.

Our travellers were forced to lie one night in the woods; and on *April 15, 1674*, they arrived at a cabin, or cottage, where they sojourned till the 18th, which was the last of their navigation on the *Tenaporibo*. In the evening they arrived at the East settlement of the *Nouragues*, situated on the river, four and twenty leagues from its mouth. This settlement consisted of only four cabins, or cottages, containing sixteen persons, of very good natural parts, and so docile, that the missionaries had all the reason to hope to make good Christians of them, if a mission were formed near this place. This settlement lies in $2^{\circ} 42'$ North latitude, and there is another settlement of the *Nouragues* two leagues further, and both together would find sufficient employment for a missionary.

Mission wanted among the *Nouragues*.

They left their cabin on *April 27*, in the evening, and went to seek their three guides, who waited for them in a neighbouring cabin. The next morning they set out by land, but could make no more than five leagues, because of three difficult mountains in their way. *April 29*, they travelled two leagues over a more smooth and pleasant road; but they were forced to lodge those two nights in the woods. By the way their guides shewed them two small streams, which they assured them were the *Tenaporibo* and *Camopy*. They were very rapid; six leagues from thence the *Tenaporibo* was forty feet wide, and twelve deep; and at fifteen leagues lower the *Camopy* is as broad as the *Seine* below *Paris*.

Camopy river.

April 30, they went to take up their lodging on the river *Eiski*, whence two of their *Nouragues* went to the *Nouragues* on the river *Inipi*, to borrow a canoe, promising to meet them at their quarters, for the *Eiski* falls into the *Inipi*; but they were not at the place of rendezvous till *May 1*, in the morning. They brought with them a pretty handsome canoe, with three *Nouragues*, who came out of curiosity to see the *Europeans*, and seemed of a very mild and docile disposition. They returned home on foot, and the missionaries, with their three guides and their servants, embarked, and that night they lay in the woods on the bank of the river *Inipi*. The next day they made ten leagues on that river, which is very rapid, and by its junction with the *Camopi* at this place makes a very great river, which loses itself in the *Oyapok*, at the distance of five days journey from thence. They made four leagues up the *Camopi*, and continued to ascend it *May 13* and *14, 1674*. They lay that last night on a flat rock, where was a ruined cabin, which their people had speedily repaired. They had the same day passed by a cottage of the *Nouragues*, which is the best to be met with of that nation, and its master was a *Morou*. The *Morou*s are an *Indian* nation, which have some intercourse with *Cayenne*. One of the *Morou*s had been hanged at *Cayenne*, a year before, for killing a *Frenchman*, whence there was reason to fear that the master of the cottage would revenge the death of his countryman upon the fathers. It happened luckily for them that one of their guides was a *Morou*, and had espoused the daughter of the master of the cottage. This young man was full of affection for the missionaries, and spoke in their favour to his father-in-law, who received them courteously, and treated them as friends.

*Morou*s nation.

On their arrival at this flat rock, where they were to pass the night, their chief guide gave a signal with a kind of flute, audible at a vast distance, to advertise the *Acouas* of the approach of strangers to their frontiers. Such, it seems, is the custom of those people; they give their neighbours notice before they enter upon their bounds. The next day proved rainy, which hindered their setting out so early as they would have done. While they were on the rock they observed, about nine in the

the morning, three young *Acoquas* reconnoitring them. The *Indians* fell into discourse with the guides, who spoke all they knew in favour of the fathers, and about noon they departed. About three in the afternoon the fathers arrived at the first cottage of the *Acoquas*, in $2^{\circ} 25'$ N. latitude, where the people, who had been some time before informed of their voyage, were pleased at this visit of the missionaries, received them with honour, treated them with the best they had, and so easily accommodated themselves to their manners, that after three days there was not one in that cottage who did not join with them in morning and evening prayers. Their chief guide, who was very well known in that country, where he had many friends, conducted them to the neighbouring cottages, which gave them a hearty welcome. It was soon blazed all over the country, that strangers were come thither, and people came flocking from cottages two or three days journey distant to see them. They beheld them with admiration; they did not so much as offer to touch their hats, cloaks, or even their shoes without reverence, and were not contented if the fathers omitted chaunting several times every day the prayers of the church, and especially the Litanies of the Holy Virgin, to which their guides only at first made responses, but were soon imitated by those of the family, and afterwards by such as came from the neighbouring cottages. They looked upon the pictures of the Breviaries, and asked what they meant. They were never tired with hearing the reverend fathers discourse of the creation of the world, the mysteries of their faith, and the commandments of God and the church. They thought them reasonable, conferred together about them, proposed their doubts, and said, after all, that the *French* were happy in their knowledge of God. They several times intreated the missionaries to settle amongst them, who would have readily granted their request, had they not been obliged to return to *Cayenne*, for reasons to be assigned hereafter.

The missionaries have several times protested, that they never knew any people upon earth better disposed to receive the light of faith, and to submit themselves to its guidance, than the *Acoquas*, and their neighbours the *Nouragues*, whose character is infinitely more gentle and prone to humanity than that of the *Galibis*, and other *Indian* nations nearer the sea. In matters of religion, indeed, they have much the same notions as the *Galibis*; they acknowledge a God, but pay him no worship; he dwells, they say, in heaven, but they know not whether he be a pure spirit, and seem to believe that he has a body. The *Galibis* call him *Tamoucicabo*, which is to say, the *Ancient of Heaven*; the *Nouragues* and *Acoquas* name him *Mairée*, and sometimes entertain themselves with childish tales and fictions relating to him.

The fathers had conversed with above two hundred of the *Acoquas*, and always found them mild and tractable. It is true, indeed, that they were just come from exterminating a small nation, whose bodies they had eaten; but the blame of that act of inhumanity must be charged on custom, which is every where predominant, as well as among all those nations of cannibals. The missionaries had notice, three days after their arrival, that at half a day's journey from their lodging there was some flesh of a *Magapa*, an enemy to the *Acoquas*. The good men reproved them for that inhuman action, and told them that God was displeased with it, and that it was not lawful to kill a prisoner, and eat him. They held down their eyes, and made no answer.

The greatest obstacle to the conversion of those nations, in the opinion of those fathers, is polygamy. They believe, however, that it operates only upon those who are already married to several wives, and that it will have much less influence, it is to be hoped, upon young people.

The married *Galibis* eat separately, each by himself; the unmarried eat all in common, and all the wives, daughters, and little children, place themselves in another quarter to take their repast. The *Nouragues* and *Acoquas* manage otherwise; Husbands eat with their wives and children, except before strangers, whom they have a mind to honour with their company, in which case the women and children eat apart by themselves. They are no drunkards, and are even observed to be little drinkers; but then they are great eaters; and this obliges them to be always on the hunt by land or water. They delight in these exercises, and are very dexterous at them. Their most remarkable failing, and which they have in common with all *Indians*, is lying. They are bashful, and sneak off when their lyes are discovered, tho' without amendment, but guilty of the same fault the next moment.

This

Missioners
kindly enter-
tained by the
Acoquas.

Religious no-
tions of *In-
dians*.

Cannibals by
inveterate
custom.

Polygamy
hinders their
conversion.

Their cus-
toms in eat-
ing.

Nodruniards

but liars.

This cabin of the *Acoquas* was the last stage of the travels of those zealous missionaries. Two reasons were assigned, which obliged them to return : The first was a feverish disorder, which afflicted both them and their servants ; but the most prevailing was the refusal of their three *Nourague* guides to go any farther, and even to attend them in their way back to the place where they had taken them. It was indeed with a very ill will, and solely against the grain, that they had conducted them thus far. They had done all in their power to intimidate them from undertaking this journey ; but they contended with men of courage, and of unshaken zeal for proclaiming the gospel. Such ought to be the qualities of true missionaries, on whom zeal, prudence, and intrepidity are inseparable attendants ; and such were eminently remarkable in the journal of these two Jesuits.

Return of the missionaries ; causes.

Avarice and interest had a great share in the refusal of their three *Nouragues* to conduct them farther, or to wait on them. They were afraid that the fathers would take up their residence with the *Acoquas*, till they had made away with all the commodities they had brought. Wherefore they in a manner forced them to embark before the great captain, who had received notice of their arrival, could have time to come and see them. Then they contrived to prevent the fathers from a perfect knowledge of the number of persons in their own nation, and that of the *Acoquas*, though Father *Bechamel*, by his sagacity and penetration in a great measure frustrated their counsels. He found that the nation of the *Nouragues* consisted of no more than five or six hundred persons, and that the *Mercioux*, to the West of the *Nouragues*, were nearly of the same number. It was impossible to procure a distinct account of the number of the *Acoquas*, or even of their huts, or cabins, which might have given some light into the other. He only learned from an old *Indian* woman, whom he interrogated, and had opened her mouth by a small present, that on one quarter, which he shewed her, were ten carbets, or cabins ; and when he pointed towards the quarter where the great captain resided, and demanded how many subjects he had, she took up a handful of her hair, which was as much as to say, that the number was beyond computation. This quarter lay on the West, or towards the *Mercioux*. Hence we may conjecture, that this nation is very numerous. He informed himself also, that to the South of the *Acoquas* lives the nation of the *Pirios*, equal to them in number ; that the *Pirionos* lie on the East and South-east, the *Magapas* and *Pinos* to the East, and the *Moroux* in the midst of all those nations. The *Moroux* are fierce, and almost entirely barbarous. As to the rest, all those sorts of people speak the same language, as do also the *Caranes*, a very great nation, and enemies to the *Nouragues*. He learned also, in discoursing with the *Acoquas*, that the *Maranes*, a very numerous nation, use the same tongue. This would be of considerable advantage to the missionaries who would undertake the conversion of those different nations, because they would have but one language to learn, for rendering themselves useful to all those several sorts of people, whereas the difference of tongues is very often the greatest trouble and embarrassment of the missionaries.

Policy of the guides.

Numbers, and identity of language of Indian nations.

They learned also that, besides those people, there was a very considerable nation towards the North, called *Aramisas*, about forty leagues distant from the *Acoquas*. This discovery obliged the missionaries to inform themselves very exactly whether there was not a great lake in the neighbourhood of those people, and in that lake, or its adjacent parts, quantities of *caracoli*, a general name among the *Indians* for gold, silver, and copper. An *Acoquas*, who had travelled much in that country, assured them, that he had never heard speak of that lake : a new proof, that the lake of *Parime* and the *Dorado* are mere chimeras.

Chimerical lake.

At last, the missionaries, after a residence of thirteen days among the *Acoquas*, finding that the excessive heats of the advancing season had brought upon them violent tertians and diarrhœas, and that the strongest of their domestics was very ill, and besides pressed by their three guides, who had resolved to return home without waiting for them, took their leave with regret of those good people, in whom they had observed such good dispositions to open their eyes to the truth. They embarked in two canoes, with a young *Acoquas*, who had a mind to follow them, and to see *Cayenne*, where they arrived on June 15, 1674, after an absence of full five months, and a progress of one hundred and seventy leagues Westwards.

Missioners return to Cayenne.

Those zealous missionaries wanted two things ; the first was health. Their courage could not be greater, but they were not of a constitution strong enough to support the infinite

Unprovided with two requisites.

infinite fatigues of this painful voyage; as lodging in the woods, oftentimes eating nothing but cassava, and from time to time fish, or smoked flesh, travelling on foot over rugged countries, and through forests, and rowing, or hauling, in their canoes like gally-slaves. It required a much greater degree of health and vigour to undergo such laborious fatigues. The second thing wanting was a compass, by the help of which they might have marked and computed their several routes and distances. This table would have served to make an exact chart of their voyage, whereas the chart, with which M. de Gomberville has adorned his work, though drawn by that skilful geographer M. Sanfon, can give us no manner of clear idea of the countries through which these fathers travelled.

Aprouague
river.

But to return to the rivers within the jurisdiction of *Cayenne*, the river *Aprouague* is the most considerable. Its source and extent are both unknown, and the discovery requires the zeal and courage of the two fathers; for the *French* who go to traffic with the *Indians* mind nothing but getting off their wares, not concerning themselves about the names of the different people with whom they deal, nor about the situation of their several countries, their numbers, or manners; so that no light is to be expected from their travels.

Oyac river
and county.

We barely know that there is on the west a pretty large river, distinguished by the name of *Uvia*, or *Eause*, and more lately of *Oyac*. The count *de Gennes*, formerly admiral of a squadron, and commandant of the island of *St Christopher's*, had obtained a very large grant on this river, which had been erected into a county by the name of *Oyac*, or *Gennes*. I know not, says the author, whether his death has not caused great disorder in the settlement which he had begun.

Remark on
grantees of
land.

These large grants are not without their inconveniencies, when those who have obtained them are in no condition to render them valuable. But as they are generally men of substance, they always find means to make advantage and profit of the favour obtained; and when they find themselves quite out of means for compassing this end, they have a ready way of bestowing the superabundance on such inhabitants as want land, and thus make to themselves friends and neighbours, who in time of war help to defend them by defending themselves.

Maburi river.

Cayenne, its
source undis-
covered.

The river *Maburi*, which is a branch of the *Cayenne*, passes to the south of the isle, and separates it from the main land, or continent. All we know of the river *Cayenne* is, that it comes from a great distance South-West to North-East. It is surprising that none hitherto have had the curiosity to ascend its stream, in order to discover its source, and get some knowledge of the people on its banks; for the *Indians* never live remote from rivers, because they procure the best part of their sustenance from them. We know from the *Indian Galibis*, or *Caribbes*, on its banks, or in the neighbourhood, that it receives several rivers traversing that country in several parts. The overflowing of those rivers in the rainy season, renders those countries indeed watery, but never the worse, at least in respect of fertility, though it cannot be denied that they are so in regard to health. It is certain that if they were inhabited, and cleared of the large forests which cover them, they would cease to be marshy and unwholesome, as is manifest from every day's experience in *St Domingo* and the *Caribbee* islands, where the country becomes more healthful in proportion as it is more cleared and inhabited.

Lands ren-
dered health-
ful by clear-
ing.

Macouria
river.

West of the *Cayenne* runs the river *Macouria*, which cannot have a very long course. At its mouth is a bank of sand, which runs a great way into the sea, with little water upon it, enough indeed for canoes, but not for barks and vessels; sufficient however for the commerce along the coast, which is well peopled, and enriched with sugar-works and other manufactories.

Courou river,
fort, and co-
lony.

Five leagues West of the *Macouria*, is the course of the river *Courou*. Here a colony, under the direction of M. de Bretigny, had erected a fort, which ran to ruin for want of repairs, after it had been abandoned at the time of the destruction of that colony, and of that which succeeded it. The mouth of this river is spoiled by the same bank of sand, as lies before that of the *Macouria*. It has however the same quantity of water, and consequently is capable of the same commerce.

Farther West are several creeks, where the land rises into mountains, which appear at a distance, and serve to let vessels know where they are arrived. The sand bank, beforementioned, contracts itself very much in this place, and forms a deep creek,

creek, including five small islands, called the *Devil's Islets*, probably from their up-right steepness, and difficulty of approach. Devil's islets.

The next river has two names; for some call it *Sanamari*, and others *Manamari*. The long bank of sand runs a considerable way into the sea before its mouth. This river, they pretend, is much more considerable than those preceding it. The company of *Rouen*, or *Bretigny*, had here a fort at the right of its mouth, which underwent the same fate as that of *Courou*. The great sand bank closes also the entrance of this river, and, as the coast is higher, advances less into the sea. It is a general rule, that where the land is high, the adjacent sea is deep; and where the land is low, the sea is also less deep, or spoiled with banks. Sanamari, or Manamari river. Geographical position.

The vast region between the *Sanamari* and *Maroni* is high, without being mountainous. It consists of nothing but agreeable hillocks, whose banks are a gentle declivity. They are loaded with large and stout trees; a sure sign of the goodness and depth of the soil. Ten thousand inhabitants might live there very comfortably, and erect sugar-works of infinite consideration, without reckoning the plantations of cacao-trees, cotton-trees, rousous, and all sorts of fruit-trees, which would thrive here to admiration if cultivated, since without culture, and left to themselves, they come to perfection, and produce excellent fruit. A good country.

The *Maroni* deserves the title of the *Great River*, and is such in reality. The force of its current has dissipated the bank of sand, which could not but render its entrance impracticable to ships. Its rapidness has opened to it a vast canal, four fathom deep, which would be more than enough for merchant vessels, were there not banks of rocks more impracticable than sand banks. The company of *Rouen* had raised a fort in 1644, at a point on the left, between which and that which forms the entrance on the same side lies a bay above half a league in breadth, and as much in depth, forming a natural port, covered from all winds; and the most furious tempests, and of an admirable bottom for anchorage. The river *Mana*, which throws itself into it at the point, where ships may water, has depth enough to carry canoes and shallops. Maroni river, and fort. Mana river.

Ecclesiastic Government of CAYENNE.

The reverend fathers the Jesuits have had the sole spiritual charge of this colony, at least since it was retaken from the *Dutch* by M. de la Barre in 1664. The governor and inhabitants have twice attempted to introduce Dominicans, not with a view to exclude the Jesuits, but that they might have missionaries of two different orders, as there are at *St Domingo* and the windward islands. We are not to enquire into their reasons, but they seem to be good, because the court had consented, and assigned the Dominicans a district for exercising their functions, and revenues sufficient to maintain them without burdening the public. The thing would have succeeded, and the care of the missions been divided between the Jesuits and Dominicans, had not the fathers of *Tboloufe* chosen the most improper persons in their province for making that establishment. It was attempted twice, because the governor and inhabitants came twice to the charge, and the good fathers as often miscarried through their own fault, it not appearing that the Jesuits in any manner contributed to their disappointment. The Jesuits then are at present, and likely always to continue the sole missionaries. Jesuits sole missionaries at Cayenne. Vain attempt to introduce Dominicans.

In all that vast extent of country between the rivers *Oyapok* and *Maroni*, making about eighty leagues of length, they have but three parochial churches, two of which are in the isle of *Cayenne*, and the third upon the main land, without reckoning that of *Corou*, which has not the title of parish, but simply of mission. The king gives each parson a yearly pension of 1000 livres out of his own domain; the reverend fathers have a sugarwork in the quarter called *Loyola*, with above 250 negroes, besides what they receive from their masses, which they generally expend in ornaments for the church. Every interment in the church pays a duty of 100 livres, which is received by the churchwarden. Christenings, marriages, publishing of banns, licenses, and other things of that nature, cost nothing. Number and revenues of parishes.

There is a college founded for the instruction of youth, adjacent to the parochial church of the city of *Cayenne*, and under the direction of the Jesuits. The hospital for sick is managed by four grey nuns, who have a yearly gratuity from the king of 2000 livres, which is charged on the royal domain. This sum was formerly applied to

to

to the use of a physician botanist, who was found of no utility to the colony. The other revenues of the hospital are under the management of a director, who is to settle accounts yearly with the governor, assisted by the commissary administrator.

Military Government of CAYENNE.

Governor,
garrison, sa-
laries.

The governor of *Cayenne* is nominated by the king; his commission is granted under the seal, and lasts as long as his majesty pleases. It must be registered at the office of the superior council of the island. He depends on the governor general of the *French Antilles*, who resides at *Martinico*, and is accountable to the secretary of state for the marine department. The government of *Cayenne* is united to the whole adjacent province of *Guyana*. The garrison consists of six companies detached from the marine, and fifty men, including serjeants and drums. They are maintained and mustered by the king, and commanded by six captains, six lieutenants, and six ensigns. The yearly pay of the captains is 1080 livres, of the lieutenants 750, and of the ensigns 540, which are disbursed by the treasurer of the marine. There is an aid major, who has the pay of a lieutenant, but receives it out of the royal revenue by the king's appointment.

Militia.

Besides these regular troops, the inhabitants form two companies of militia, one of infantry, the other of dragoons, which are more or less numerous according to the number of the colony. These companies may, on occasion, be both dragoons, since there is scarce an inhabitant but keeps a horse, and they may assemble in less than twenty-four hours. Their officers are captains, lieutenants, and ensigns. They had formerly a colonel; but since the death of M. *le Roux*, the richest man in the country, that post has not been filled. Every free man, from the age of seventeen to sixty, must be enrolled in one of those companies. They are exercised from time to time by their captains, and reviewed once in a year by the governor.

Governor's
house, bar-
racks.

The last governor, under the king's good pleasure, built the mansion-house for the governor, and the barracks for the soldiers; both necessary edifices, especially the last.

Grants and
conditions.

Those who have no lands for making plantations easily obtain them on the continent; for all those on the island have long since been granted. The governor, assisted by the commissary administrator, makes grants. They receive for this purpose a petition, expressing the quantity of land demanded, with its bounds and situation. These good magistrates make no scruple, but grant all they request without delay or expence. The ordinary grant is fifteen hundred paces for a rouscoursy, and three thousand for a sugary, on condition that the grantee shall form on it a solid plantation within a year and a day, in default of which the grant becomes void, and the land reverts to the royal domain, and is ready to be granted to another person on the same articles and conditions.

Grants per-
manent.

If any person buys a piece of land already begun to be cleared, and through negligence omits to form the designed plantation, the king, at the request of the attorney general, orders it to be sold at an auction to the best bidder, excepting, however, lands belonging to minors. In other respects the grants are permanent, on fulfilling the obligations therein contained, and getting them enrolled in the registry of the jurisdiction.

Civil Government of CAYENNE.

Alteration in
the cours of
justice.

Formerly the governor and board of officers finally determined all differences without appeal. It was then no difficult matter, the settlers, and consequently the contentions, were but few; but the number of inhabitants increasing, the differences became more frequent and considerable. Some people, who came from certain provinces of the kingdom, took care not to leave behind them their love of law-suits, and subtilty of chicanery. That simple and summary manner of ending all differences at once was what shocked them. "What live and not be in law?" said they. "And how can we go to law without officers of justice?" They made such a noise, that the court was obliged to send them a judge, a king's attorney, a register, and some bailiffs, who by degrees rose to the rank of attorneys, and almost of counsellors. Thus was justice taken out of the hands of the board of officers, and put into those of the royal justice, or jurisdiction civil and criminal.

But

But this was not enough to content them. "In what place of the world, said they, is any one denied the consolation of a power to appeal from the first judgment?" The court yielded to their importunities, and permitted them to appeal from their judgment to the superior council established at *Martinico*. Its intent in this doubtless was, from the difficulty of pleading at *Martinico*, where the council sits but once in two months, and whence it is very difficult to return to *Cayenne*, to extinguish their ardor for law; but it was entirely frustrated; they were bent on going to law, and they carry it on as well as in *Normandy* itself; and it often happens, that a judgment is followed by a bill of review [in Chancery.]

Litigious disposition.

The ordinary jurisdiction, or royal seat of justice abovementioned, was established in 1700. It serves to try all affairs referred to it for the first suit, saving an appeal to the superior council. The difficulties almost insurmountable, and always ruinous to the parties, which attended a recourse to the council of *Martinico*, determined the king at last to indulge the litigants at *Cayenne* with a superior council for trying appeals from the royal judge. The deed of its establishment bears date 1703, and it is formed on the model of those of *Martinico*, *Guadalupe*, and the two that are in *St Domingo*. This council is composed of the governor, who presides, a commissary administrator, the king's lieutenant, a major, eight counsellors, an attorney general, and chief register. They enjoy the same honours and prerogatives as the officers of the other superior courts of the kingdom. The governor presides, but pronounces not sentence; this part belongs to the commissary administrator, and, in his absence, to the oldest counsellor. They sit with their swords by their sides, because they all belong to the sword. They have no appointments, but an exemption from the capitation of twelve of their slaves. Only the senior of the counsellors has very lately obtained a gratification of three hundred livres *Tournois*, which is settled on the seniority. The council assembles the first *Monday* of every month, and sits as many days as is necessary for trying all the causes brought before it. All the officers of the superior council receive their commissions directly from the court, as do likewise the judge royal, the king's attorney, and the register. This last officer keeps the minutes of the grants of lands, the records of judgments, the registrations of patents, and ordinances of the court, wills, codicils, contracts of marriage, bills of sale, letters of attorney, and other acts. He has no salary of the king, but is paid by the parties, according to the rates settled by the superior council. This is not a bad post, tho' not so honourable as the preceding.

Ordinary court of justice.

Council superior.

There is a board of admiralty, accountable to the superior council, and composed of a lieutenant general, a king's attorney, and a register, which officers are nominated by the admiral, and equipped by his majesty, for taking cognizance of crimes and misdemeanours committed on the sea, and all contracts relating to the marine. This jurisdiction is very ancient in *France*, which established them so long ago as the year 1400, in favour of the admiral. It is true, that in all the isles the judges royal exercised the functions of judges of the admiralty; but by a regulation of *Jan. 12, 1717*, the king has ordained, that there shall be for the future, in all the ports of the *French* islands and colonies, in whatever part of the world situated, judges for trying maritime causes, under the name of officers of the admiralty, and that these jurisdictions shall be composed of a lieutenant, king's attorney, and register, with the functions and prerogatives allotted them by the ordinance of 1681. The fees of these officers are settled by a regulation made at *Versailles* in 1688. They are to follow in their sentences the statutes written in the laws of the *Rhodians*, and the ordinance of the king for the marine, when they shall be found contrary to it. As the Negroe slaves make a considerable part of the colony, the king has made a particular regulation on their account, which is called the Black code.

Marine department.

The King's Domain at CAYENNE.

What the king receives from colonies is called *his domain*. It is so inconsiderable at *Cayenne*, that the colony, in its present condition, instead of profitable, is, we are assured, burthensome to him. It costs him yearly sixty thousand livres in salaries to the several boards of officers, to the officers of his troops, to the cloathing and pay of the six companies of the garrison, in pensions to the parsons, and to the Grey Sisters, who have the care of the hospital, without reckoning the equipment of a ship,

King's expences in maintaining the colony.

A Description of the Island and Colony

a ship, sent thither every year, laden with flour for the soldiers, powder, and other necessary stores of war. We cannot be much mistaken if, instead of sixty thousand livres, we reckon sixty thousand crowns, one year with another.

His revenue.

The royal revenue is much easier to be counted. It consists in the capitation tax, or duty of seven livres six sols per head, which masters pay for their slaves from the age of fourteen to sixty. Whites, not born in the country, pay the same duty; *Creoles* and women pay nothing. Besides this duty the king receives also four *per Cent.* for merchandize exported to *France*. Considering the small number of slaves in this colony, and the very little quantity of merchandize therein manufactured, the duties produce but about twenty thousand livres yearly. Moreover, all vessels coming to an anchor in the port of *Cayenne* are obliged to pay a duty of thirty-seven livres twenty sols for anchorage. This duty was formerly exacted for the admiral, but since the year 1722 the king has annexed it to his own domain. This is sufficient to let us know that this colony has hitherto been expensive to the king; but the methods before hinted for augmenting it very considerably, and setting it on a level with the best of those on *St Domingo*, or the windward islands, give room to hope, or rather assurance, that the king will hereafter receive a revenue from it far exceeding his expences in maintaining it.

Besides the *Creoles* and *Savages*, who are both exempt, the king has been pleased to grant a number of exemptions to all his officers military and civil for their slaves. The king's lieutenant has eighteen, the major twelve, the captains eight, the ensigns six, and the serjeants four. All the officers of the militia are treated on the same footing. The counsellors of the superior council have an exemption of twelve slaves, the attorney general of twelve, and the register of eight; the ordinary judge has twelve exemptions, the king's attorney eight, and the register six. Parsons of parishes, and those who can prove their noblesse, have also an exemption for twelve of their slaves.

Commerce and Manufactures of CAYENNE.

Evils from the trade of this colony with foreigners.

Milbau says, that the scarcity of *Negro* slaves, and the exorbitant price to which the company has raised them, have obliged the inhabitants of the *Leeward* islands to have recourse to foreigners for slaves. This commerce turned very well to account; for they commonly purchased for one hundred crowns what would have cost them twelve hundred francs, or livres, from the company. But in whatever manner they paid these foreigners, whether in money, or in goods, the growth of their plantations, it always turned to the great prejudice of the king and the state. First, because the specie which goes out of the kingdom, or any part of it, never returns, and thus occasions a scarcity of it. And yet it is impossible to have it in too great plenty, for money is the sinews of the state, without which it cannot exert itself in peace or war. In the second place, if foreigners be paid for what they bring in merchandize, as sugar, cotton, *roucou*, indigo, cacao, dye-woods, tobacco, coffee, and other goods of the growth of the country, the king loses his duties of import and export payable in *France*, or on the spot. Thirdly, considerable damage is done to trade, which, by this means, is deprived of a vent for its commodities. The marine, so necessary to the kingdom, is absolutely ruined; for as long as the colonies neglect taking the goods imported from *France*, because they supply themselves with them at foreign ports, the *French* merchants will no longer be able to fit out ships; shipwrights and seamen will go to seek employment among foreigners, and the marine, which has cost so much pains and expence to put it on a respectable footing, will be reduced to nothing; and, in case of a war with the maritime powers, the sea coasts of the kingdom will be exposed to their insults and ravages. The colonies themselves will be the first sufferers; foreigners will discover their weakness, and the places proper for making descents, and, by ceasing to carry to them the necessaries of life, will reduce them to the last extremity, and then have no more to do but come and take possession.

Inconveniences of *Cayenne*, in respect to the *Windward* islands.

It is certain, that the colony of *Cayenne* has more need of slaves, on all accounts, than those of the *Windward* islands and *St Domingo*, because the cleared lands are by no means permanent, at least in the island, and along the banks of the sea and rivers. There is a necessity, at least every five years, to set about new clearings and new fellings of woods. Those clearings give abundance of trouble; at least, the current labours

labours of the sugar-works and other manufactories must be interrupted, without a good number of supernumerary slaves. These new lands produce very bad exhalations, sources of an infinity of disorders, which carry off multitudes of slaves, and very often their masters, who are never of so robust a constitution as Negroes. But in the Windward islands the clearings last always, and if the ground be worn out by too free and frequent productions, the defect is repaired by replanting canes every two or three years, which is a labour incomparably less than what is spent in felling forests, burning the felled trees, planting canes in their room, and waiting 16 or 18 months till they come to maturity for yielding sugar. Besides ground newly cleared, being naturally fat and humid, and its situation rendering it also aqueous, the canes which it produces are indeed thick, large, and full of juice; but this juice is fat and watry, and consequently longer in boiling, and more difficult to purify; whence it will be necessary to cut and put to the mill more canes, and to purify and boil more juice, or liquor, to make one barrel of sugar, than are required in *Martinico* for making four. Hence more sugar is made at *Martinico*, with forty Negroes, than at *Cayenne* with an hundred.

The sugar of *Cayenne* has naturally a very agreeable smell of violet, is pretty white, that is to say, of a pale whiteness, but has never that solidity and brightness of grain which set off the sugar of *Martinico*. The planters cut their forms in three; the top, or head, is blackish or yellowish, and consists of nothing but rough sugar, or moscovade; the middle is a little whiter, and may be compared to the middling moulded sugar of *Martinico*; the bottom is white, and may be called fine sugar. It wants, however, one thing essential, which is to be well dried. It would be easy for the inhabitants to amend this defect by drying it in good stoves, which have quite another effect on the sugar than drying it in the sun, which has been hitherto practised. Sugar dried in the sun is always more susceptible of humidity than what has been dried in a good stove. The ardour of the fire thoroughly penetrates it, so as not to leave the least remains of humidity. Thus when it comes to be beaten in order to be put into the cask, there issues from it dust, which shews that it is thoroughly dry, and quite unsusceptible of moisture, unless it be extreme.

The inhabitants of the *Grande Terre* (so they call the greater part of *Guadaloupe*) were at infinite pains to make sugar of a good degree of whiteness and solidity. The white and rough sugar which came out of their hands was ashy, of a pale white, and of no solidity or brightness of grain. It had these defects because the grounds were but newly cleared, and too rich. These grounds are become impoverished by use, their fatness is exhausted, and now they yield sugar which has all the qualities that can recommend it. The same would succeed at *Cayenne*, did the inhabitants, instead of making new clearings, and new plantations of canes, in new, fat and humid grounds, so often as they do, but imitate those of *Guadaloupe*, and make their grounds serve for a long time. Light and spongy lands, it is true, cannot for many successive years nourish the stumps of canes; but the remedy is easy. It needs only to replant them once in two years, or even every year. It is a labour from which one is exempt in good lands of a deep soil, but it is much less considerable than cutting down forests, and continually changing plantations.

The second merchandise of the colony of *Cayenne* in Roucou. The inhabitants press and beat the grain thrice to get the more out of them. The question is whether this roucou be as fine as that where the grains have been pounded but once or twice; I can hardly believe it. The colour of this false red consists in an extremely tender pellicle, which covers the white grain that holds the calyx, or cup of the flower. This excessive trituration can only serve to bruise that useless grain, and detach particles from it, which mix with those of the red pellicle; but those particles, which are white, cannot increase the red colour. Hence, I believe, I may conclude, that the Roucou of *Cayenne* cannot be so red and so good as that of the Windward islands.

The Roucou of the Caribbees, who never pound their grains at all, and only take off the pellicle by rubbing them in their hands with oil, is infinitely finer and of a more lively red. It is true, a planter would not find his account in this way of operation, unless he could sell his roucou for nine or ten livres per pound. But we must conclude from hence that, the more the grains are bruised, the less red, and fainter, the roucou appears.

In the whole colony of *Cayenne* are but twenty ingenios, or sugaries, eighty six roudies, and six large coffeeeries; whence we may judge what a trifle the commerce of

Sugar of *Cayenne*.

Its moistness corrected.

Improveable from the example of *Guadaloupe*.

Roucou of *Cayenne*.

Best sort.

Indigo by ill husbandry neglected.

of that country is, and of what advantage to the state when shared with foreigners. Sugar and roucou there are the only merchandise ; but it seems strange that the inhabitants have neglected the culture of indigo, for which their fat and moist lands are very proper, and ought to be appropriated to that use as soon as cleared. Two crops of indigo would impoverish the ground, and render it fitter to bear sugar canes, which being less watry, and less charged with the fatness of the soil, would be less troublesome in nourishing and raising, and produce the finer and firmer sugar.

As little
is or.

As little reason can be given for not cultivating the cotton tree, because it grows there naturally, and without culture in the lands possessed by the *Indians* ; it would come to much greater perfection, if cultivated. In the Windward islands it is appropriated to such grounds as are driest and most exhausted, and, in short, such as they know not what to do with else. Whence comes this neglect of a thing which would cost but a trifle to maintain, and from which so considerable profit might be drawn ; where the vent is certain, and six Negroes are sufficient to cultivate one hundred thousand cotton trees ? Besides, when those trees are suffered to grow to a certain height, they are no obstruction to the growth of grass, nor pasture of cattle. But if it be apprehended that the beasts may injure the trees, which may happen when they are low, one may plant manioc or potatoes between the rows, and make the whole ground turn to account.

2 cocoa.

Another piece of negligence, which would be unpardonable, were it not in some measure excusable from the extreme indolence of the inhabitants, is an omission of cultivating cocoa trees. The country is so well adapted to them, that intire forests of those trees are observed to grow on the North of the river of *Amazons*. They are natural to the country, and what a trifle would it cost to raise them ! And when once this tree has covered its ground, and prevented by its shadow other vegetables from growing under it, what other labour can it require than that of gathering its fruit twice every year ? The continent, which is at the disposal of the colony, affords immense tracts of land for planting those trees. What quantities of fruit might they not expect to gather, and besides assure themselves of a quick sale for them, still remembering that whatever is consumed by the mouth always comes to a good market.

Coffee culti-
vated in Cay-
enne.

From the year 1722, the inhabitants of *Cayenne* have applied themselves to the culture of the coffee tree, for which they are obliged to M. de la Motte Aigron. This officer was sent to *Surinam*, a *Dutch* colony, eighty leagues from *Cayenne*, to treat about military deserters from the two nations, where he observed those trees to grow which produce coffee-berries. He informed himself of the manner of their culture, but knew at the same time that all the inhabitants of that colony, were forbidden, under pain of death, to sell or give a single berry to foreigners, before it had been dried in the oven, in order to kill the bud, and hinder its sprouting. He would have been obliged to return without getting any, had it not been for one *Mourgues*, formerly an inhabitant of *Cayenne*, but for some reasons retired among the *Dutch*. Aigron discoursed with this man, exhorted him to return, and, to engage him thereto, promised to make him his steward, provided he brought away with him a pound of coffee-berries in pods which had not been put in the oven. Though *Mourgues* ran a great risk of his life in case of a discovery, yet the pleasure of returning among his countrymen, and the promises of a settlement, determined him to comply with M. Aigron. He procured him a pound of berries in pods, and they set out together without having their baggage searched, because it was not suspected that they carried coffee.

Thrives and
promises well

M. Aigron sowed between one thousand and one thousand two hundred of those berries in his own plantation, and distributed the rest to others of the inhabitants, who sowed them in their nurseries. These seeds sprung up at a surprising rate, and in less than three years became trees which bore fruit, so that at present there are above sixty thousand bearing stocks, and they plant more every day. This tree alone is sufficient to enrich the whole colony, considering the consumption of coffee in all parts of *Europe*. It is become so much in vogue that all the world accustom themselves to it, physicians approve it, and recommend it by their own example.

African and A-
merican cof-
fee.

But the question at present is, which is the best sort of coffee ? The company which drives a considerable trade to *Mocha*, and whose interest it is to find vent for their coffee which comes from *Isle Bourbon* and *Isle Royale*, has made representations on that head to the court, and the coffee of *Cayenne* is charged with a duty of twenty sols per pound, when unloaded in any port of *France* ; but into *Holland* it is imported free

free from duty. But we are not here to enter into a detail of the pretended differences between the coffee which comes from the *French* colonies of *America*, and what is imported from *Asia*, tho' we cannot omit taking notice that persons of the first rank, who have made experiments at *Paris*, have given the preference to that of *America*. And let us only suppose the coffee of *America* no better in itself than that of *Asia*, yet surely it must be better by accident, or with regard to circumstances. For it may be had much fresher, and consequently while it is still replete with that oil, or balm, in which consists the best part of its virtues. This oil abounds in it to that degree, that you may see it swim on the liquor when poured into the dish; its smell is charming, and the most delicate palates can find no fault, but agree that the famous coffee of *Sultania*, so much extolled by travellers who have been at *Mocha*, is very little, if at all, superior to that of *America*. This we may have quite fresh twice every year, a month, or six weeks, or at most two months after it has been gathered from the tree; whereas the newest from *Asia* always requires a voyage of near two years before it can arrive in any part of *Europe*. And what damage must it not sustain during so long a time and carriage! Besides, the purchase on the spot, and the charge of transportation are much more considerable.

The tree which produces coffee is not at all tender. Poor worn out lands, where nothing else will grow, agree with it. Here it shoots, runs up to an height, and becomes a very fine tree. The berries you are to set must not have been dried in the sun, much less in an oven, for either way would kill the bud. They must be steeped twenty four hours in water, before they are put into the ground. This preparation serves to soften them, and make way for the bud the more easily to break the berry, and to shoot. They are commonly set in a pot filled with good earth, carefully cleaned from small stones, and coarse sand, laid flatways, and but lightly covered with earth, that the bud may the more easily pierce it. They are to be set three inches distant from each other, and watered every day, so as not to uncover them. In seven or eight days the bud appears after breaking the bean, or berry, that incloses it, and shoots forth a tender blade, whose extremity is covered with extravasated parts of the berry. In this state it appears just like a pistil, whose head unfolds itself into leaves, of which but two appear at first. As the blade or stem continues to grow, it sends forth two more blades from its center, and thus the number of leaves, which are always in pairs, increases in proportion to its growth. When the stems are six or seven inches high, and have six or eight leaves, opportunity is taken of rain, or a plentiful dew, to transplant them into earth prepared for them, of a good depth, and well cleared of all sorts of herbs and roots. Let the distance between each plant be seven or eight feet, and take care that they be not exposed to the North wind.

The tree is quick enough of growth, if care be taken that it is not suffocated with the grass and herbs which the earth produces abundantly in those hot and moist regions. It grows naturally very round; its branches, or, to speak more properly, its sprays, grow with great regularity, and have a very agreeable effect. In fifteen or eighteen months, the trunk is as thick as one's leg, and has seven or eight feet of height of stem and branches. Now it begins to bear fruit, which cannot be better compared than to a cherry, very adhesive to the bough, and of a good beautiful red. It blackens by degrees as it approaches maturity, which is the mark by which they know when to gather it. The blackish or reddish skin incloses twin berries in coalition, and as yet a little soft and gluey. As this skin dries it becomes like parchment, and is easily taken off, and the two berries appear, the skin between them falls off of itself, and the berries thus cleared are repositied in a granary, or some other place, under shelter from rain, moisture, wind, and sun. This preparation is necessary to consume part of the oil contained in them, which has an acrimony, and disagreeable tartness of taste, when there is too much of it. The flower which precedes the pods so much resembles that of the peach tree, that it is easy to mistake one for the other. The tree bears twice in a year; the winter crop, in countries north of the line, is gathered in *May*, and that of the summer, in *November*. We see coffee trees in *Cayenne* of five years growth, eighteen feet in height, and yielding no less than seven pound of berries at a crop. Such productions are thought excessive, and soon exhaust the tree, and cause it to die. Five pounds at a crop are enough to answer all reasonable expectations.

Asia and American coffee.

Culture of the coffee-tree.

Description of the tree and its fruit.

For other vegetable productions of *Cayenne*, and the neighbouring continent of *Guyana*, as woods proper for dying, medicine, or carpentry, with their gums and other fruits, see our account of the *French Antilles* under their respective articles.

Of Quadrupeds in Cayenne and the neighbouring Continent.

Quadrupeds.

There is so little ground cleared and discovered in *Guyana*, that it may be reckoned as a vast and thick forest, and consequently a country of beasts of all kinds. Hence game must be very plentiful; and there is not a planter in tolerable circumstances but keeps his two Negroes to hunt in the field, and two others to fish for him in the sea and rivets.

Wild beeves.

The largest animals we find in the woods are the wild beeves, under which term I include both bulls and cows. We can say nothing certain of their original; though we are well assured that before the *Spaniards* had discovered the great islands of *St Domingo*, *Cuba*, *Porto Rico*, and others, there were no other four footed beasts on them than lizards. Horses, beeves, and hogs, were transported thither from *Europe* by the *Spaniards*, and have left upon them their descendants to this day. It is certain that horses were quite unknown in *Mexico* and *Peru*; their large sheep served for beasts of burden. And it is not less uncertain whether there were any beeves; whence we may conclude that all the beeves, now found in that vast continent, came originally from *Europe*. The wild beeves of *Guyana* are shorter, thicker, and more compact than in *Europe*, and those bred in the islands and *Terra Firma* of *America*, where they are tame; their horns are also smaller and less thick, and the creature is wonderfully dexterous in using them, and very mischievous. If he is wounded without bringing him down, he will run upon the hunter. They are not commonly found but in places very remote from habitations, are extremely wild, and as swift as stags, and go commonly in herds. A good hunter must hit them on the thick vein of the neck, in which case they instantly tumble, and lose all their blood in a moment. Their hide is said to be thicker than that of tame ones, because they are always in the forests, exposed to all the injuries of the seasons. A hunter must not regret his powder and pains when he has brought down one of these wild animals. The marrow of the thick bone of the legs, swallowed quite warm, is a good restorative; taken in the morning, it supplies the want of other food for that day.

Wild deer.

The wild quadrupeds, next in bigness to the beeves, are the red deer, or hind and stag. These are originally of the country, at least for many ages. They must have come into *America*, since the deluge, by the Northern sea where it joins to *Asia* by the North of *California*, which appears from new discoveries not to be an island but an isthmus joining the two continents. However it be, we find red deer in *Old* and *New Mexico*, *Brasil*, and *Guyana*. It is remarkable that the red deer of *America*, hind or stag, have no horns; which has induced the *French*, and their neighbours the *Portuguese*, to call them both by the name of hinds; tho' another reason may be, that they are much smaller than in *Europe*; but in every thing else they perfectly resemble them. They are very quick, lively, and swift-footed, and fearful to excess. They are covered with a reddish fallow hair, pretty short and thick; have a small lean head, thin ears, a long and arched neck, a cloven foot, a short tail, and a quick sight. Their flesh is delicate, though very rarely fat. This animal is the quickest of all quadrupeds; he will join his four feet together like goats, on the point of a rock, which one might easily cover with a hand, and spurred by fear, assisted with velocity, make leaps and bounds, and rush headlong and lose himself in places, whence it would be impossible for any other creature to extricate itself. The Negro hunters lie in wait for them in narrow paths, where they have observed their steps. These paths commonly lead to some brook, or natural savanna, or abandoned clearings, whither they go to feed. As soon as they approach an open place, they stop, prick up the ear, and look about on all sides; and the least motion or noise makes them bolt in to the woods. Patience is necessary on such occasions, but when a fair mark offers, and they have skill or luck to break the bone of the thigh or hip, they are satisfied, and reckon they have made a good chase. There is nothing useless in this animal; for, besides that his flesh affords very good nourishment, every part of his body is of some use in physic, without reckoning that his skin serves for several purposes.

Tigers.

Tigers are found in all parts of *America*. The tiger is a ravenous, cruel, fierce, wild beast, difficult to be tamed, always ready for mischief, and by no means to be trusted.

trusted. He has great resemblance to a cat, but is much larger and stronger. These beasts were formerly very frequent in the isle of *Cayenne*. They would swim thither from the continent, and come and devour the cattle of the inhabitants in their very yards; and sometimes, when pressed by hunger, would fall upon men. The island was greatly incommoded by these creatures when *M. de la Barre* was governor of it in 1666. He engaged the inhabitants to hunt them, and for their encouragement gave the gun with which they had killed a tiger; and if the piece belonged to the hunter, paid him the value of it; besides, the skin fetched a good price, since the governor had brought in vogue the fashion, as it is practised in *France*, of making housings for horses. As for the flesh, it was never much relished; it is commonly lean, and has a smell and flavour not very agreeable. If this animal were more common, perhaps it might be found good for something; and as the use of the flesh of vipers purifies the mass of blood, that of the tiger might be good to excite motion in paralytic members; the fat is said to produce that effect.

The tigers of *Guyana* are no bigger than greyhounds; they have their shape, and are much swifter, leaping and bounding at a surprising rate; some have been found of the size of our largest dogs. They have a head like a cat, a wide mouth, whiskers; strong, sharp, long teeth; yellowish and sparkling eyes, a fierce and treacherous look, broad feet, divided into five toes armed with long sharp talons, which they hide at pleasure. They have a tail like a cat, of a good length, and covered with hair. They have nothing good and beautiful but their skin, which is yellowish, chequered with spots of various dies. This animal is cruel, and extremely voracious; he attacks all sorts of animals, not sparing even the human species. When he is master of his prey, he devours it, without tearing it abroad. He plunges his head into it, and swallows without ceasing the morsels which he cuts off with his teeth. He cries in the night much like dogs pinched with hunger. They are no more to be seen in the isle of *Cayenne*, whither they no longer pass. There are some on the continent, but their number is much diminished by the care taken to give them a vigorous chase. This creature is afraid of fire; a red-hot poker, or even a lighted match, puts him to flight. The hunters receive a pistole for bringing a fresh tiger-skin.

There is another kind of Tiger called an Ounce, and by the *Indians* named *Jaguar*. Ounces.
rete. He has black hair, shorter, more wavy and glossy, and is bigger than the common tiger, and more mischievous. The hunters are by no means fond of meeting with these two animals; there is always danger with them, and they have nothing good but their skins; they are grown pretty scarce, especially in inhabited places.

But there is an animal more common, which the *Indians* call *Ab*, from the cry Ah, or Slug-
he utters when obliged to move himself, which he cannot perform without pain and gard.
lamentation. The *Europeans* call him *Sluggard*, which name perfectly suits him, for no creature can have more of the sluggard in it. He wants no greyhound to give him chase; a tortoise would be sufficient. He is of the size of an ordinary dog; his head has some resemblance of an ape, and his mouth is pretty wide, and armed with teeth. He has a sad and down-cast look; his fore-legs are longer than the hinder, his feet broad, and armed with three long and pretty sharp claws; he has scarce any thing of a tail. His whole body is covered with an ash-coloured sort of hair, of a good length, under which is another, shorter and thicker, of the same colour. He lives on trees, where he feeds on the fruits, leaves, and tender buds. It costs him an infinite deal of time to ascend a tree, and many piteous cries at every movement he makes; he rests every moment. When he has once clambered up, he never descends till there are no more leaves; then, pressed by hunger, he thinks of removing to another tree. But he employs so much time in descending and seeking out for a fresh tree, that he becomes extremely lean before he can find one fit for his purpose. The time of killing him is when he is found on a tree which he has almost stripped; for then he is fat and tender. If he can be reached with a pole, there needs no pains to drag him; give him but a knock and he tumbles down, and if he be not dead, is soon dispatched with a cudgel. His flesh is accounted good, and indeed he feeds on nothing but good fruit and good leaves. It is tender, and well-tasted; but when lean, it is hard and coriaceous. Some are of opinion that this animal might be easily tamed, and would not offer to leave the yard, if he were supplied with food. They say he never drinks; the juices of leaves and fruits serving him for drink. He is extremely afraid of rain, and yet always exposed to it.

Agouti, and Agouchi. Tatous, or Armadillas, which are common in all the country, and esteemed of pretty good nourishment, is already described in our account of the *French Antilles*; as also the *Agoutis*, an animal participating of the hare, the hog, and the ape, and of white, tender, and delicate flesh, and scalded like a pig. There is also in *Cayenne* another animal called the *Agouchi*, which is a species of *Agouti*, but smaller, and accounted better and more delicate food.

Prickle Cat. The *Indians* call *Cuandu* the animal which the *Portuguese* call *Ourico Cachiero*; and we may call it the Prickle-Cat. It is commonly of the shape and size of a good cat, which it pretty well resembles, only it has a sharp head, and its legs and feet are much like an ape's. From the ears to about the middle of the tail, instead of hair, it is covered with prickles, three or four inches long, like quills, hollow, round, strong, and pointed; the part next the body black, and the point white, or bordering on it. The part of the tail without prickles is covered with hair, like hog's bristles. Its legs are also covered with prickles, only shorter. The feet are divided into five claws, which you may call fingers, with the beginning of a thumb: its tail is as long as the whole body, or longer, and is strong and pliant, and serves it, like a monkey's, for suspending itself to the branches of trees. He lives upon fruits and roots, is slow of pace, and ascends trees with difficulty, because his claws, or fingers, being too long, and unsupported by a thumb, he can take no firm hold. He is observed to sleep almost the whole day, and go to feed in the night. He pants in marching, whence he is suspected of some pulmonic infirmity. Though he searches after fruits, he has a greater relish for fowl; and if his prickles were not so inconvenient to him, would get into the yards, and make as great havock among the poultry as a fox or a polecat. He is skinned when taken, and the flesh is commonly fat, tender, and delicious. His asthma and phthitic deter not any from eating him without fear of contracting his infirmities. The best way of dressing is to put him on the spit, from which he will relish better than boiled, or in a ragoo.

Wild Hogs. Wild hogs, marons, or wild boars, are found in all the vast continent of the two *Americas*. The ordinary sort really came from *Europe*, and in particular, as we are well assured, from *Andalusia*. The resemblance between the hogs of that country and those of *America* is too striking to leave room for doubting on that head. But there is another species, which it is certain was never seen in all *Europe*: this kind they call *Pecaris*. They are nearly of the size of the wild boars of *Europe*, but less corpulent; have a short and cocked snout, great hairs like whiskers, long and arched tusks, small and pointed ears, a short, strait, and hanging tail, with a tuft of bristles at the end. They are high enough on legs, and have but little hair, which is of a blackish red. What they have in particular is a hole in the back, into which you can thrust the top of your little finger, in manner of a vent-hole, through which the animal receives the air that refreshes his lungs, and enables him to run very long and very stoutly; it sends forth a fetid smell. When the hunters have brought him down, they are obliged to cut the vent-hole as deep as they can, as they are to cut the testicles of the other wild boars, without which precaution the flesh would corrupt in a few moments. This creature is mischievous; he comes to close quarters, and the hunter who wounds him without disabling him stands a bad chance; he ought to aim as much as possible at breaking his shoulder or thigh-bone. The best dogs are afraid of him, for he is strong, and very furious. His flesh is said to be even more delicious than that of the common wild hogs. This is hard to say, for these animals are extremely delicious. Their flesh has nothing of the unfavourableness or heaviness of the *European* hogs; it is tender, delicious, has a flavour, and is so easy of digestion that it is given to sick persons, preferably to all other meats the most easy of concoction. Those animals live on fruits and roots, and also eat serpents.

Water-Hog. Besides these two kinds of terrestrial hogs, there is also an aquatic species; we mean not such as always live in the water like fish. He lives on land, and eats grain and fruits; but he finds also wherewith to subsist in rivers. He swims and dives to a miracle, and endures a very long while under water. The *Indians* call him *Capibara*, and *Europeans* Water-hog; he differs not much from the land-hogs; some are of the size of hogs two years old. He has a long head; his lower jaw is much shorter than the upper, and in each he has two hooked, strong, and cutting teeth, an inch and half long. The rest of these two jaws is furnished with eight bones, four on each side; and these bones, which are flat, are cut halfway each into three parts, thus making
two

two rows of four and twenty teeth each, which added to the four prominent fore-teeth amount to fifty-two. I am of opinion that no animal, except the shark, is so well provided with teeth. He is fat, and not without reason; for he eats much, and exercises little. His flesh is tender, and would be excellent, if it flavoured less of oil and fish. However, it is not thrown away; it goes down very well with the Negroes. This animal has long and stiff whiskers, oval eyes, small and pointed ears, and nothing of a tail. He is covered with coarse short hair, brown, and pretty thick; has the true feet of a hog, except that the hoof is not only cloven in two, but divided into four digits, or toes, on the fore-feet; and into three on the hinder, and both sorts are armed with strong, sharp nails, one of which on each foot is much longer than the others. The unwieldiness of his bulk is no hindrance to him in catching all sorts of fish in a surprising manner; he seizes them either with his teeth or his nails, and carries his prey to the bank of the river, where he eats it in quiet. Sometimes in the night he sets up a cry like the braying of an ass, which may be heard at a great distance.

Guyana, without disparagement to *Asia* or *Africa*, may be called the country of Apes. The *Latins* distinguish them into two sorts; those with a long tail they name *Cercopithecus*, Tailed Apes, properly Marmouts, or Monkeys (from the Greek *Κίτρον*, a tail, and *Πρωίς*, an Ape) and to those which have none, they give the simple appellation of *Timin*, ape. Both kinds abound in *Guyana*, and may be regarded as two distinct genusses, which are divided into a prodigious number of species, differing from one another in size, colour, and so many other particulars, as would fill whole volumes. All apes however agree, in that they are all alert, stirring, restless, mischievous, malicious, and thievish; and whatever pains are bestowed in breeding and teaching them, there is no way to repress the sallies of their natural viciousness, and prevent them from playing some mischievous prank, but by keeping the whip always in hand. Though they are not commonly very fat, their flesh is good nourishment, and very delicious. Their heads are served up in soups made upon them. It is difficult at first to accustom oneself to the sight of heads resembling those of little infants; but when once that repugnance is overcome, no soup will please better than what is made on apes.

Of the other quadrupeds, natives of *Cayenne*, and its neighbouring continent of *Guyana*, are the Otter, Ant-eater, Wild Cat, Hare, Rabbet, Rat, and Lizard, which our author classes not among reptiles, but quadrupeds, because they have four feet; of these we have spoken at large in our account of the *French Antilles*, as also of such insects as molest these hot regions, and have been left undescribed under this article. We have also, under our accounts of the said islands, given ample descriptions, among other reptiles, of Serpents of every kind. But we cannot omit here observing, that as much as *Guyana* surpasses the Windward Islands in largeness, so much are the Serpents which it produces superior in length and thickness to those found in those isles. In this country have been seen serpents thirty feet long, and as thick in body as a horse. Hence it will not be so difficult to believe the story of a serpent which had swallowed a young woman of eighteen, in her shoes and other apparel; the fact was very possible. *Milbau* says, he has been assured, by Freebooters, that they have killed serpents from sixteen to eighteen feet in length, and above a foot in diameter. These animals are not venomous, but their teeth are to be dreaded. They have two rows in each jaw, which must render them capable of much mischief. They cannot stir their body without great difficulty, whence it is easy to avoid them. When they have seized an animal, they worry him with their teeth, while they twist about him with such force as to suffocate him; after which they have no more to do but to swallow him whole, always beginning at the head.

Of Birds great and small.

M. Lemery, in his Dictionary, describes a bird which he calls *Centur*, (*Jonston* names *Condurs*.) "It is, says he, a kind of Eagle, or bird of prey in *America*, which grows to such a prodigious bigness, that its wings expanded reach the space of twelve feet. It differs from an ordinary eagle in that it has no pounces. Its head is adorned with a crest, or comb, in shape of a razor. It is strong, robust, voracious, and greedy of flesh; its feathers are white and black; those of its wings are so large that their

quills are some of them as big as a man's wrist. Its beak is so strong that it pierces with it a cow, and devours it; and even men themselves are in danger of being eaten. Its feet are like those of hens, and without talons. It breeds in the isle of *Maragnan*, and about the banks of the sea and rivers. It makes so great a noise in flying, as to stun those whom it approaches." This description, says our author, is modest, compared with that in his *Memoirs*, which give the wings of this bird an expansion of above eighteen feet. They make it also to have thick, strong, hooked pounces, with which it trusses a deer, or a young cow, and carries it off as if it were a rabbit. This bird is not common, nor is it necessary it should be so, for it would soon depopulate a whole country. They say that it is in vain to shoot at it in front, for the balls would glance or slide along its feathers, without hurting it; the only way is to aim at it behind, or under the belly. They who have seen these birds tell us, that they are of the bigness of a sheep. Their flesh is coriaceous, and smells of carrion; they have a piercing sight, and a bold, and even cruel look, such as is agreeable to carnivorous animals. They seldom frequent the forests, for want of room to extend their wings; but are observed on the banks of the sea or rivers, and in uncultivated meadows, or savannahs, because in such places they find sustenance.

Common
Eagles.

About the river *Oronoko*, and in many other places of *Guyana* and *Brasil*, are Eagles, very little different from those in *Europe*. They make war upon all animals without distinction, but were never known to attack men, who however give them no quarter. Their flesh is worth nothing, and was never attempted to be eaten but in extremity of hunger.

Pheasant,
Painted Hens

Of birds made for food, the first place is due to Pheasants. It is pretended that they are bigger than those in *Europe*, and at least as delicious. The Painted Hens, so called by the *Spaniards* from the beauty of their plumage, which seems to be painted, are not at all inferior to them in deliciousness. These birds are easily tamed, and become very familiar; but they are extremely jealous, and cannot endure any other hens of what kind soever, but violently fall on them with their beaks, and will suffer no rivals. Their flesh is excellent, and they fly tolerably well. It is pretended, that the flesh of those bred in houses, though fatter, has not the taste and flavour of those killed in the woods.

For a description of the Ostrich, Partridges, Parrots, Wood-Pigeons, Turtles, Otolans, Curiaca, or River-fowl, of the size of a goose, Thrushes, Blackbirds, Pies, Fieldfares, Cuckow, Gallinago, or Marchand, we refer, as before, to our account of the *Antilles* Islands.

Fishes of Sea and Rivers.

Fishes.

Guyana is one of the provinces of the new world the most intersected by great and small rivers, and all these rivers are so fishy, that swarms of fish, one may say, are to be found every where. The same may be said of the sea, where not only the coasts are stocked with fishes, but infinite species are observed to enter the mouths of rivers, and some of them to ascend very high in following the course of the stream. The first *French* inhabitants must have been very helpless, to suffer hunger in the midst of such a prodigious abundance of fish, which offered themselves for food. At present they have nothing to fear on that account; they take care to have Negro fishers, as well as hunters; and those skilful purveyors furnish their tables with plenty of venison and fish. Some sorts, which are not to be met with in the Windward Islands, are found in plenty at *Cayenne*; such as Roach, Soles, and small Thornbacks. Some of these kinds have been caught of ten or twelve feet in breadth; but they are so hard and coriaceous, or tough, that they will go down with none but half-starved Negroes. Their livers serve to make oil for burning, which is all the use that can be made of them.

Flat Fish.

Sword Fish.

The sandy creeks are haunted by a prodigious number of Tortoises of all the three kinds. There are two sorts of Sword-fish. One has his prominent weapon quite smooth, like a *Switzer's* broad-sword; the other has it all set with teeth of a considerable length and force. Both are excellent food; their flesh is white, firm, fat, and very well tasted. They are somewhat difficult to be taken; they boggle a long time before they take the bait, and will not so much as touch it, if they see not a whole fish on it. When they feel themselves caught, they make extraordinary efforts, and hurry

hurry away with the canoe of fishermen with great swiftness, for a very long time. Sometimes they offer to attack it, as if they were about to pierce it, or leap upon it, as upon a whale. In this case it is only necessary to give them a blow with a harping-iron, and when once blood is drawn, it is easy to dispatch them; and the sport will turn out to advantage; for some of these fishes are above six hundred weight.

The Porpoises never come on the coast between the island and the continent but in stormy weather; these fish always go in shoals. They are extremely fat, and the lard of the young ones is much better than that of the old, and their flesh also is more delicious. They are known also by the name of Blowers, because they throw out abundance of water through their breathing-hole, in manner of a spout.

Sharks are supposed to be found in all seas and rivers. This voracious fish is none of the best; it is always hard and coriaceous; all that is good of it is the belly, as far as the middle of the ribs. But though it be not taken with a design to be eaten, it should not be suffered to live, because of the havoc it makes, and the numbers of fishes it destroys.

Besides these, and a multitude of other kinds, found also in the seas about the *Antilles*, and more amply described under their respective articles relating to these islands, *Cayenne* affords two sorts of fish peculiar to itself, and found no where else. The first is called Bigbelly, because of a great bladder, on which it rests, and which it blows up at pleasure, and on which he is carried quite above the surface of the sea. The fish is commonly but between fifteen and eighteen inches long, and shaped like a perch. Its flesh is white and delicious; but in order to eat it with safety, as soon as it is out of the water, tear off the bladder, and take out all the intestines; for otherwise the viscous humour inclosed in them would corrupt the flesh, and render it unwholesome.

The other fish is named *the Cornot*. We cannot well comprehend what connexion this fish can have with that denomination. It is all of a piece, without fins, or other appendages: its head is large and massy: what it has of singularity is two prickles, one on each side, about eight inches in length, and between four and five lines in diameter at their root. These prickles consist of grey transparent horn, and are extremely sharp and strong; and their punctures are said to be very dangerous. This fish, which is commonly but between fifteen and eighteen inches in length, and two inches in diameter, has its mouth covered with nine great bristles of a beard, like the whiskers of a whale, flat at the root, and ending in a point, waving at the will of the fish, or the motion of the water. This fish is lively, and though it be not dangerous, but on account of its tail, it is however to be feared. It is said not to be good to eat, perhaps because all fear to touch it, rather than that it contains any thing bad or unwholesome.

Of the Inhabitants and Planters of Cayenne.

M. Milbau thinks himself obliged, before he finishes his description of the colony of *Cayenne*, to give some idea of the white people who compose it, and of their manner of living.

It is certain that *Cayenne* was at first peopled by *French* from all provinces of the kingdom, as chance brought them together. But we must not however imagine, that they were all people of no worth, insolvents, or mechanics. There were among the first planters, persons of birth, parts, and merit, which the mildness of the climate drew thither; and who not having in *Europe* an estate suitable to their birth, and their numerous children, regarded this new country as a resource against their hard fortune. These people came adorned with politeness, good taste, generosity, and other qualities which distinguish the gentry from the vulgar. And as they became numerous in a short time, they had all the facility and opportunity to shew themselves to all advantage. They have even reformed the other inhabitants, and inspired them with politeness and generosity, in which but few of the planters of the other colonies are worthy to be compared with them.

They live in *Cayenne* with all the ease and freedom imaginable. If a planter be never so meanly accommodated, he always keeps a good table. He finds all that is necessary to render it plentiful and elegant without going out of his habitation.

Every

Domestic animals.

very one keeps a farm, where he maintains slaves to breed up all kinds of poultry and quadrupeds, as oxen, calves, sheep, goats, and hogs. If the beef is not so fat and well tasted as in *France*, the fault lies in the inhabitants, who, during the rainy season, leave their cattle in the open air, and often in the water, which emaciates them, and spoils all the good taste for which they were remarkable in the dry season. There needs no more to preserve them always in good condition, than to erect stables in their parks well covered, whither they may shelter during the heavy showers of rain. But as the country naturally inclines to indolence, the people are well satisfied with seeing their beasts alive, without troubling themselves whether they are fat or lean, because they are well assured that at the return of the fine season, the abundance given of the tender grass and herbs, will soon restore them to their plumpness and flavour. Hogs thrive there wonderfully, and are very good; the sucking pig is excellent, and no place in the world affords better poultry than *Cayenne*; it is tender, fat, and delicious. *Cayenne* is the country for turkeys and other *Indian* poultry; the capons are exceeding large and fat.

Game.

If we consider further that every inhabitant can take all sorts of game upon his own farm, it must be acknowledged that *Cayenne* is the country of good cheer. There is not an inhabitant in moderate circumstances, but keeps his hunter and fisher. Hunting indeed is troublesome and fatiguing; it scarce agrees with any but Negroes and *Indians*; but the game is very plentiful. You meet with numbers of deer, pacs, agoutis, agouchis, ant-eaters, sluggards, tatous, tamarins, and apes of all kinds, the heads of which last make good soups, and set off the center and brims of a dish, as well as a capon as other fowls. Serpents are eaten for the sake of health; those who have need of choice viands, may find plenty of all kinds in *Cayenne*; only they must remember to use it with moderation; for this sort of aliment by purifying the blood, subtilises it to such a degree, as to endanger a pthific.

Those who have no estates readily furnish themselves with all sorts of eatables much cheaper than at *Martinico*, and the other *French* colonies. A pound of beef costs six sols, a pound of mutton or pork ten sols, a large fat turkey will fetch an hundred sols, a capon forty, a fat pullet thirty, a duck twenty five, a hen twenty, and a couple of chickens thirty; which are very moderate prices in a country where the gains are considerable. Venison is rarely sold, unless it be bought of the *Indians*; for the inhabitants never sell the produce of the hunting or fishery of their slaves. They find at all times an infinity of birds very good and delicious; those most esteemed are the partridges, ocos, wood-pigeons, pheasants, turtle-doves, thrushes, black-birds, ortolans, flamens, and parrots of all kinds. These birds contract the taste of the grains and berries on which they feed. Such as eat the grains of the *Indian* wood, which seems a composition of cloves, nutmegs, and cinnamon, have a relish and flavour of those spices. But when they feed on wild olives which fatten them exceedingly, they contract a disagreeable bitterness, which is, however, easy to be cured. It is reckoned that this bitterness is only in their intestines; and from thence it is communicated to the rest of the flesh after they are dead. Hence it is necessary to pull out the craw and the intestines as soon as they fall, and the flesh will be intirely free from that ill taste. You find also great multitudes of agamis, thick-bills, calibris, great-throats, egrets, spatulas, frigates, and eagles of different kinds, which we have described in our account of the *Antilles*. But these fowls are not destined to the tables of the masters, they are either too common, or too hard; but they serve well enough for the slaves, for whom any thing is good enough.

Fish.

The sea and the rivers are glutted with fish, and all so good, and so wholesome, that no person was ever known to be disordered by them, unless he had eaten to excess, or not given them the necessary dressing. The fish most valued are the roach, sole, thornback, lune, great-eyes, mullet, machoran, eel, lamentin, and green tortoise, or turtle, for the other two species are not good to eat; the caouanna is hard, tough, and fibrous, and has an ill scent, though it is sometimes salted for the Negroes for want of other food. The caret has nothing good but his skin, which indeed fetches a good price, especially when it is of a good black. But it is dangerous to eat of its flesh, which, though fat and delicious, is of so purgative a quality, that unless you take but little, or are well assured that you have nothing to fear from its activity, you may expect to see yourself covered with pimples and blotches if there be never so little impurity in the blood and humours. This eruption is sometimes so violent as to cause a high

a high fever, with a flux of the belly, which becomes dangerous unless the patient be of a very strong constitution. The grand remedy makes not greater evacuations, nor more effectually cleanses an impure body, than this viand. There wants nothing but some skilful *Ejculapius* to regulate the doses, and dispense with his patients from using those dangerous applications of mercury, and the nauseous potions which accompany them.

It seems then that there is no want of flesh and fish to maintain a plentiful and delicious table; which is indeed the case. The board is very well decked, and well served, for which the inhabitants spare no cost. They have good cooks, confectioners, and other officers of the kitchen; and though these are but Negroes, they have as fine a taste as the best of that sort in *France*. This truth has been often confirmed by the officers of the *French* king's ships, who go every year to *Cayenne* laden with ammunition and provisions, besides clothes, and money to pay the soldiers. These gentlemen will do justice to the inhabitants, to whom they can give no greater pleasure than to come and sit down with them at meat, where they are sure to be received with all the politeness imaginable, and find tables that may vie with the best in *Europe*. It has already been observed of the islanders of *America*, that there are no people in the world who practise hospitality with more greatness of soul; the inhabitants of *Cayenne* are the same with them in principles and practice.

Generous
hospitality of
the inhabi-
tants.

As every housekeeper has his laundresses, the linen is always extremely neat, and of a dazzling whiteness. The Negresses excel in that point all the laundresses in the world. It is supposed the waters contribute thereto; besides, as the table-linen is changed at every repast, it requires not much ado to make it white. They change their other linen yet oftener, excited by the heat; and none can reproach the settlers in the country, or the Creoles, on that head; their spruceness, and the care they take of their persons, are sometimes excessive.

Their neat-
ness.

Though they make no wine in the country, they consume never the less quantity, nor less good in quality. The delicacy of the inhabitants is very remarkable in this and many other points. They spare nothing to procure the best wines of *France*, *Bordeaux*, *Bayonne*, and other places, famous for wines, and care not how dear they cost, provided they are the best. The inhabitants, in tolerable circumstances, keep in their houses Canary and Madeira wines, with all sorts of liquors, and the best brandy in *Europe*. The *English* import beer in bottles, cyder, and all other liquors which their country or its neighbourhood afford, to the great profit of the physician, and detriment of health. But a planter would pass for a niggard, if his house were not well stored with all that can please the taste, and prevent hunger and thirst.

Plentiful and
costly tables.

We may be well assured that a hot and moist climate is very proper for gardenage; whence the inhabitants never fail of having their kitchen gardens in good condition. All seasons of the year are proper for this purpose, and with the smallest care they procure crops of excellent green pease every month. *French* and *Spanish* melons, cucumbers, water-melons, cabbages, chibbols, and all sorts of herbs come there to perfection, and are even found to be more juicy than in *France*. Happy country, cries our author, which enjoys a perpetual spring, and where one is not obliged to roast himself before a fire, if he would avoid being froze in a moment, as it is with those in *France* above half the year. Hence also there is no consumption of wood but in the sugar-works and the kitchens, and consequently wood costs nothing but the trouble of cutting and carriage.

Plenty of
garden stuff.

Wheat might be sown on those lands which are abandoned as not proper for sugar-canes, and would thrive to a wonder, as I have observed before. But the experiment has not been tried, and there is no appearance that it will ever be put in practice. The people like better to purchase *European* flour; all the inhabitants who live tolerably well are never without bread made of wheat; others eat what is made of Cassavy. The Creoles, even the richest, prefer this last before the other; and though, for the sake of grandeur, they have always bread made of wheat on their tables, they seldom eat of it, unless when they entertain *European* passengers, or strangers, who would not like cassavy.

Bread of
Cassavy.

There is the most charming cordiality and union between the inhabitants. As none but those who have employments which demand incumbence, reside in the city, the rest live upon their estates in the country. They visit one another very often, eat together, make feasts by turns, and live in a sociable freedom, which one would

Union dissolved by riches.

with to be lasting. I have observed, says the writer, in the parishes where I served in the Windward Islands, that the inhabitants seemed to have but one heart, and one soul; but when riches came to increase, all their union vanished, and at the end of a few years I fought in vain for what I found at every step, when they were not so well provided with the goods of fortune.

Disadvantageous character of the Creoles of Cayenne.

There seems no reason for apprehensions of the like estrangement among the inhabitants of *Cayenne*: for as at present they are in very good circumstances, or rather very rich, they cease not to live in perfect union. They all love pleasure and good cheer. The care of their estates, however slight and superficial, employs none but the most laborious; they trust all the rest to the management of overseers and stewards. Their principal business is to find pleasures, and if they have any disquietude it is for want of them. These are the principles in which they educate their children; and, instead of rendering them active, vigilant, laborious and industrious, breed them up in effeminacy, idleness, and inaction. The Creoles of *Cayenne* are quite strangers to the spirit that reigns among those of the Windward Islands and *Canada*. Those employ all their thoughts on commerce, discoveries, and voyages. As soon as a war is declared, they scour the seas, they carry desolation into the territories of the enemies; they seize their ships, and make themselves dreaded even by the most formidable. As soon as an armament is preparing, whether great or small, fathers are obliged to confine their children, even boys but twelve years old, to prevent them from lifting, and yet fail of their intention with all their precautions. The young Creoles of *Cayenne* give no such embarrassment to their parents; they love, like them, an easy and quiet life; their peace and repose are too dear to them to think of removing from the happy spot. They might have ravaged the *Portuguese* territories during the last war, had they fitted out a fleet, and made a descent upon them. But, these planters say, shipping is costly, and no person is willing to venture his estate in this sort of enterprises. What pitiful reasoning is this! Did the *French* Freebooters ever purchase vessels? It belongs to the enemies of the state to furnish them with ships. They fitted two canoes; each jolly fellow went aboard with his fuscé, a pistol, a sabre, two pounds of powder, six pounds of lead, a bag of meal, and a cask of water. The expence is small; they set out, they scour the enemy's coast, and attack or surprize a boat. See now the company advanced to a condition of attacking a larger vessel, and ostentimes those of consequence. By such means did their Freebooters ravage the coasts, and ruin the commerce of their enemies in the last wars, though they had not the advantages which those of *Cayenne* have, of not going far from home, and had to do with people who did not tamely suffer themselves to be robbed without disputing their ground. Every one knows that the *Portuguese* ships, which trade for slaves on the coast of *Guinea*, are but ill equipped and armed, though their cargoes consist always of gold dust in good quantities. Is not this sufficient to excite a longing in the youth of *Cayenne*, and rouse them from their lethargy, in which pleasure and effeminacy hold them entranced, and dispose them to acquit themselves worthy of the *French* name in the first war?

Creoleesses of Cayenne highly praised.

The author closes his account of the inhabitants of *Cayenne*, and the neighbouring coasts of the continent, which together constitute the only settlement of the *French* in Southern *America*, with an observation highly in favour of the Creoleesses, or female Creoles of *Cayenne*, who, he tells us, infinitely surpass the males; so that *Minerva* seems to have conferred all her honours on the distaff. The girls, he says, have all the fine qualities wanting in the males; they are polite, active, vigilant, witty, and solid; and when they have passed some years in *France*, return to their country perfect models of all kinds of graces and virtues.

Character of the GUYANESE Indians.

Introduction.

Whatever may be the resemblance which the Savage nations scattered over the vast continent of *America* bear to one another in general, each people has, besides this relation, some peculiar customs or properties, which form their characteristic, and distinguish them from all others. The natives of *Guyana* are as much different in their genius and manners from the neighbouring *Indians*, as they are from those of the Northern continent. In order therefore to give the juster idea of those Southern *Americans*, with whom the *French* are concerned, as they are represented by them

not

not many years since, and are reasonably supposed to continue the same, with little or no alteration, to the present time, it cannot be thought to be improper here to subjoin to what has been already said on this subject in our account of the *French Antilles*, some very material and curious observations from some later memoirs, printed at *Paris* in 1743, under the title of *Nouvelle Relation de la France Equinoctiale*, "A new Account of Equinoctial France," or of those countries lying under or near the Equinoctial Line, which are possessed or claimed by the *French*. By this they would have us understand the whole province of *Guyana*, including *Cayenne*, from the Equator to 6° North latitude, and lying between the river of *Amazons*, erroneously called by some *Maragnon*, and the river *Oronoke*, which separates it from *Brazil*, *Peru*, and the kingdom of *New Grenada*, and by the communication of their branches make it, with the sea, an island, which might be compared to a kind of triangle, if the sea coast, which would represent the greatest side, were a little more in a strait line.

The Savages of the continent of *Guyana* go naked, live dispersed in the woods, are of a reddish complexion, low of stature, and remarkably full-bellied, with black and lank hair. Some *Indian* nations, bordering on the river of *Amazons*, go stark naked, and not only expose to open view those parts which modesty obliges us to conceal, but are firmly persuaded, that whoever among them should once put his nakedness under cover, would be sure to undergo some great misfortune or death before the year's end. On the contrary, others, who think it necessary to hide those parts, the sight of which would offend modesty, wear before them a *camiza*, or band of cotton, painted in squares with roucou, or the juice of some plant. These *camizas* are from four to five feet in length, and seven inches in breadth. They tie them about the waist with a cotton thread, and let them fall between the thighs †. The men imagine themselves very fine, and to look with an air of gallantry, when this sort of truss ‡ reaches down to their heels. The women use a *Couyou*, or apron, almost triangular, woven of *Rassade* *, or grains of crystal, and near a foot wide at bottom. Remote nations, which have no easy commerce with *Europeans*, cover their nudities with a shell, or a piece of tortoise-shell, tyed with a thread. Though this nakedness be natural to all these Savages, it may, however, be said in their praise, that they let nothing be seen indecent designedly, and that nothing of obscene gestures, or even the least familiarity is to be observed among them.

As to qualities of the mind, all *Indians* are very superstitious, soft, effeminate, and slothful; and yet they are not deficient in cunning and spirit; and, however cold and listless they may appear, there is not perhaps a nation endued with more vivacity. And one may define a *Guyanese* in general a man who appears outwardly in a state of perfect indolence and apathy, or indifference to all things, but one whose passions are lively to the highest degree. In fact, they carry every thing to excess. They are inconstant beyond measure, drunkards above what can be expressed; their hatred is immortal, and their revenge not to be satisfied but with the vital blood of those of whom they have received any ill treatment, and who have the sad misfortune to fall into their hands.

Drunkennes excepted, the *Guyanese Indians* in general, and particularly the *Galibis*, with whom our author was best acquainted, are a tolerably good sort of people. Their manners are not so corrupt as they seem to be. They have a certain natural equity predominant in their actions, and principles of integrity in their conduct. They have even a kind of politeness and affability, notwithstanding the frightful idea we have of a Savage. When they converse together it is always with moderation and reserve; they never contradict, nor grow hot in discourse, unless enraged by wine. Their conversation is uniform, and, in my judgment, says the writer, very tiresome. When two persons are once entered into conference, he to whom the speech is addressed repeats word for word what the other has said to him, adding at the end, "You say, *Baba*," which signifies *my father*; or *Yao*, or *Bamouky*, signifying *my uncle*, *my cousin*, and so on. The other repeats also in his turn what has been just answered him, not forgetting always to add, at the end of each sentence, "You say, *my son*", when, for example, it has been said to him *Baba*, always keeping the relative of the name by which he has been called. Nothing can be milder or more com-

Indians naked

Covers of the more civilized.

Vices of the Indians.

Good qualities of the Indians.

Their conversation.

† *Indians*, both men and women, are drawn with this band, or flap, falling down behind as well as before.

‡ Two *Indians* are drawn carrying a Creole lady in a hammock, suspended to a pole on their shoulders, with the *Camiza* passing between their thighs, and trussed up to the girdle behind.

* Small grains of glass, of different colours, an article of commerce with *Indians*.

plaisant than their discourse. They seldom thee and thou one another, and never say any thing shocking. They know not what it is to rail and scold, even when they with one another ill; besides, they know very well how to dissemble their hatred under the appearance of friendship; or if by chance they discover it in conversation, it is always with the greatest coolness and temper, and without so much as raising the tone of voice. Their mutual civility is no less to be admired. As soon as the whole body of the people are assembled in the morning at the great karbet, or hall of rendezvous, which is in the middle of the village, and where the men usually spend the day when they go not into the field, they never fail of interchanging salutations. The master of the karbet addresses himself to every one in particular, saying *Vari-gado*, that is, Good morrow, *my uncle, my cousin, my child, my brother*, and so on, every one answering *Io*. If there were a thousand, he must salute them all in their turn, and, as we may say, review them. When the evening comes, he must perform the same ceremony before retirement. If there are strangers, he is always mindful to begin with them.

Mutual civi-
lity.

Taciturnity
of Indians.

The *Indians* in general are little talkers, especially before strangers, in whose presence they are, as we may say, of an affected modesty. It is not so with the Negroes, who are unmerciful tilters. The two nations are of very different tempers, though the Creole Negroes are born under the same climate with the *Indians*. You are forced to draw words from these, while you cannot help beating the others to make them hold their peace, and often to no purpose. There are nations who will suffer cutting in pieces, rather than hold their tongues, when they have once begun their chatter. These poor creatures sacrifice to this idol of prating even their repose by night, which ought to be precious to them, and in which, one would think, they should be glad to lose the memory of their hard labour.

Negroes lo-
quacious.

Indians satir-
ical and dis-
cussive.

Though the *Indians* are little talkers, and seem very dull and phlegmatic, they want not a spirit of gallantry, and have a genius for satire. They are every moment making songs on the least occasion, and there is not a sarcasm, or biting jest, when once they are in the humour, which they have not in readiness. However hideous they appear to *Europeans*, they look upon themselves as far superior to us, and have a remarkable contempt for the Negroes, both on account of their blackness, and because they are all born slaves. On the other hand, the Negroes by no means come short of the others in setting a value upon themselves, and entertaining as mean an opinion of them. An instance was observed in the mutual reproaches that one day passed between a Negroe and an *Indian*, both slaves. The Negroe said, speaking of himself in his broken language, *Me sugar, me roucou, me silver; Thee, speaking to the Indian, Thee knife, thee hedge-bill, thee rassade, thee cloth*. He meant by this, that he was truly sensible of his condition, but that, though he was a slave, he was purchased with money, sugar, or roucou, commodities more valuable, and far beyond rassade, cloth, and a few knives and hedge-bills, which are usually given in traffic for *Indians*.

Taunt of a
Negroe.

Indians im-
patient of
reproach.

All the Savages are extremely sensible of the least reproach that carries bitterness in it. They often abandon themselves, in that case, to despair; some of them cannot even bear to survive an affront put upon them; and it is too customary, among certain *Indians*, for people to strangle themselves sometimes for no reason. The author saw a young *Indian* girl, who, for some angry words passed with her sister, whose part was taken by the mother, untied the cords of her *hamak* †, and was going to hang herself in the woods, but was prevented by a missionary, who ran after her the moment he had notice of it.

Instance in a
girl.

Indian wo-
men describ'd

The *Indian* women are little, and very delicate, have the same complexion as the men, small eyes, and hair as black as jet. In their visage a certain air of sweetness may be perceived, which has nothing of the Savage in it. There are some who appear very agreeable, and carry nothing of the wild and hideous about them but the name. They have no aversion to the *French* traders, but an intrigue with them cannot be managed without much danger; their husbands would sacrifice them without mercy on the least suspicion. These unfortunate women are true slaves to the men: Besides the care of the family, they must work at planting the cleared grounds, weed them, dig up the roots of manioc, tayouk ‡, with yams, and other

Their hard-
ships.

† A portable bed, described below.

‡ The great *Egyptian* Arum, commonly called *Celcassia*.

esculent undergrounds, make the cassava and pottery, and go in search of wood, besides looking after the children. In short, they are obliged to put their hands to every thing, except hunting and fishing; nay, sometimes they are forced to go in quest of provisions for the sustenance of their husbands, who lull themselves in great tranquillity, and free from care in the hammock.

The *Indians* spend almost their whole lives in idleness. They are for the most part plunged in the hammock. This bed agreeably flatters their sloth, and renders them still more lazy. They pass whole days in it, prating, beholding themselves in a small looking-glass, adjusting their hair, pulling out hairs, or the like amusements. Those whose chief delight is in music, please themselves with continually playing on the flute, or rather howling. One cannot find a more proper word; for their big flute makes a noise somewhat like the bellowing of an ox. There is nothing then but hunger that can make them quit their nest, in which they would eternally couch, if they could dispense with eating. It seems as if those wretches took a kind of pride, and gloried in their effeminacy, and one may reasonably conclude, that sloth and idleness are the predominant character of all those sedentary people. Indians idle and lazy.

The most laborious, or, to speak more properly, the least slothful, among them, who are not very numerous, employ themselves in making *paguarias* §, *Coleuvres* *, *Grages* †, and bows and arrows, in hunting and fishing, and in building pirogues and canoes. For the construction and use of the two last, we refer to our account of *New France*, only observing, that a canoe is usually two inches thick in bottom, an inch and a half at the sides, and not above an inch at the brims; and that a tree of ten feet in circumference opens into a canoe of five feet and half; one of nine feet opens only four feet and half, and so in proportion. Their employments.

These vessels are steered by a rudder, or else by a *pagaye*, a kind of oar, made of a very light wood, five or six feet in length, and resembling a baker's peel. The handle usually terminates in a crescent for the better hold; the other half, which enters the water, is very thin and tapering down to the base. In rough seas the *pagaye* is to be preferred before the common or any other sort of oar, because when the quickest dispatch is necessary for cutting the surge, the *pagaye* does in an instant what the common oar requires two motions to effect. The *Savages* use also, besides the *pagaye*, a sail, made of pieces of *bache* [a date-bearing palm-tree], split lengthwise, cut into laths, then laid in due order one upon another, and stitched together with bits of *lian* [a kind of osier,] or with thread of *pitte* ‡. Oar and sail for a canoe.

One of the most useful moveables invented by the Southern *Savages* is the hammock, or portable bed. It is commonly made of cotton, for which purpose they cultivate that shrub. Some are woven of *pitte*, but they are not so commodious, both on account of the hardness of the small strings of which they are composed, as because they are too thin for a defence against the pricks of marangos [a kind of gnats] and muskettoes. The *Indians* often colour their hammocks with roucou, or some rosin, dissolved in balm of copau, or some other oil. They also draw upon them all sorts of compartments, made in manner of knots, or embroidery, and with admirable symmetry. There are some very fine and thin; but the best for commodious lodging is a white hammock, well beaten, and seven feet square. Our *Guyanese* make them perfectly beautiful, and of all sizes. The *Brazilians* have a wonderful taste for these sorts of work, in which they succeed to perfection, and even surpass the *Galibis*.

The hammock is very serviceable in hot countries; one is much less sensible of the heat in it, than in a common bed. Sick persons labouring under a fever, after reposing in it some hours, either by day or night, find themselves sensibly relieved. It is not to be doubted but that the *French* would come into the fashion, if they knew the benefit of this *American* bed in *France*, especially during the great heats, when they broil in their beds, without reckoning the vexation of fleas and bugs, from which they would be covered in the hammock, and feel an agreeable coolness. In short, the hammock is of incomparable service to a traveller in *America*, where there is no road, Usefulness of the hammock.

§ Baskets to carry provisions.

* A kind of *Hippocrates's* sleeve, made of palm-tree, for straining the juice of manioc.

† Graters made of small flints set in wood.

‡ A species of *Ananas*, yielding a silaceous substance, which is spun into a thread stronger and finer than silk. The *Portuguese* make stockings of it, no way inferior in fineness and goodness to silken stockings. It is thought, that if *Pitte* was in request in *Europe*, it would hurt the manufacture of silk. The *Indians* peel this plant as they do hemp, and commonly use it to make cords and hammocks.

no bed, no houses of entertainment, especially if you chance to wander a little out of the way up the country. The hammock may be placed where you please, either in the woods, or in a karbet, and is of commodious carriage. Hence an *Indian* is never known to go into the field without carrying with him his hammock, especially when he thinks to lie abroad. It is a rule, even among the inhabitants of *Cayenne*, never to take a progress without carrying with them their hammock in a pagara. Mats are seldom in use among the people of *Guyana*; the author saw some made of palm-leaves, which served them instead of counterpanes in their hammock, or tapestry, when they had a mind to sit on the ground.

Pagaras.

Their savages are no less ingenious in the form and contrivance of their pagaras. They make them square, cylindrical, round, and some of the figure of a pirogue, and painted in manner of compartments of glass, red and black. Those in most ordinary use are of the figure of a long square, lined throughout; and within the lining they stuff leaves of barolous*, or aïouai†, to keep out the water from soaking through. This sort of baskete are very serviceable in journeys; they are very light, and besides serve for a pantry, a wardrobe, and a cellar; for they are a repository for the cloaths, the hammock, utensils of the kitchen, and the most necessary provisions during the progress.

Couyes.

But nothing can compare for beauty with the *Couyes*, which the *Indians* inhabiting by the banks of the river of *Amazons* usually make. It is with the fruit of the calabash, which they cut in two, that they make those sorts of utensils which they varnish very neatly, and imprint them with figures of flowers, and other decorations. These sorts of *Couyes* are sometimes round, sometimes oval, and some nearly resemble a melon, which figure they give the fruit by tying it strait with a line while it is green.

Other ingenious works.

The same *Indians* make also balons, or footballs, rings, and syringes, another sort of football, so much in request with the curious. The matter of which these works are made is a lacteous juice distilling from a lian, which, with respect to the structure of its fruit and flower, must be ranged under the genus of apocyns. They collect a certain quantity of the juice, and boil it a full quarter of an hour, to give it a little consistence; after which they range in order the moulds prepared for the several figures. The moulds are commonly made of a little white clay, kneaded with sand, that they might be the more easily broken. The moulds of the syringe have the figure of a pearl, or a large pear, five or six inches in length. Over these moulds they cast several lays of this boiled substance, upon which, with the point of a knife or bodkin, they draw several figured strokes. This done, they dry them carefully by a gentle fire, and finish with blackening them in the smoke; after which they break the moulds. Of the same matter they make boots and buckets, which resist the water better than common leather. The balons are highly elastic, and when thrown on the ground make five or six bounds successively. The rings are still more to be admired; their spring is extraordinary, and they stretch infinitely. They are commonly as thick as the little finger, and an inch and half in diameter. A ring, for instance, which exactly fits the five digits of the hand joined together, may be so widened as to let pass through it not only the arm but also the whole body; after which it contracts itself, and becomes, by its own elasticity, the same as it was before.

Karbets, or Indian houses.

After all these little amusements, the more serious concerns of the *Indians* consist in building themselves Karbets, both for securing themselves from the injuries of the weather, and from the assaults of fierce beasts. These cottages are sorry cabins, or square huts, though longer than wide. Some of them, which they call *Sura*, are raised one story; the rest, which have nothing but a ground-floor, are called *Koubouya*, signifying, in the *Indian* tongue, a low cottage. These last are constructed of two posts supporting a great pole, which is the stay of the whole edifice. Along this ridge, on both sides, are disposed sloping branches of trees, and the whole is covered with leaves of ahouai. The entrance is by a little door contrived on one of the sides. The high cottage is nothing but a number of sticks fixed in the ground, from eight to ten feet in height, on which they lay a floor of small planks of a palm-tree, called by the *French* *Pineau*‡, and by the savages *Wassai*. This wood easily cleaves lengthwise. These sorts of laths, which are seven or eight feet in length, and two or three inches

* *Cannarorus, musa folio et facie.*† *Palma coccifera humilis, foliis tropeis emarginatis.*‡ *Palma dactylifera caudice piscili, vaginas textiles longissimas deferens.*

broad,

broad, are laid in a clumsy manner on one side, and disposed in ranks one over against another, and bound across, which makes a floor of sufficient firmness. The roof consists of palm-tree leaves, like those of the low cottages. You ascend those *Sura* by trunks of a tree, which are not much inclined, with notches cut in them, which serve instead of stairs, but so ill secured as to lean on one side or the other, and requiring a world of pains to ascend with shoes, and yet more to descend in them.

The *Galibis* live in common in these little karbets; the greatness of a lodgment determines the number of persons which it can accommodate; there are karbets capable of twenty or thirty families. The security in which the savages live among themselves occasions nothing to be kept under lock. The doors of the karbet are always open, and any one may enter when he pleases. It is not so with the Negroes, who are all great thieves, and consequently distrustful of one another; hence their little cottages, or rather kennels, are always locked for securing their provisions, and little kitchen utensils. Galibis secure.
Negroes thieves.

The most spacious of all those *Indian* structures is the *Taboui*, by the *French* commonly called the *Great Karbet*. This place is properly the rendezvous of the Savages of the same nation. Here they hold their assemblies, receive strangers, bury their dead, and, in short, keep their solemn feasts, or rather debauches. The *Taboui* then, or cottage common to those of the same nation, is a kind of little hall, from fifty to sixty feet in length, and ten to fifteen in breadth. At the middle and both ends of the karbet, which are always open, and by which you enter, are placed great forks, on which are laid thick pieces of wood, which serve for cross-beams. To these are fixed rafters, which reach sloping from the top of the building to the bottom, where they rest on small forks four or five feet high, and planted from space to space the whole length. Within are placed some long cross pieces of timber, designed for stretching the hammocks of the men, for the women have not the same privilege, but usually keep themselves squat on their heels, or sitting on a great form. The roof is of the same materials as that of the other houses. Great karbet.

How great soever these lodgments may be, their carpentry is no less simple, nor better contrived, than that of the little karbets. These *Indian* houses have an air of extreme poverty, and are a perfect image of the primitive times. It needs only to see them for forming an idea of the infancy of the world, and it may well be doubted whether our first ancestors had more simple lodgings than these poor savages. All those cottages, or huts, which are generally built on an eminence, or the bank of some river, in a most irregular manner, present us with a most melancholy and disagreeable scene. The landscape is far from smiling, but every thing looks wild and hideous; and the very silence which reigns in all these quarters, without interruption, except now and then by the noise of birds and fallow deer, is apt to create nothing but horror. Reflection.

The author here rejects, as fabulous, the relations given by *Raleigh*, and *De la Barre*, of certain people lodging in the air, and building karbets on trees, to secure themselves, it seems, from becoming slaves to the *Portuguese*, or a prey to serpents and tigers. These extraordinary lodgments are quite unknown to the *Indians* of *Guyana*; and, if they formerly existed, nothing remains of them at present. And yet there is reason to think that the like abodes would be continued, since the *Indians* are no less molested by the *Portuguese*, and have as much to fear from wild beasts now as in former times. But though the author had enquired with the utmost curiosity of the *Indians* living near the great rivers of the *Amazons* and *Orenoque*, where the people called by *Raleigh* *Araottes*, are placed by these writers, of these sorts of transigrations, he was assured by them, that they had never seen any thing like it, nor so much as heard any talk in the country of these habitations. Fable ploded.

Clearing of ground is the chief employment of the *Galibis*, to which they are indispensably obliged for procuring sustenance, in spite of that extreme idleness to which they are so habituated from their tenderest infancy, and which would otherwise detain them at home in their beloved hammocks. When they have finished this tiresome work, which has been greatly shortened since they have been furnished with iron tools by the *Europeans*, instead of fire and hatchets of stone*, formerly used for that pur- Indians employed in clearing ground.

* These hatchets are four or five inches in length, and made of a very hard black stone, to which they give the figure of our hatchets by rubbing it against a sort of hard free-stone. These hatchets are fixed in a cleft of very hard wood, which serves for a helve, and secured with thread of pitte, and many, a sort of resin, which they melt, and use instead of pitch and tar.

pose, the labour of burning, planting, weeding, and gathering the fruits is left intirely to the women. How small foever these clearings generally are, they confound a great quantity of ground in a little time, for they never make two plantations in the same place; but when they find no more ground to clear about the karbet, they pack up their baggage, and remove to another quarter.

Hunting.

In hunting, which also belongs to the men, as well as fishing, our *Indians* usually lie in wait among the bushes, or on a tree, till the game comes within their reach, and then shoot it with arrows. In getting up a tree they form a sort of ladder, by tying lians together, and crossing them with the small boughs, step after step, as they ascend. The *Indians* towards the river of *Amazons* have a kind of hollow trunk, or pipe, between ten and twelve feet in length, and about nine lines in diameter at the mouth, through which they blow, with all their force, small darts not above a foot long, and headed with fish-bones. This sort of hunting is only proper for agoutis, paks *, and small hogs. They also have an excellent breed of dogs for the chase, and make a kind of traffic of them with the *French*. These dogs, which are the only kind to be seen in the country, are always lean, very unfightly, with squalid, nasty hair, and an aspect altogether wild, and much resembling a wolf. The inhabitants of *Cayenne* generally call them *Indian* dogs. They are admirably serviceable for taking agouties, tatous†, stags, and other kind of game. It is remarkable that beasts of the game are not so much afraid of *Indians* as of the Whites; as if all wild animals had in some measure an aversion to persons in cloaths.

Fishing.

Tho' game be very plentiful in the country, the *Indians* delight most in fishing, either because they best relish fish, or, probably, because the exercise costs less pains. And of all fish, none serves more for food to the savages than crabs, which may on that account be called the nursing mother of several *French* colonies. These animals multiply infinitely, to which also the *Indians* contribute by taking none but the male crabs, and always leaving the females, because of the innumerable eggs of which they are always full. The male is commonly distinguished from the female by the plastron underneath, which in the male is nearly oval, in the other of the figure of a heart. Crabs will live some days without eating, but not so long as tortoises. The savages have the secret of preserving tortoises always as fresh as when first taken. For this purpose they inclose a drowned savanna with a palisade, within which kind of reservoir they put the tortoises as they take them; and those they chuse are generally of two feet in size, and very delicious.

Fishing by
inebriation.

All the savages fish with a line, a harpoon, inebriate the fish, or shoot them with arrows; the use of nets is unknown to them. Experience has taught them the rules of dioptrics in a surprising manner, and they take care not to direct the shaft to the place where the fish appears in the water, but at a proper distance. For inebriating or making fish drunk, they shut up a creek of the main sea with a machine made of boards of arrouma, and joined together in manner of a screen, so as to be folded, or rather rolled together, for its more commodious transportation in a small canoe. This done, they stir the water with a chip, or piece of fuddle-wood‡, bruised at one end, the *Indians* call this wood *Inekou*. The fish no sooner drinks of this poisoned water than it dies, and floats on the surface, whence it is taken up. The *French* take by this method, without much trouble, more fish than they can oftentimes consume, and sometimes, if the fishing be plentiful, load a whole canoe. But, to speak the truth, fish inebriated is not fit to keep, nor has so good a taste, as what is shot, or taken with a line. Besides this wood, they use for the same purpose the fruit of a tree called *Conamy*, and the roots of a species of astragalus, known to the *Indians* by the name of *Sinapou*. They cast these fruits and roots bruised into the water, to make the fish drunk, but the fuddle-wood is much more speedy in its effect. The Savages never use the harpoon except about the great tortoise and the Lamentin, or sea-cow. Of these, and how they are taken, we have spoken elsewhere. We shall only observe that the lamentin is the most nourishing of all fish. The skin, which is about three fingers breadth thick, tastes like a boiled neats-foot, and the flesh like pork. You would imagine that you were feeding on flesh, did you not know that it was fish. The flesh of the lamentin is twice salted, and usually cut into pieces of two or three pounds, and after letting them lie till they are well drained, packed up by the *French*

* A species of rabbits.

† *Tatus*, *Gesner*.‡ *Bignonia scandens, venenata, spicata, purpurea*.

traders into barrels. The *Indians*, with whom salt is very scarce, content themselves with bucaning them as well as other fish, and also flesh. Hence you find in every karbet a great bucan, where they broil, or rather dry in the smoke, fish and venison, which they will not take the pains to flay. It is not doubted but that they would prepare their victuals after another manner, were they so well acquainted with salt as the *Europeans*. There are however several nations far within land which have the skill to make salt out of the lye of the ashes of the maripa, pineau, and other species of the palm-tree. Some of them; to spare that pains, are content with seasoning their fish with that simple lye, which they take care however to filtrate through a basket of a conic figure, which serves them instead of *Hippocrates's* sleeve.

The frugality natural to the *Indians*, and in which they have been bred from their tenderest infancy, makes them easily endure fasting, and feed on many things as they are prepared to their hand by nature. They find great fault with all those refinements and spiceries which sensuality has introduced among us, and of which we lay ourselves under a kind of necessity. They use therefore no sort of seasoning but pimento, or *Indian* pepper, which they love to distraction; and when they go a journey, bucan it, to make it keep the better. With this fruit and manioc, well boiled together, they make a sort of pickle, in which they put their fish; to give it a high relish, though this detestable ragout burns the tongue and palate with its acrimony, and causes a considerable depravation of them.

The *Indian* men never eat with the women, who take their repast by themselves, and separate from their husbands, whom they serve with water to wash at the end of every meal. The ordinary posture of the *Indians*, except in the hammock, or when they are on a march, is a continual squatting on their heels, and they also crouch like women when they make water. It is very rare to see an *Indian* take a walk; and they cannot forbear laughing to see the *French* walk to and fro. They never use this sort of exercise but in journeys by land, which also have no other motive than war, commerce, or a dance.

The bravery, so commendable in the people of the North, and the *Mexicans* and the *Peruvians*, will by no means suit the taste of our *Guyanese*. They have no pretensions to that virtue, which they are sure not to dispute with other nations. They are by nature very slothful, and the greatest cowards upon earth, whence they seldom leave their karbets for the sake of fighting. In war, which sometimes they know not how to avoid, their manner is not to march briskly up to the enemy, and shew their courage in the face of danger, but to lay ambuscades, to lie in wait at a pass, and to surprise their foes by a flight of arrows, when least expected; or else to conceal themselves in the woods, watching an opportunity to surprise, and carry off the women and children, while the men are employed in hunting and fishing. The *Guyanese* never palisade their villages, and they have no notion of erecting forts; the rests are their ordinary defence, and greatest security.

Though all the Savages of *Guyana*, taken in general, are very cowardly, there are yet some nations which have sufficiently demonstrated their courage, and hazarded their lives on several occasions. The *Arrouas* maintain to this day the reputation they gained by their encounters with other *Indians*, and especially with the *Portuguese*. And they are no less respectable for their expertness and valour in naval expeditions; whence they are commonly called the wolves of the sea. The *French* traders think themselves not safe in stormy weather, unless convoyed by that warlike and laborious nation. The *Karannes*, *Palicours*, and *Arikarets* have also distinguished themselves in certain actions. The *Arikarets*, who were the original people of *Cayenne*, were the scourge of the *French* at the first settlement of the colony. They harassed and fatigued them without intermission, by parties, who made incursions to their very doors. There remain to this day in the colony, married to some inhabitants, five or six *Indian* women, the poor remainder of that nation, which the *French* have entirely destroyed.

The ordinary incentives to war are the captivity of their women, a bloody affront offered them, or the murder of one of their people by those of another nation. But there are not always such just motives to furnish them with pretences for a rupture, sometimes a small matter is sufficient to embroil whole nations. For instance, an unkind reception, the refusal of a dance proposed by a foreign nation to another; these and the like punctilios are resented to the highest degree, and give rise to a

war, which is prosecuted with burning, ravishing, plundering, and all sorts of cruelties.

Arms of the
Guyanese.

The ordinary arms of the *Guyanese* are bow and arrows, at which they are perfectly dextrous, and the bludgeon. The *Palicours* use also a sponton, or half-pike, which they call *Serpe*. The half-pike, which is of letter-wood, is a weapon of distinction, and affected, as we may say, only by the chiefs of the nation. For defensive arms, they have a shield, made of a sort of wood, extremely light, and stained on the outside with different colours. Its figure is almost a square, and a little concave within, where it has a handle in the middle, for the more commodious holding it. The bludgeon, otherwise called the *Breakpate*, because its principal use among the *Indians* is to fracture the skull with one blow, is a sort of rule, near an inch thick, two foot long, narrow in the middle, and wide at both ends, which form a very acute angle, with lines of three or four inches. This kind of weapon is usually made of iron-wood, letter-wood, or some other very hard wood. The bow of our *Galibis* is made of the same matter as that of all the Southern Savages. They use the most beautiful wood that can be got, and generally make it five or six feet long; the arrows are very near of the same length. These are made of the upper part of the stalk of a kind of reed, not unlike that which grows in *Languedoc* and *Roussillon*. At the end of each arrow, which they adorn with beautiful feathers, they omit not to affix a piece of wood, which they insert into the pith of the reed, in order to accelerate its motion. The other end is armed with other pieces of hard wood, very sharp-pointed, or shaped like a sabre, or else with fish-bones, and, among others, with those in the fins. Sometimes their arrows have more than one point, even to the number of five. This sort they call *Possirou*, and they serve not only in war, but are of great use in fishing, by taking as many fish at a time as it has darts. They forget not to poison their arrows with the fruit of the *Cururu*, so called by *Piso*, or by the milk of a tree which they name *Pougouly* *. This milk is so acrid that it corrodes the skin, and causes surprising inflammations; wherefore the *Indians*, when they clear the ground where these trees grow in plenty, take care to cover themselves well with leaved branches, for a defence against so troublesome an inconvenience. The *French* have given this tree the name of the Wild Fig-tree, because its wood is very soft, and yields plenty of milk like the fig-tree.

Savage barbarities.

Those who get the superiority in war, omit nothing to make themselves terrible to their enemies, and to make them sensible of the weight of their anger by their inhuman treatment of those who could not escape their fury. The *Nouragues*, *Karrannes*, and some other nations, know not what it is to give quarter. As soon as their foes turn their backs, they run like fiends into the karbets, and break and bruise whatever comes to hand; and, in short, sacrifice every thing to their rage and barbarous cruelty. The ordinary treatment of those who are made prisoners, is tying them to a stake or a tree, and then, after loading them with all the vile reproaches imaginable, discharging a flight of arrows at different parts of their bodies, and so leaving them to expire in that condition. Those who are impatient to satisfy their revenge with the blood of those unfortunate victims, begin with cutting out pieces of their flesh, which they bucan, or broil, over a small fire. The heads of the principal persons are fixed on the top of the karbet, as a trophy of war, and a monument to posterity of their bravery. Some, with the same spirit of vanity, use the bones of the thighs and arms of their enemies for making flutes. In short, they take a pride and glory in making a parade of all the spoils. When the flesh is broiled, they part it among them to be eaten, rather out of a spirit of revenge, than for any other motive. They find not, by their own confession, the least relish of this sort of flesh, which several among them are in a manner forced to eat against their inclination, in order to inspire terror into their enemies, which a treatment less barbarous might no doubt render still more fierce and audacious. What is more, some of the women, who, to shew their abhorrence of such a spectacle, had absented themselves with their children from the karbet, burn and break, at their return, the *Canaris*, or earthen jars, and the couyes, and every thing used in that feast of inhumanity. Those who treat their prisoners with less cruelty, are satisfied with putting them to death without making them languish; or, what is better, if they are offered any thing in exchange, dispose of them

Treatment of
prisoners.

* *Ficus venenatu*, *Pougouly Indorum di Zu*.

to the highest bidder, by which the poor captives escape the punishment destined for them: The most gentle and civilised nations make it their principal aim to take prisoners, with a view to keep them in servitude during life, or to ransom them for the most they can get, and to put off a good number of them in traffic with those nations with whom they hold a friendly correspondence. As soon as an *Indian* is taken in war he is reputed a slave, in token of which his hair is immediately cut off, to let him know that he is really such. The hair indeed is a mark of liberty, and none but freemen let it grow; and those never cut it but in time of mourning.

A war among *Indians*, howsoever kindled, is difficult to be extinguished, because they keep their resentments in eternal remembrance. They even inspire their sons, from their tenderest youth, with hatred and animosity against their enemies. And the only legacy, as we may call it, which they leave their children, when departing this life, is an injunction to revenge their death, and to make war upon the hostile nation. The *Indians*, therefore, are in some manner obliged to all the cruelties inseparable from war; and the ill example of their parents authorises and perpetuates them from father to son in families. Hence it is very rare to see a peace or truce made among the Savages. But in such a case, the particular formality of their concluding a peace, which is almost the same with that of the northern people, is thus described.

One of the parties, whose interest it is to terminate the war, pays a visit to the hostile nation. Generally it is the captain, with the principal men, and all the youth, who march in a body like an army, well equipped with their bows, arrows, bludgeons, hatchets of stone, and other instruments of war. At near a small day's journey from the karbet they halt, and depute some of their people to go and declare to the adverse party that they are willing to become friends with them, and to live for the future in good correspondence together. If the proposal be well received, notice is given of it to those who had encamped, with leave to come. The two nations range themselves in order of battle, and make a shew as if they intended to fight. They fall to railing, and calling of names, and reproaching one another with all the cruelties committed by this and the other party. "You have carried away our women," say those on this side. "You have captivated, killed, shot, broiled, my father, my cousin, my brother:" and so on. At last, after all these pathetic declamations, they cast all at once their arms on the ground, make loud shouts of joy, and after that repair to the great karbet, where, for the better cementing the peace, they make a feast, at which they continue drinking for three or four days without intermission.

The commerce which maintains the good intelligence between all the Savages, and renders common to them certain advantages peculiar to one country, and not to be found in another, is carried on among them by way of exchange. They have the utmost contempt for money, and sell nothing to the *French*, who truck with them for provisions and other merchandise, which consists in slaves, animals, pirogues, hammocks, dried fish, manarets*, coleuvres, grages, pottery, household utensils; camizas, vesture, girdles, collars, and green stones. With respect to these stones, the *Galibis* have nothing more precious than the *Takouraves* †, as they call them, and prize them more than we do gold and diamonds. Nor are they only valuable among them, but equally prized by all the other nations of *Guyana*, and in request among the *Turks*, *Persians*, and *Polanders*, who use them for ornaments to all sorts of works. This stone is of an olive colour, but of a little paler green, and almost of a pearl grey. The most common figure they give this stone is that of a cylinder, from two to three and four inches long, and six or seven lines in diameter, and its length perforated. I have seen, says our author, some that were square, oval, some cut in the form of a crescent, and imprinted with the figure of a toad, or some other animal. It is of a very good polish, and so hard that it cannot be worked but with powder of diamonds. Some assured the author that it was fictitious, and that a nation called *Tapouyes*, living about 150 leagues from *Para*, was employed in counterfeiting them. The matter of these stones, they say, is a soft slimy substance, which they knead, and give it what figures and impressions they please. After this preparation they lay all the pieces to steep for a certain time in a river, the water of which, we are told, communicates the colour, hardness and polish so remarkable in these stones.

* Sieves made of the trunks of palm-trees.

† A species of that green stone called by Lapidaries a Jade.

Manner of travelling.

The distance of places sometimes obliges the *Indians* to take long journeys; but they give themselves little or no concern about it, being all of a rambling spirit. Sometimes they will take a frolick of 100 or 200 leagues to traffic for a single hammock, or assist at some dance. They commonly march with great speed, and clamber up mountains with surprizing agility; and they are the lighter and more expeditious, because they take care not to overload themselves, but carry very little with them. A kourkourou, in which they put their hammocks, some couyes, with tapano, or vico, baked in crust, to make a sort of drink, is all their equipage, which they carry by turns. They hunt and fish all the way, yet without going much out of their road. Besides, they never trouble themselves with eating, as long as they have something to drink. In dry countries, where sometimes no water is to be had, they cut lians across, and particularly a species of calves-foot, which climbs up trees. From the stalk of this plant distils, in less than two minutes, juice enough to fill a large glass.

Singular method of getting fire.

Their manner of getting fire is no less singular: they take a couple of pieces of wood, two feet long, and an inch thick. On one of these sticks, laid on the ground, they set their foot; the other stick they insert in a small groove which they had before cut in the first; then strongly twirling these two sticks one against another, from this sort of friction, or terebration, the saw-dust issues forth all on fire, and easily kindles dry leaves, stubble, or touchwood, kept in readiness for that purpose. These sorts of firelocks are usually made of wood of cacao, or of roucou, but chiefly of wood of *Mabo*. In the *Indian* tongue, all those woods which serve for this purpose are called *Ouato-Vhebé*, firewood.

Indian computation of time.

In journeys, either by land or water, the sun and stars serve the Savages for guides. They know some of the constellations, as the Great Bear, and the Pleiades, which they call *Xerik*. This constellation serves them for an epoch to measure time: they compute, and also begin the year by it. When a free *Indian* enters himself a servant to a *Frenchman* only for a year, he serves during a revolution of the Pleiades, which is the true solar year of the *Indians*. They reckon time also by lunations; yet with the help of these computations not a man among them could ever tell his own age, or that of his children. Besides the sun and stars to direct their course, the trees serve them for a compass. They place the south always on the side to which the top of the tree most inclines. In places where they never have been, and which they design to repass, they make marks, or some kinds of notches on the trunks of trees, to the right and left as they pass along, and also cut the branches. How beaten soever the ways by which the *Indians* pass and repass may be expected, it is very difficult to distinguish those little paths, or furrows, to which they may be compared. The lightness with which they march leaves very faint impressions of their feet: and, besides, every place is so full of lians, and trunks of fallen trees, that one is often obliged to leap from tree to tree, instead of walking a steady pace.

Swift travelling.

Signals.

When they make their voyage upon rivers, they commonly follow the course of the stream; and they are never so embarrassed and fatigued as when they are obliged to go by land: wherefore they prefer those voyages before others. If they perceive some pirogue at a distance, they hale it with a sort of speaking trumpet that may be heard a good way off, and is made of two pieces tied together with lians. This phonic instrument, which they call a signal, serves also to give notice of their arrival when they approach a karbet where they design to go ashore. Besides this signal, they have also different kinds of flutes, which serve for the same purposes, and, among the rest, one resembling that of the god *Pan*, or a sow-gelder's whistle.

Lodging on the road.

As soon as the tide will no longer serve, they set about hauling their canoe ashore, chusing a convenient place very near the sea or the river. They adjust some branches of a tree for stretching their hammocks, and every one makes a fire against his lodging; and though he be very often incommoded, and, as one may say, buccanned by the smoke, the *Indians* can never be easy without a fire, and take great care to keep it alive during the night, not so much for driving away the devil, of whom, as travellers report, they are horribly afraid, as to defend themselves from the insupportable vexation of muskettoes, maks*, and maringoins, without which precaution the place would certainly not be tenable. They generally encamp pretty early in the

* A kind of maringoin, but a little bigger, with two long prominent bristles, very stiff, with which it pierces the skin to the quick, like the point of a lancet.

evening, that they might have time to build a lodgment, especially in rainy weather. They drive into the ground here and there a stake, and join them by interlaying watted branches of trees, which serve as a roof to shelter them during the night, which they are forced to pass under these wretched huts, which are but a poor defence against the heavy rains so common in all the country.

The happy state of health which the *Indians* of *Guyana* generally enjoy, put the author upon observing how physic was practised among them, and to question them often about the virtues and use of plants. But he found that all their knowledge in diseases consisted in confining the patient to a rigid diet, as the taking no more than a single couye, or glass of drink, to wash himself often, and to drink the juice of a certain plant. In short, the *Indians* are very ignorant in matters of physic, and their experience in it goes but a little way. We are however obliged to them for some good remedies, which chance, rather than their own sagacity, discovered to them. Thus, for instance, they cure the dysentery, which makes as great ravages amongst them as in *France*, with the root of *fimarouba*. The bark of a tree, which they call *Xouroquoy*, cures the same distemper by exciting a vomit. There are nations about the river of *Amazons* who give clysters with syringes above described; but it is supposed that they have been taught their use by the *Portuguese*. The *Indians* also make use of several sorts of fruits and gums for their relief under their disorders, in which their patience exceeds all proof. An *Indian* never complains, and how much soever he suffers from the disease, he suffers not a single cry, nor even so much as a sigh, to escape him. Their heroism is admirable under distempers, as well as in punishments inflicted on them in war.

Whatever excellent remedies the Savages may have, and whatever good effects they may have experienced from them, on several occasions, they seldom have recourse to them, because they are all superstitious to the last degree, and are persuaded that the devil is the cause of all their maladies. They address themselves therefore with an entire confidence to the *Piayes**, who have, they say, the virtue of shooting, or driving the devil out of the bodies of the patients, of which he has taken unjust possession.

The *Indians* have different names for the devil. The *Galibis* call him *Hyorokan*; the *Arrouas*, *Amignao*; those in the more inland parts, *Anbana*; and the *Caraibes*, *Maboya*. Our Savages also subdivide the devil into several species, and are acquainted with several sorts, whose names it is not material to mention. He whom they most dread is called *Chinay*, whom they verily believe to feed on nothing but *Indians*, to have his whole nourishment from their flesh, and to suck all their blood. "See, say they, the reason why we are so lean when we are sick." The *Hyorokan* strangles some, corrupts the blood of others, covers the body of those with ulcers, and gives these the jaundice. In short, the devil is the sole author of all the evils they suffer. How infatuated soever they may be with the devil, they have no rational idea of him. The most famous *Piayes* among them have been questioned what this *Hyorokan* was of whom they talked so much; but could never give a solution of the difficulty; and have been constrained to acknowledge that they knew nothing of him; and that if they played, it was in compliance with usage. "It is our custom, they say, and what we have seen practised by our elders."

With regard to Religion, all the Savages of *Guyana* are plunged in lamentable ignorance. They have not, in all their language, so much as any term proper to express the Divinity, much less the homage and respect due to him. On that important article it will be sufficient to relate what the author observed himself, and which is confirmed by a virtuous missionary, who resided thirty years successively among several nations, and consequently was very well acquainted with their characters, by whom we are assured that these people are sunk into a perfect brutality, and that they have no idea of a God, as they ought to have. They only imagine him to be the most antient among them, whom the *Galibis*, in their language, call *Tamoussi*, that is, Grandfather, but are not obliged, by any settled form or custom, to render him due worship.

How greatly is it to be lamented, that so many nations overspreading that great part of *America*, should live in darkness, without the light of the Gospel! For, in

Cure of diseases.

Ascribe them to the d. vil.

Aburd notions of the evil spirit.

Impossi e and ignorance of the Piayes.

Guyane's destitute of religion.

Converts to Christianity.

* Magicians, or Jongleurs.

other respects, all these *Indians* have a fund of docility capable of receiving the truths of the Christian religion, and appear well enough disposed to put them in practice. The *Galibis* and other Savages who lay most convenient to be instructed by the Missionaries, are become very good Catholics: some of them are fervent and zealous, and incapable of renouncing religion, and returning to the life of a Savage, notwithstanding the strong attachment they naturally have to all their superstitions. We are obliged for the conversion of these people to the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits, who have for a long time continued to make painful and dangerous journeys into those remote lands, for the sake of bringing back so many wandering sheep to the fold of the Great Shepherd.

F I N I S.

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